

THE OLDEST
AND
THE NEWEST EMPIRE:
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

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FORMERLY MISSIONARY IN CHINA AND TO THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

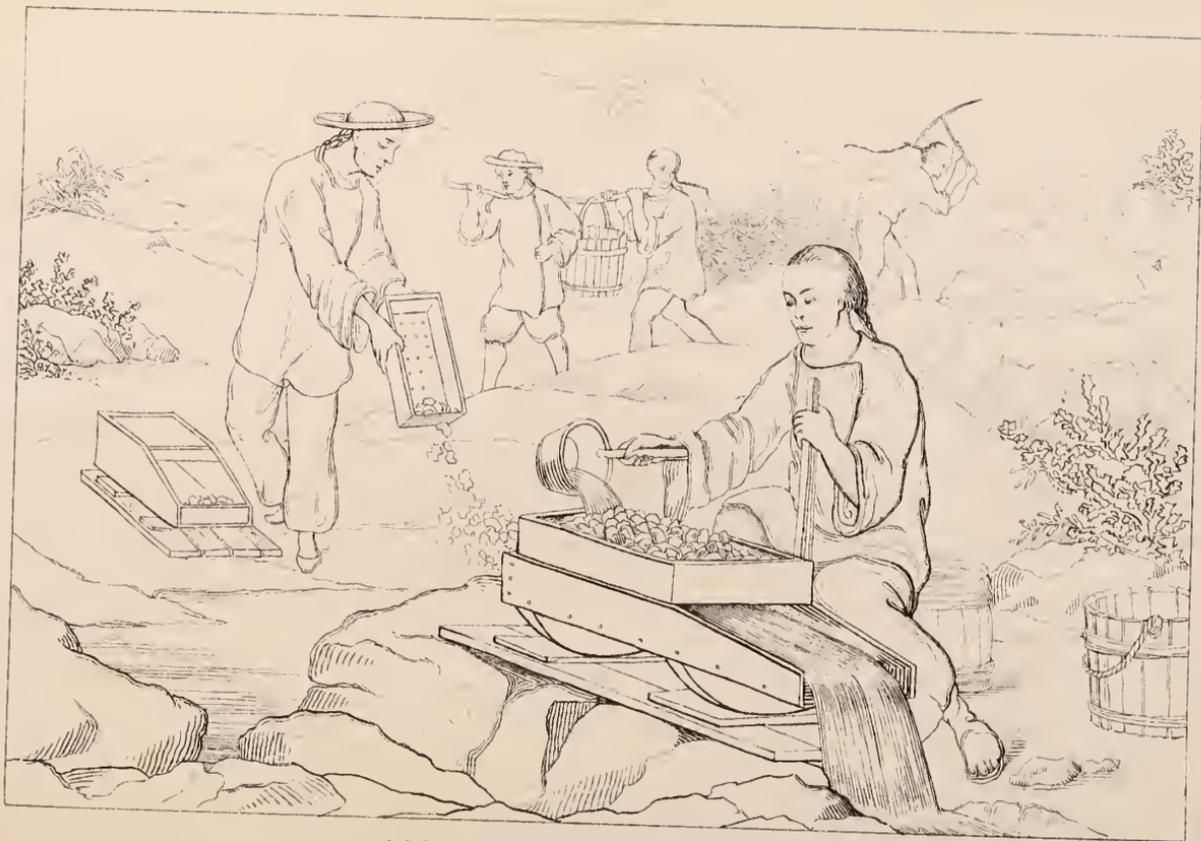
Who does not see that henceforth every year, European commerce, European politics, European thoughts, and European activity, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter?

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

PITTSBURGH, PA.:
ROBERT S. DAVIS & CO.
1877.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1870, by
S. S. SCRANTON & COMPANY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the District
of Connecticut.

WESTCOTT & THOMSON,
Stereotypers, Philada.



Chinese Miners in California.

P R E F A C E.

THE relation which the writer has held to Christian and philanthropic efforts in behalf of a race whose advent to our shores is now awaking universal and anxious inquiry as to their character, their capacities and their probable influence upon the future of our country and continent, has imposed upon him the necessity of preparing the present volume. In the years 1840 to '42 the Opium War strongly drew his attention toward China, where was presented the strange spectacle of a heathen but civilized nation suffering the bombardment and destruction of numerous cities, and the slaughter of thousands of its people, in its natural and righteous, but vain, resistance to the fraudulent introduction among them of what it justly styled "a flood of poison," the track of which in society was black and desolate as that of a stream of lava down a mountain's side. In 1846 he was sent by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to the province of Canton, and in 1852 to California, where he was the first to preach the gospel in their own language to the Chinese coming there. In the very trying circumstances in which they were placed during the first few years of their immigration to a country whose people, language, laws and usages were so strange to them, and where their peculiarities became the subjects of grave and pernicious misapprehensions on the part of the Americans, it pleased God to make his labors the means of rendering to them important benefits.

These facts will explain whatever of peculiarity this book may possess. It is largely made up of materials which have grown up in the writer's experience, labors and intercourse with the Chinese under circumstances which drew out the best side of their character,

warmly interested his feelings and personally attached him to many of them; and which led him to consider the nation and its institutions in a new light. He has been made to carefully and practically examine the past relations of China with the United States and this continent, the advantages we may expect to derive from the increasing political and commercial intimacy, and from the introduction of many of the people into various departments of labor in all parts of our country, and the duties we owe to these new wards which the great Father of all has brought and placed in our national family.

It has been deemed important by judicious friends that in connection with the volume as thus constituted there should be presented for the benefit of popular readers a summary account of the Chinese at home, the history of their empire, their manners, arts, institutions, etc., which should be a ground-work for the information and suggestions connected with their relations to us. For some of the chapters devoted to this object (the third to the twelfth) I am indebted chiefly to an English compilation published by Bohn, of London, prepared by various hands, the materials of which were drawn from Gutzlaff's "History of China," Williams' "Middle Kingdom," Davis' "General Description of China," and other well-known and reliable books. To the portions used of this compilation I have made considerable additions, have re-written parts of them, corrected many mistakes and misapprehensions into which compilers not well acquainted with the Chinese people and language would fall, and given to them a more candid and Christian tone.

It is a strange thing that we Americans have acquired the fashion of speaking of the Chinese with contempt and dislike. It is a fashion—and it should be changed. In almost all the nations of Southern and Western Asia and of the Continent of Europe, the Empire of China has been generally mentioned and described in language of honor and admiration. Louis the Fourteenth of France, and many other distinguished European monarchs, have taken the warmest interest in its history and institutions, and in the efforts to

impart to its people the advanced science and the religious knowledge of the West. Some of the most intelligent of the French nobility have gone to China as religious missionaries, with the royal advice and approbation, and that too at times when it was probable that their lives would be a sacrifice. A leading German philosopher (Frederick Von Schlegel), in summing up the characteristics of the Chinese, says that their skill in agriculture, and "their unique and, in their way, excellent products of industry and manufacture, prove the very high degree of civilization to which this people has attained;" that they are "entitled to a high, even one of the highest, places among civilized nations," and are "remarkable for the utmost polish and refinement of manners." It is hard to account for the common estimate of China and its people in Great Britain and America otherwise than by attributing it to the influence of the bad East India Company and the diabolical opium trade.

The Chinese are a heathen people, and much that is evil can truthfully be said against them. But why do we judge them so much more severely than other heathen empires which have not excelled or equaled them in morality? The Romans were a far more depraved and cruel people than the Chinese. Their idolatry was more gross and loathsome.

. . . . "Idols of monstrous guise,
Terrific, monstrous shapes, preposterous gods,
Of fear and ignorance, by the sculptor's hands
Hewn into form and worshiped; men to these,
From depth to depth in darkening error fallen,
At length ascribe th' inapplicable Name." ¹

And yet many of our poets have exhausted the language of praise upon the Romans and their virtues. They have painted a glory which,

. . . . "Like the day, diffused itself, and still
Blesses the earth—the light of genius, virtue,
Greatness in thought and act, contempt of death,
God-like example." ²

¹ J. DYER, *Ruins of Rome*.

² SAMUEL ROGERS, *Italy*.

Can we not then exercise candor in forming our opinions of the Chinese? In the case of a people in whom we and our descendants must be so much interested, it surely becomes us to act with fairness and with charity. They have had reason to judge us, our institutions and our religion with severity. This book is an attempt to make our people better acquainted with them, and to incite efforts which shall lead them to hold a better opinion of us. It will have subserved a good end should it accomplish no more than to bring their manly and indignant REMONSTRANCE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES thoroughly before the attention of our legislators and people.

The volume is made as full and complete as possible, in the free use of a mass of original and other materials which the author has been long accumulating for this end. For any defects which may be discerned in it he can only plead that it has been finally put in shape for the press in hours taken from rest and relaxation amidst the weighty cares of a sacred and responsible office which he dare not neglect. Were he to have attempted a formal dedication of the book it would have been in the line of the work in which he is now engaged—to the Christian young men of the United States, whose task and honor it will be, by the diffusion of the blessings of education and the gospel, to accomplish the regeneration of this Newest Empire of the world as the chief human means of effecting that of its Oldest Empire. This seems to be the consummating work which the Church and our nation have to perform in order to prepare the earth for the Kingdom of the Messiah.

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CHINA

AND THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the heights of the Sierra Nevada Mountains the Creator has set, in royal majesty, the throne of the sovereigns of the vegetable world. The emotions with which the beholder gazes on the mammoth trees are those of an awe, wonder, and interested delight, which is in proportion to the measure of his intelligence and sensibility. There before him, one of the largest of living things on earth, is a plant which began to grow with the beginning of that era, defined by the incarnation of the Son of God, by which all Christian nations mark the events of their history. Scores of generations

¹ The mammoth trees of California well deserve this honorable title. The baobab and dragon trees of equatorial Africa are as large in diameter—some of them measuring thirty-six feet through—but they are not more than one-third of the height of these magnificent coniferæ; several of which are over twenty feet taller than Trinity Church spire in the city of New York. In the section of one cut down in 1854, I counted twelve hundred and forty-eight annual rings, and calculated the extent of the surface of its stump, at eight feet from the ground, to be about four hundred and sixty square feet. There are some which are older and larger.

of men and beasts have lived and gone back to their dust since it put forth its first leaves. Empires have risen, swayed the affairs of continents, and fallen; but it has continued to grow. Its heart and top, and some of its limbs are in parts decayed and scarred with fire and storms. And yet it stands an immense tower of green foliage, possessed of a mighty vitality which promises it an existence of centuries to come.

There is an empire with which we associate naturally such an emblem, the oldest empire in the world. It was planted in the earliest generations after the renovation of the world and of human history by the Deluge. Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, have risen and gone; their pride, their wealth, their dominion, all are things of the past. But the Chinese race is still the same, scarcely tinged by the admixture of others. The primeval religion, customs and literature are still vigorous and fresh. Virtuous examples of their own ancestors who lived four thousand years ago encourage the generation of to-day. School-books prepared by a contemporary of the Jewish prophet Daniel are yet the manuals of the teacher of children. The language is the unchanged monosyllables of the infancy of mankind. The social usages are those which have been made familiar to us in the patriarchal pictures of the book of Genesis. We contemplate, amidst all the ruins Time has wrought elsewhere, such an empire with constant amazement and curiosity. And when we behold at length a change in the wind of time beginning to blow the seeds of this stupendous ripe tree across the waters, so that they are seen taking root in our new virgin soil, the study of its whole character becomes to us a subject

of such interest as has few parallel to it. We are the newest, as China is the oldest, empire of the world. Our institutions are but the raw experiments of yesterday. We are only beginning to realize that we have a national life, and that God has formed it for some great commission, the mere alphabet of which we are just learning to stammer.

The nations of the West boast of their greatness; but how paltry they seem in the eyes of an inhabitant of that venerable empire! And is this pride without foundation? It alone, in Asia—and many Chinese know this—is equal to the whole of either of the other continents of the world in the number of its people. Bewildering as it is to our ideas, there can be no just exception taken to the computation which makes its population to amount to the one-fourth of the entire family of man. It stands first of all existing nations in agricultural productiveness, first in some important manufactures, first in the sum of the wealth of its subjects. China, to one who can bring his mind to measure what these statements embrace, seems almost a world of itself—a world which, like those strange binary stars which revolve about each other and communicate mutual powerful influences, but are each a distinct sun, has moved in all time, strangely connected with, yet separate from, the world of our ancestry and history.

Interesting as China may be to the other nations of the world, it is related to ours and to our continent by ties far closer than to any others. The first and the last find themselves most nearly allied.

There is, first, the bond of interest which is suggested in that most fascinating and romantic subject of inquiry,

the origin, history and character of the aboriginal races of the New World. That they were Asiatic no honest and unprejudiced mind, when thoroughly informed upon the subjects which evince it, can doubt. Physical geography, the literature of China, the legends of the American nations, and the records of the Spaniards, all make it as manifest as any great historic question can be which is not a matter of direct testimony.

Then we people of America may be said, in some sense, to owe to China the discovery of our continent by Europeans in the fifteenth century. It is the mere use of a general for a particular appellation which prevented our Indians from being called by us "Chinese." Columbus meant *Chinese*. They were called "Indians," because all Eastern Asia was then called in Europe the "Indias," or "Indies," just as the Arabian and other Mohammedan writers style all the countries east of the Indian Archipelago, the "Chinas." The ambition of Columbus to cross the Western ocean was kindled by Marco Polo's wondrous tales, written two centuries before, of the boundless riches and grandeur of Cathay, Mangu or Mangi, and Cipango. The first of these words is the Mongol name for China Proper; the second is the same with the native name for the Manchu Tartars, who descended from the shores of the ocean to the north of China in the seventeenth century, and yet hold the enviable position of its supreme lords; the third is easily recognized by a Chinese scholar as Jih-pwan-ko, "the land of the sunrise," which we adopt in our abbreviation "Japan." The doctors of Florence assured Columbus that a voyage of four thousand miles would bring him to China. In the names and productions of the tropical

islands which he discovered he endeavored to trace those he found mentioned in the glowing narrative of the Polos. And he died in the belief that he had only found a new path to the empire of China, and that the islands he had visited were upon the coasts of China.

We trace this same high visionary hope in the journals of the succeeding Spanish, English, Portuguese and French discoverers. The grand prize at which they all aimed was China. Their long voyages, north and south, amidst strange archipelagoes, and up rivers and deep arms of the sea, were efforts to push their way through to the Chinese waters. They set Chinese names on some of the divisions of the land or sea, a few of which still remain. They explored vast forests, and underwent astonishing hardships and sufferings, to discover the fountain of immortality, whose waters the Tauist priests of China have for ages pretended to be under their control. There is no more pathetic picture in human history than that of the aged Ponce de Leon, exhausted by wars, self-indulgence and disappointments, fitting out three ships at his own expense, going forth westward in search of the way to the fountain that was to renew the vigor and enjoyment of youth, discovering our Florida, and, upon the shore where he expected to find a point of rest and departure, pierced by the arrows of the inhabitants of his fancied paradise, and retreating to the island of Cuba to die.

To tell all that this continent owed in geographical explorations over every portion of it, between the Caribbean sea and the Arctic zone, to the determined and oft-renewed efforts to penetrate barriers which Nature had made vast beyond their supposition at that time,

would itself afford a subject worthy of a volume. Even in the last century, the first acquaintance of one of our own race with the new and beautiful State of Minnesota was made in the journey of Carver, one of whose objects, he tells us, in his account of his travels, was to "facilitate the discovery of a north-west passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific ocean," and to "promote many useful discoveries," and thus "open a passage for conveying intelligence to China and the English settlements in the East Indies with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope."

But all the interest of America in the Chinese based upon these matters of the past is small, very small, compared with that which arises out of those of which we witness the beginnings in this our own generation. The discovery of gold on the Pacific coast of North America was the commencement of revolutions in the commerce, the politics, the religions of the world, to which there have been no parallels in all the history of the past.

The subject of Chinese immigration to this continent is one of an importance and interest which language can hardly exaggerate. The reader of history beholds in this contact of the populations of America and China, on the shores of the Pacific ocean, the termination of that westward course of empire which began in the first periods of the history of man; and in it the completion of one great cycle of the Divine government on earth, and the commencement of another—the glorious and golden age of mankind. The philosophic mind finds abundant material for the profoundest thought in the numerous

questions of a political and social nature which arise from the return of the grand current of civilization, transformed by all the changes which so many ages and influences have wrought, and freighted with the spoils of so many lands, to the regions whence it originated; and in considering the results as they will affect the nations which hold that civilization in its oldest and in its newest forms, the chief empire and the chief republic of the world. The patriot must speculate upon the effects of the introduction of a new and boundless supply of productive labor, of mechanical skill and of commercial enterprise, as they shall tend to settle the national embarrassments which have followed our employment of the African race; as they may prove useful in developing the resources of the western portion of the continent, and elevating it to a full level with the eastern portion; and as they may modify our institutions and possibly even our form of government. The Christian must watch with deepest concern the infusion of new, subtle and powerful elements of religious error and forms of vice amidst the more bold and unregulated mind of our nation. And the man who waits for the consolation of the Israel of the latter days must praise God for the new form which his almighty power has given to the immense work of regenerating the continent of Asia, through the multitudes of its people to be brought hither, enlightened with Christianity and returned to it again. Taken in whatsoever aspect we will, the coming of the Chinese to America is excelled in importance by no other event since the discovery of the New World. It is one of the impulses, beyond all human conception or management, by which God is mov-

ing the history of mankind onward to its great consummation.

To what this immigration may come, and what its influence upon the future of this nation, upon North America and upon South America, no finite mind can imagine. There are two national elements of the problem. Separated by an ocean whose passage every year becomes more expeditious and cheap, which is hemmed not many degrees distant by a continuous shore-line, along which already an electric telegraph has been partially constructed, lie two vast countries. Each resembles the other in location, contour, climate, and other physical conditions and capacities, more than it does any other of the countries of the earth. Each is occupied by a people naturally thoughtful, earnest, acquisitive and enterprising; each by a people strangely conglomerate, yet strangely homogeneous; each by a people among whom intellect and education constitute the only patent of nobility; each by a people the freest upon its own continent, and governed mainly by rulers of its own election; and each country is now in the travail of a change from old bondage and feebleness to new power, light and influence, which will be felt to the very corners of the earth. But with so much that is alike in these countries, it is easy to group together some respects in which they differ to the farthest extremes. The foundation of the one occurred within the memory of men now living: the other, as has been before remarked, is one of the most ancient, and is the most permanent, of the empires of the world; which was extensive as Rome when Rome was most extensive, and built the vastest work of human architecture—its Great Wall—for its protection against

northern barbarians two thousand one hundred years ago. The one is a country where the utmost advances of scientific knowledge are continually made practical for the development of its wondrous agricultural and mineral wealth: the other exhibits the arts which are necessary to the increase and comfort of man carried to the farthest limit which it is possible for them to reach until the principles of true science, founded on the Christian religion, shall have been infused into them. In the one, labor is scarce, more difficult to obtain and dearer—in the other, it is more abundant and cheaper—than in any other part of the world. A man in China receives but six cents for a day's work, while one in America gets from two to five dollars; and many a good workman in the former country keeps his family for a month, or even for a summer, upon what the family of a workman here would spend in a day. The one is settled only here and there, in the localities most favorable to agriculture, to trade, to manufactures or to health: the other is densely inhabited by a population whose numbers bewilder the mind; a province of its eighteen may contain as many people as the United States, or Great Britain, or France; and the whole of them sustain one-fourth of the entire human race. Into the immense solitudes of the one, whose only previous occupants were a few scanty, roving, barbarous Indian tribes, immigrants have pressed from all the nations of the world: out of the other are flowing, and have for two centuries flowed, multitudes, which, after they have peopled and renovated, or rendered great benefits to, many countries of Northern and Central Asia, and the numerous great and rich islands within two or three thousand miles of them,

have recently begun to cross to the New World, and already number in the United States one-third as many as the total remains of the aboriginal tribes. The knowledge of modern ages in the West, and the introduction of labor-saving machines, will expel myriads from China, as the bees swarm and hive in the spring; and any reasonable man who will consider no more than the statements of this paragraph must conclude that attempts to prevent their coming to the New World are as ridiculous and futile as it would be to endeavor to change the laws of Nature, which cause the soil of the mountains to descend into the valleys, or the floods of the rain to force a channel to the sea. The day is coming when many millions of Chinese will be dispersed over the Pacific coast, the Mississippi Valley, the wastes in the northern portion of the continent, the provinces of Mexico and Central America, the whole continent of South America, where already there are several thousands of them, and over all the island groups or island continents of the Pacific ocean, whose indolent races are departing, having accomplished their mission, to make room for them. To find a place and use for a handful of poor African slaves who were brought here in a condition little above the brutes, in the plan of the great temple of civil and religious freedom which the Supreme Governor of the world is rearing upon this continent to be a blessing to all its nations, has cost us an indescribable amount of discussion and trouble, ending in a stupendous and calamitous civil war. An hundred-fold more important is it to understand fully, and to treat with wisdom and justice from the beginning, the race whom He is now bringing to our shores—one so incom-

parably greater than the negro in numbers, in civilization, in capacity to bestow immense benefits on our land or to inflict upon it evils which may end in its ruin. Our faith in that God and in his word leads us to hope that their coming shall be for good to us and to them.

To present with satisfaction to the reader the new world of interests opened up around the Pacific ocean, it will be also necessary to look beyond the two nations represented in our title, "The Oldest and the Newest Empire," and to take some notice of the changes taking place also in Asiatic Russia, in the countries bordering upon China on the west and south, in other countries besides our own in the New World, and in the numerous fertile islands of the Pacific ocean, both in the smaller central groups and in those which separate it from the Indian ocean, and which approach continents in magnitude, and in the variety and extent of the products of their soil and mines. The destiny of these parts of the world, and of the races which inhabit them, is to be decided by the influences that shall proceed from the United States and China.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE: THEIR ORIGIN—RACES IN THE EMPIRE.

WHEN the valiant knight of St. Albans, Sir John Maundeville—who informs us that he passed the sea on St. Michael's Day of the year 1322, and has written down his narrative in English, that "other noble and worthy men, if he err from defect of memory, may redress it and amend it"—traveled through many parts of Europe and Asia, he saw or learned of "many divers folks, and of many divers manners and laws, and of divers shapes of men." In the far East he learned of men and women that "have dogs' heads; and they are reasonable and of good understanding, except that they worship an ox for their god." There was a country where there is "a kind of snails so great that many persons lodge in their shells, as men would do in a little house;" another, where "are white hens without feathers, but they bear white wool, as sheep do here." "In one of these isles are people of great stature, like giants, hideous to look upon: and they have but one eye, which is in the middle of the forehead, and they eat nothing but raw flesh and fish. And in another isle toward the south dwell people of foul stature and cursed nature, who have no heads, but their eyes are in their shoulders. In another isle are people who have the face all flat,

without nose and without mouth. In another isle are people that have the lip above the mouth so great that when they sleep in the sun they cover all the face with that lip. And in another isle there are dwarfs which have no mouth, but instead of a mouth they have a little round hole; and when they eat or drink they take it through a pipe, or pen, or such thing, and suck it in. And in another isle are people that have ears so long that they hang down to their knees. And in another isle are people that have horses' feet. And many other divers people of divers natures there are in other isles about, of which it were too long to tell." The account of the empire of China by this writer is equally veracious and entertaining. "The greatest river of fresh water in the world," he says, is there, which, "where it is narrowest, is more than four miles broad." "That river goes through the land of pigmies, where the people are small, but three spans long. These men are the best workers of gold, silver, cotton and silk, and of all such things that are in the world. And they have oftentimes war with the birds of the country, which they kill and eat. And of the men of our stature they have as great scorn and wonder as we should have among us of giants." "Cathay is a great country, fair, noble, rich and full of merchants." "They are the most skillful men in the world in sciences and all crafts; for in subtlety, malice and forethought they surpass all men under heaven; and therefore they say themselves that they see with two eyes, and the Christians see with but one, because they are more subtle than they." Of the grandeur of the emperor and his many thousands of great lords and nobles he relates wonderful things. In the

palace "all the vessels that men are served with, in the hall or in chambers, are of precious stones; and especially at great tables, either of jasper, or of crystal, or of amethyst, or of fine gold. And the cups are of emeralds, and sapphires or topazes, of perydox, and of many other precious stones. Vessels of silver there is none, for they set no value on it to make vessels of; but they make therewith steps, and pillars and pavements to halls and chambers." In order to impress the people of Western lands more sensibly with the amazing wealth of the East, the worthy knight says that in India diamonds grow upon the rocks in the sea or in the mines of gold. "They grow many together, male and female, and are nourished by the dew of heaven; and they engender commonly, and bring forth small children [of their own kind], that multiply and grow all the year. I have oftentimes tried the experiment, that if a man keep them with a little of the rock, and wet them with Maydew often, they shall grow every year, and the small will grow great. He who carries the diamond upon him, it gives him hardiness and manhood, and it keeps the limbs of his body whole. It heals him that is lunatic, and those whom the fiend pursues or torments. And if venom or poison be brought in presence of the diamond, anon it begins to grow moist and sweat."¹

Now these stories of good Sir John seem, no doubt, to the reader grotesque and absurd enough. But they may be made the ground of two remarks. The first is, that our pictures of Eastern races in the books of the West are not a whit more monstrous than the pictures which they draw of ourselves. Their writers, in turn,

¹ *The Book of Sir John Maundeville*, chaps. xiv.-xx.

describe nations of people with dogs' heads, of cannibals, of pigmies, of Amazons among whom there are no men, which are found in this opposite end of the earth. The popular name for our people resorting there is "devils;" and they suppose we are possessed of a roving, insatiable disposition, are naturally fiendish and cruel, and wander off to the Celestial Empire because of the horrible sterility and nakedness of the miserable regions to which we belong, that we may seek there supplies of food, raiment and medicine. In truth, they have had too much reason for a poor opinion of us. But surely freer and more intimate knowledge of us will disabuse the Chinese of their prejudices, and show to them that we possess the attributes of a common humanity; and a similar change may perhaps be hoped for in our ideas of them.

The other remark is, that Sir John's wonderful stories, which our ancestors believed to be all true, are but the repetition of the old fables which we get from the Romans and Greeks. Pliny's Natural History is full of them. They came to those countries from Oriental lands. They are pure heathenism. They are the end of the philosophy of man, thousands of years ago, which then, as now, invented all manner of "imagination" to dishonor God and his revelations of man's nature and our duty and future destiny. The false reasoning of some of the self-confident geologists and naturalists of our day would end precisely in a belief of what we read as to the various races of mankind in the ridiculous fables of Maundeville, and would land us, a little farther on, in the degradation of God from his rightful throne, in the change of his truth into a lie, and in the worship and

service of the creature more than the Creator. Such men would of a truth make us all heathen again.

We are about to enter upon a survey of Chinese history. Let us assume as true what Paul says, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." Let us accept this divine allotment of national localities, and of their historical events, as having reference to the planting of the light of revelation at a central point in Palestine. "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance," said he who has told us all we know of the creation—"when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." And let us not treat with disrespect the evidences of progress in civilization, the lessons from the lips of great and wise men, the inferences from events that have decided the condition of society, or the field for the study of human nature in all its strange and deep workings, only because a certain land is separated from ours by a tract of salt water, or because climate, diet and circumstances have produced in its population effects in complexion, stature, speech or customs which are no more strange in our eyes than our own appear in their eyes.

Which of the families that sprang from the solitary household that was saved in the ark when the world was drowned for its corruption first threaded its way along the valleys of the Jihon, the Yarkana and the Hwang-ho into the territory of the present empire of China, no inspired chronicle relates. The Creator had prepared a national highway in the neighborhood of the fortieth

degree of latitude, along which some would naturally push eastward. The dispersion at Babel was a new act of the justice of heaven, when the insane builders attempted to renew the superstitions for which their fathers had been destroyed, which would only spend its force when its guilty subjects were placed far apart. And in the legends of the Chinese there are evidences that the settlement of the country must have been made within two or three centuries, at longest, after the deluge. It does not seem probable, though some have judged so, that Noah himself led the company which formed the first colony. But the Chinese possess traditions of one who, omitting several mythical personages, was the first of whom they have any distinct knowledge. Their story is, that he came from Central Asia into what is now the province of Shen-si, bordering upon the desert on the north-west. His name was Fuhì, which signifies *an oblation*. He was born of a virgin, who was enveloped by a rainbow upon a mountain-top. He offered seven clean beasts in sacrifice. It has been remarked that the date of the commencement of "the reign of Fuhì" corresponds nearly, according to the common chronology, in which we follow Archbishop Usher, with that of the birth of Noah; while, if we prefer Dr. Hale's system, it corresponds with the latter half century of the life of that patriarch. The name of his son or successor was Shin-nung, or Shin the husbandman, which may possibly point to Shem. And the wonderfully regular and well-sustained chronological system of China, which moves in cycles of sixty years, is the same with the ancient Babylonish, and commences in the reign of Hwang-ti, his second successor. Take all these facts into

view, and it is difficult to deny the conclusion that, though Noah may not claim to have founded their empire, yet the Chinese possess some traditions of him as the great second father of mankind.

The several generations after Noah, according to the Chinese histories, were directed of Heaven to the discovery of those arts which are most necessary to man's existence and comfort. Shin-nung is worshiped yet as the first to commence agriculture.

It is a point of great interest that the date of manufacture of the thread of the silkworm for the first time into useful garments is fixed by the Chinese in the reign of Hwang-ti, the second from Fuhü. His queen, Si-ling, is named as the foster-parent of it. And in this we have the clue, most probably, to the source of the name "China," by which the empire is now almost universally known. Silk appears to have been the most characteristic article of manufacture and of export from China in all subsequent ages. There is no other fabric so splendid, none so durable, and the source of the fibre, and the first processes of reeling and weaving it, were successfully concealed from the nations of the West until the reign of the Roman emperor Justinian, in the sixth century of the Christian era. The eggs of the silkworm were brought to Constantinople, say the Greek historians of that period, by two Nestorian monks, concealed within a bamboo staff.

The origin of the name *China* has been discussed with great interest by scholars. The common declaration that it was taken from the Tsin dynasty, which became supreme only 249 B. C., though ingeniously proposed and defended by some intelligent men, cannot bear the

test of criticism enlightened by modern acquaintance with the literature of the East. It is evident that the word was used in the Sanskrit and other Indian languages long previous to the Tsin dynasty. The exact word "China" is found in the Laws of Menu, and in ancient Tamul books. It is found in the Hebrew of Isaiah, four centuries before the reign of the Tsin, in a prophecy of the conversion of the distant East to Christ: "Behold, these shall come from far (the south), and lo! these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim."¹ This remarkable passage the best Hebrew scholars of the day have almost unanimously settled to mean "the Chinas," the plural form of the word being that which is often granted to notable or extensive countries.

The probability is, that this name, of which the natives know nothing, except those of them who have discovered our use of it by intercourse with foreigners, originated in one of two ways. It may have been derived from some man, perhaps an ancestor or chieftain, as were Rome, Idumea, Russia, America. The name of Shinnung, the son of Fuhi, by whom they no doubt mean the patriarch Shem, it is barely possible, may be the source of it. Yet the opinions of scholars lean more toward placing the Chinese among the descendants of Ham, one of the advocates of which view is Sir William Jones,² or among those of Japhet. The Mohammedan writers hand us down an old legend of Persia and Arabia, that Japhet had eleven sons, of whom Gin or Chin was the eldest; that as such his father sent him for his portion to the fertile countries of the far East, and that his de-

¹ Isa. xlix. 12.

² *Works*, vol. iii., p. 201.

scendants early became distinguished for painting, carving and the cultivation of silk.¹

But we are more likely to solve this curious question by tracing this very ancient word to some epithet derived from a characteristic product of its soil or manufacture, just as Britain meant the "land of tin;" Brazil, the country of a certain crimson dye-wood; and Palmyra or Tadmor, the land of the palm and its products. The writer, after a thorough investigation of the subject during more than twenty years, has been led to the conclusion, which he has seen nowhere else mentioned, that the word Sin or Tsin was probably taken from a Chinese word signifying the silkworm. In the Shu-king,² the most ancient historical work of China now existing, compiled by Confucius from the primeval traditions and writings remaining in his time, the silkworm is designated *tsan*. The emperor Ta-yu, who began to reign B. C. 2205, is said to have selected land suitable for the cultivation of the mulberry, collected silkworms and induced many people who lived among the mountains to come down and occupy the plains. This manufacture and trade in silk became at a very early period the most marked characteristic of the nation upon the Yellow river. The Shu-king describes the commerce which sprang up with their neighbors in furs, metals, precious stones, silk, hemp, cotton, products of the forests and ivory. The word *Tsan* seems to have been the source of the name Tsin or Chin or Sin, by which these people were distinguished in the languages of most of the nations of Asia. There is another ancient name given to them, which we find in the Greek—the "Seres." It

¹ D'HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Orientale*; tom. iii. art. "Sin."

² Book ii.

occurs once in the New Testament in the adjective form, *serikos* (Rev. xviii. 12), which no doubt has given to us the word *silk*. The root, it has been supposed, no doubt correctly, is from the Chinese *sze*, which means the *silk fibre* or *thread*. This was in that luxurious age imported from China and sold at its weight in gold to the wealthy Romans.

While the first Chinese families crossed the deserts of the North and slowly moved down the valleys tributary to the Hwang-ho, we trace a corresponding eastward progress of another people as early, if not earlier, to the southward of them.

It is a fact upon which a clear light is now thrown by the investigations of the languages, history, customs and religious ideas of many tribes of the more remote and more mountainous portions of Central, Eastern and Southern Asia, that another of the fragments of the explosion at Babel was cast in a more southerly direction, and dissolved upon the highlands of Northern India. Some of the ancient legends of Persia assert that Tsin, or Gin, was not the eldest son of Japhet, but that older than he was another, named Turk, who gave his name to the countless and widely-dispersed Turanian or Turkish tribes. In the Sanskrit of India also is found the name Turushka, applied to the same race. They were followed by the Aryans, who pushed them to the extremities of the great peninsulas, to the large islands upon the coast of Asia, up into the mountainous tracts, and out into the deserts. In India they thus became the progenitors of the hill-tribes of the central parts, the Coles, the Bhils, the Waralis, and others as impoverished, degraded and distinct from the more powerful races that have rolled

over the land in successive waves. They are the Tamul people of the South, whose language is largely overlaid by the Sanskrit. They occupy portions of the island of Ceylon, under the name of the Vaidas. In the mountains of Asam they are the Meris and Abors. They are the Kambojans and Peguans, or Mons, of the ultra-Ganges peninsula. They give to the Malays the character of their language. They form the great tribes of the Kalmuks, the Mongols, the Ugrians or Uigurs, the Manchus, the Si-fans and people of Tibet. The language of the Japanese I have found to be one-half so like to the dialects of the neighboring coast of China that so far it might well be considered Chinese, but the other part carries us back to their own Turanian source. It is polysyllabic, and is written with an alphabetic character which has been derived from some of their Tartar cousins. But the most curious part of the history of this Turanian family, with which the "hill-tribes" of Eastern Asia appear to be connected, is, that in the far North-east it has begotten the Yakuts and other savage nations, some members of which are found in Asia, others a thousand miles distant, on the Youcon river, which rolls its mighty tide, the rival of the Mackenzie, across thirty degrees of longitude, and falls into the Sea of Kamschatka, within our new Territory of Alaska.

The Aryans, who, as has been said, pressed forward the Turanians, and occupied the best lands of Southern Asia, and who gave us the inexhaustible literature of the Sanskrit, sent members of their race into the West. They are the Indo-European family to which we belong. The word "Ire-land" probably retains the ancient name as to its people. And there is seen here in the Indian wars

of the New World, after a lapse of more than three thousand years, the renewal of the same transactions which occurred in Central Asia—the descendants of the more civilized Aryan race dispossessing and exterminating those of the earlier and barbarous Turanian.

The hill-tribes of China are denominated in that language the Miao-tsz, a name taken from buds in spring, and signifies that they were the first inhabitants of the central and western provinces in which they are found. They are noticed in the most ancient records of Chinese history. The Shu-king states that about the years 2286 to 2258 B.C. the emperor Shun made war upon three tribes of the Miao-tsz, who dwelt south of the Yang-tsz-kiang river, and drove them to the West. In the reign of Ta-yu, which dates from 2204 B.C., the war was renewed, and continued at intervals for seventy years.

It will gratify the interest in this people to further remark that these “aborigines” of Central China yet occupy its mountain districts. They are divided into small tribes, which are, many of them, so entrenched in inaccessible and wild mountains as to be entirely independent of the Chinese government. They generally choose their own chiefs, and are allowed to manage most of their local affairs. They follow in some regions agricultural pursuits, but in others abandon themselves to hunting and fishing. It is remarkable that some of them are called the Blacksnakes, the Crows, the Blackfeet, and other names which remind us of our Indians, and that the men often ornament themselves, like them, with a plume in the hair. The women cultivate and spin silk, dress neatly in short gowns, tying their wide pantaloons, like the Persians, about the ankles, and are

fond of silver and copper trinkets. Their houses are partially excavated in the mountain sides, or in the forests are framed of bamboo among the branches of spreading trees. Their language is said by the Chinese to be wholly different from their own. A few of them have visited Canton and other ports open to foreigners, but I am not aware of any successful attempt to obtain a vocabulary of it. Many of them read and talk the Chinese language. They have not yielded to the Buddhist proselytes who have swept the Chinese into that superstition. Their religion is simple. They believe in lucky and unlucky times, celebrate the New Year and other festivals, and live in great terror of evil spirits. They sacrifice the dog and other animals. The worship which has the strongest hold upon them is that of the spirits of their deceased kindred. They suppose these remain with the corporeal parts. They therefore sometimes do not bury the body for twenty years, and then carry a number of the corpses together out to the place of interment with great parade. A man revenges himself upon an enemy by tearing up or destroying the tombs of his kindred, or secures payment from a debtor by stealing their bones and keeping them. They seek to obtain the relief of one who is sick by sacrifices before the remains of an ancestor, and perhaps by cleansing and washing the bones. This notice of them will suggest many points of resemblance to the Indian tribes of our own continent, whose condition in history seems so strangely parallel and interlinked with theirs.¹

¹ It should be remarked here that the Indians of the New World have sprung from several sources. In the East there were, beyond reasonable doubt, some who, from the tenth century and later, were descended from small colonies of Northmen, who coasted the irregular shore of the Atlantic from the frozen

Of the Mongols, who conquered China under Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century and reigned over it ninety years, of the Manchus, who for more than two centuries have been its rulers, and of the Jews who have been found upon the Hwang-ho river, mention will be made in future chapters of this volume. From what has been said of the two primeval races in China, and the intimation of the presence of others, the inference is easily drawn that the population of the present empire of China is far from being the dull, uniform, stagnant mass which some inconsiderate or uninformed writers represent. The truth is, that while there is a dominant style of civilization, of religious sentiment and of national character, yet the people of the north, of the west, of the central provinces, and of the southern sea-coast differ very much in stature, in customs, in energy; their spoken languages are as unlike as the German to the English, and their leading employments are very dissimilar. This variety amidst general unity will prove favorable to future improvement and to the development of the vast national resources, through the infusion of Western ideas, inventions and merchandise.

An account of the races which inhabit the empire of China may be suitably followed by a statement of the

regions whence they ventured forth in their compact ships. This has been shown by the investigations of the Royal Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen. (*Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord; section Asiatique*, 1840-3.) From the North-west there descended, probably from a period many centuries before the Christian era, the Turanian tribes, of which we have spoken, who crossed at Behring's Straits, and formed the bulk of those which dispersed themselves in time over North and South America. And another distinct element is to be recognized in the cultivated Toltecs, Otomis and Aztecs of Mexico, who were certainly Buddhists, and came, at least in part, from Chinese and Japanese stock. On this subject some interesting light will be thrown in a future chapter.

probable number of the present entire population. The Marquis de Moges states, in his narrative of the French embassy to China in 1857-8, that a late census makes it to be 415,000,000. The fact of such a census having been taken is doubtful. About 300,000,000 is a safe estimate of the population of the empire proper.

The mind staggers beneath the conception of so vast a mass of human beings being collected under one government, speaking one kindred family of languages, writing identically the same character, and entertaining so largely the same general social and religious ideas. Can this estimate of their number, it is asked, be correct? It is the opinion of those best acquainted with the empire, who have most extensively visited its accessible portions, and who have examined the statistics obtained from its own officers, that it is not too great.

In a work of M. de Guignes, published in 1808,² he

This population is distributed as follows:

NORTHERN PROVINCES.	SOUTHERN PROVINCES.
1. Chihli (Petscheli, Pesheli)..... 36,879,838	12. Kwangtung (Canton). 21,152,603
2. Shantung..... 29,529,877	13. Kwangsi..... 8,121,327
3. Shansi..... 17,056,925	14. Yunnan 5,823,670
4. Honan 29,069,771	15. Kweichau 5,679,128
112,536,411	40,776,728
EASTERN PROVINCES.	WESTERN PROVINCES.
5. Kiangsu..... 39,646,924	16. Shensi..... 10,309,769
6. Nganhwui..... 36,596,988	17. Kansuh..... 19,512,716
7. Kiangsi..... 26,513,889	18. Szchuen..... 22,256,964
8. Chikiang 30,437,974	51,079,440
9. Fukien (Fokien)..... 25,799,556	413,021,452
158,995,331	To which is added the
CENTRAL PROVINCES.	number of the Chinese in
10. Hupeh 28,584,564	Shing-king, a new province
11. Hunan 20,048,969	created in Manchuria..... 1,665,542
48,633,533	Total..... 414,686,994

² *Voyages à Peking, Manille et l'Île de France*, etc., tom. iii., pp. 55-80.

compiles in a table the information collected from Amiot and other Roman Catholic missionaries as to the population of the empire between the years 1736 and 1761. He shows that in the former year it was 125,046,245; in the latter, about 205,293,053. He explains from his own observations how this was within the truth. Dr. S. W. Williams, the most thorough and reliable Chinese scholar living, in his "Middle Kingdom"¹ presents the whole subject in a clear and satisfactory light, aiming to show that the census taken by the emperor Kia-king in 1812, which made the sum to be 362,447,183, was probably nearly correct.²

If these enumerations be not far wrong, the increase in the first twenty-five years was three and one-fifth millions a year; for the seventy-six years previous to 1812, three and one-eighth millions a year. This certainly does not seem extravagant, and amounts to but two and a half per cent. yearly. From 1812 to 1858 the wars and emigration probably prevented any increase. The number since then has diminished; for in that time the Tai-ping rebellion, wars in the west and with foreigners, and consequent famines and diseases, have swept off many millions of people.

The general opinion of the foreign missionaries, mer-

¹ Vol. i. pp. 206-234.

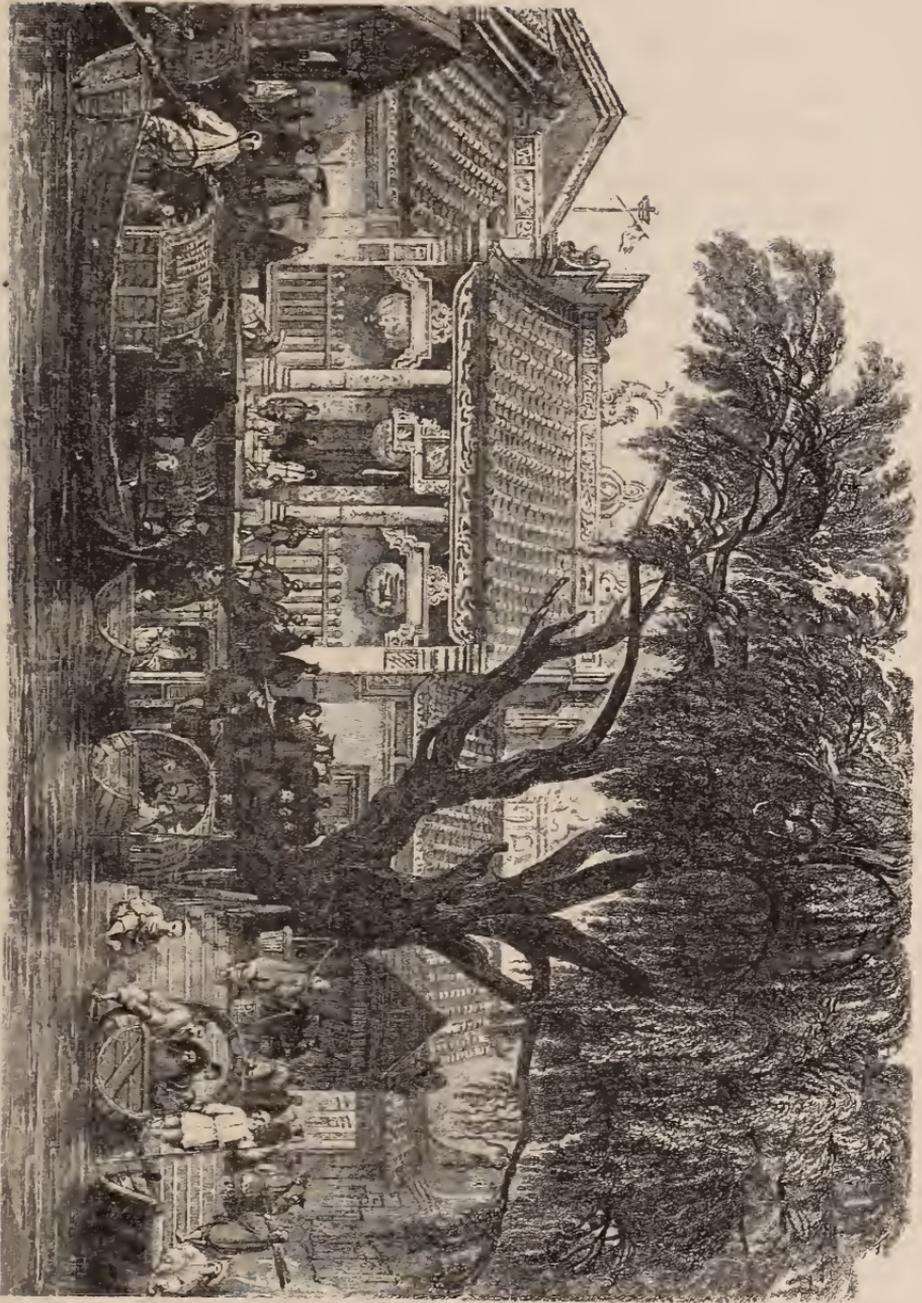
² This census is contained in the last collection of statutes put forth by the emperor. J. R. Morrison (son of the missionary) says: "It will probably serve to set at rest the numerous speculations concerning the real amount of population. We know, from several authorities, that in China the people are in the habit of diminishing, rather than increasing, their numbers in their reports to government. And it is unreasonable to suppose that in a work published by the government, not for the information of curious inquirers, but for the use of its own officers, the numbers so reported by the people should be more than doubled, as the statements of some European speculators would require us to believe"

chants and official persons who have visited extensively the provinces fronting upon the eastern and southern seas, and lying along the great rivers, is, that the population is as great within them as the statements of the estimates require. The multitude of cities and towns, the swarming throngs of people in the streets of the cities, the narrowness of the streets, the small number of animals used for beasts of burden and the performance of their tasks by men, the garden-like cultivation of the soil, the hills with their irrigated terraces, the countless boats and vessels of all sizes and kinds on the rivers, lakes and seas, the streets of them anchored in rows for tenements, the variety of employments and the diligence of the people in them, even the women laboring at the oar upon the water—indeed, whatever could be supposed to characterize a most crowded country—press upon one the conviction that China is thus populous.

Of the number of the tribes occupying the vast colonial and tributary regions of Manchuria, Mongolia, Kokonor, Ili and Tibet, it is almost in vain to attempt an estimate. Portions of them are occupied by settled communities; still larger parts by nomadic and predatory tribes, and great deserts on the west and barren plains on the north are silent and untenanted. Gutzlaff, half a generation ago, estimated these entire regions to contain thirty-three millions of human beings. But this is probably too large a number.

There is reason to think that the empire of China contains, within its immense area, which equals the one-tenth of the dry land of the globe, one-fourth of the race of man. The practical bearings of this question of population are of an importance which cannot now be

Scene on the River, Canton.



appreciated. Commerce with such a centre of civilized and inexhaustible productions of the field, the garden, the forest, the loom and the mine, enriches the nations engaged in it. These muscular and patient millions have been schooled by Providence to supply the rest of the world with the labor which is to make its wildernesses blossom as the rose. There Christendom sees spread before it its grandest and most inviting field of religious enterprise.

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHY, VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS, ANIMALS.

WHEN we turn to consider the physical characteristics of China, the first impression made upon an American—one which has been remarked upon by several of our writers—is its general resemblance to his own country. This may be traced in more particulars than I have yet seen mentioned.

China is the great empire of Asia, as the United States is, in a freer sense, that of America. It fronts eastward and southward upon the Pacific, as the United States do upon the Atlantic ocean. Upon the coast of each a great gulf stream, rising in the tropics, sweeps northward and eastward, making its vicinity stormy, and attracting to its tepid waters multitudes of fish. The terrific cyclones or hurricanes rising in the south move regularly in the same directions along each continent and expire in the ocean. Though the United States lie somewhat more to the north, the lines of mean annual heat and of the limit of the fall of snow at the level of the sea maintain a general correspondence. The extreme difference between the mean temperature of the coldest month of the year and that of the warmest (55° to 95°), which marks the New England, is also felt on the northern Chinese coast. For-

mosa is the Florida of China. The Philippine Islands are its West Indies. Two great mountain chains bind its extremes into one grand domain, though we observe that the all-wise ends of the Supreme Governor planned their courses in the Old World, according to the wants of the human tenants, from the west to the east, but in the New World from the north to the south. The immense river system of the Mississippi finds its parallel in that of the Yang-tsz-kiang—two which are only exceeded by the Amazon and La Plata in the quantity of water which they discharge into the sea. The geographical purposes of the great fresh-water lakes of the New World are largely provided for in the Hwang-ho and Amoor rivers. The United States and China have each their great deposits of precious metals in the west and north-west. Each have their wheat and apples in the north, their rice and oranges in the south, though rice is more of a national diet with the latter. In each, the inhabitants of the north are more muscular and more fair. The wild western territories of each are kept in continual agitation by barbarous tribes, whose glory is their herds of horses, their skill in the use of the bow and the spear, and, we might perhaps add, in taking the scalps of their enemies, for this was also an ancient Scythian or Tartar luxury. It would be easy to draw the analogies between the mental character and the institutions of the people of China and those of the United States, but that subject it is better to reserve for another place.

With this comparison, which will convey a clearer idea of the physical characteristics of China, I proceed to supply, largely from the excellent English compilation mentioned in the Preface, some further particulars.

With its dependencies and tributary states the Chinese Empire extends from the Sea of Japan to the head waters of the Indus among the Himmaleh mountains in the west—a space of seventy-one degrees of longitude, equal, in a straight line, to three thousand statute miles. From north to south it stretches from the Ural mountains, in north latitude 50° , to the southern border, about latitude 21° , being twenty-nine degrees, or nearly two thousand three hundred miles. Of this immense area, China Proper measures about twelve hundred statute miles in length, and not much less in average breadth. The empire proper, which the people usually designate the Eighteen Provinces, contains nearly one million three hundred thousand square miles. The territorial possessions contain about three million seven hundred thousand additional. Their populations profess dependence on the Celestial Empire, or have the laws and manners, and speak or read the language, of the Chinese, with whom, in fact, they are almost identified.

The climate of China presents every variety of temperature, from the snows and chilling blasts of Siberia to the scorching heat of the torrid zone on its southern borders. That of the north-western provinces is made distressingly hot and dry when the wind during the summer months blows from the great deserts of the interior. Even in Canton, where the tropical heat of the season is tempered by the friendly south-west monsoon, which blows almost steadily day and night, a change of the wind for two or three days, bringing these oven-like blasts, is almost intolerable. It is amusing to witness in that latitude the eagerness of the people when once

in many years a slight snow falls in the winter, to gather it into bottles, in which they suppose its precious virtues will be preserved after it melts, and be an efficacious remedy for fevers. "No country," says truly a recent writer,¹ "presents greater diversities in its physical geography, productions and natural history, whether we regard its verdant and cultivated plains or its sterile and solitary deserts, its mountains and its valleys, its gigantic rivers, its cities teeming with intelligent and civilized inhabitants, or its mountain fastnesses and its forests, the abodes of wild beasts or marauding banditti."

In its general aspect China presents a series of river basins, or broad valleys of rivers, and of low lands along the sea-coast, divided by ranges of hills, which rise in many places to a very considerable elevation. Yun-nan, the south-western province, is exceedingly mountainous. The chief range sends out two branches eastward, one of which separates the valley of the Si-kiang river from the coasts of the Gulf of Tung-king; the other separates it from the valley of the Yang-tsz-kiang river and its affluents, whose basins are themselves divided by ranges which diverge from each other and from the coasts of the East sea. The valley of the Yang-tsz-kiang is separated from that of the Hwang-ho by a stretch of high land, which trends eastward from the Pih-ling mountains on the borders of Tartary, but which, terminating before it reaches the coast, leaves a broad alluvial plain between the mouths of these two great rivers. The remaining portion of the country lying between the Hwang-ho and Gulf of Pe-che-lee consists of the basin

¹ The Rev. W. ELLIS, Introduction to Gutzlaff's *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*.

of the Pei-ho and the Yu-ho, having the hills of Shan-tung province on the south, and a cross range on the west, and communicating with the basin of the Hwang-ho by an opening at the angle formed by the two ranges. The appearance of even that portion of the country which has been traversed during the last century by Europeans and Americans is exceedingly diversified. Between Canton and Peking, a distance of twelve hundred miles, travelers have observed nearly every variety of surface, but each variety very remarkably disposed in large, broad masses. At first they have passed over a great, continuous plain; then for days over precipitous mountains, naked and unvaried, and for the remainder of their journey through lakes, swamps and morasses, or across-extended sandy plains. There is a constant succession of large villages, towns and cities, with considerable navigable rivers, communicating with each other by means of artificial canals. Both canals and rivers are crowded with boats and barges. Hedge-rows and trees are scarce. Generally the surface of the country rises in terraces from the sea. As yet, its geology is very imperfectly known. China, however, has been well mapped. "The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China."¹

Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country;

¹ Sir JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, *The Chinese; A General Description of China and its Inhabitants.*

the provinces, which then consisted of fifteen in all, were increased, by the sub-division of three of the largest, to eighteen; and another has been added of late years, carved out of the hereditary possessions of the reigning dynasty in Manchuria. The name *Shih-pih Sang*, or the Eighteen Provinces, is the popular name of the empire.

The two principal rivers of China occupy a very high rank. The Yang-tsz-kiang and the great Hwang-ho, or Yellow river, surpass all the rivers of Europe and Asia, and are second only to the Amazon and the Mississippi in America. The Yang-tsz-kiang, or the "Son of the Ocean," rises in Kokonor, not far from the sources of the Yellow river. Making a circuitous course, and receiving the tribute of innumerable streams and the superfluous waters of two immense lakes (the Tungting-hu and the Po-yang-hu), it flows with a strong current past Nanking into the ocean, which it reaches under the thirty-second parallel of latitude.

The Yellow river also rises in the country of Kokonor; but while the Yang-tsz-kiang turns to the south, the Yellow river strikes off abruptly to the north, passes across the Great Wall, making an elbow around the territory of the Ortous, then strikes back and again crosses the Great Wall, whence it flows due south and forms the boundary of Shan-si and Shen-si, from which boundary it turns sharply to the east, and, until recently, reached the ocean in latitude 34°. The Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, an American missionary, who has been appointed a professor in the University at Peking, reports that it has of late cut a new channel for itself, probably during some great inundation; starting north-east below

the city of Kai-fung, it has pushed its way to the Gulf of Pe-che-lee, at a point four degrees farther north. The stream of the Yellow river is so excessively rapid as to be hardly navigable throughout the greater part of its course. It carries along with it a prodigious quantity of yellow mud in a state of solution, and its frequent floods occasion great damage to the country, and expense to the government in maintaining artificial embankments. But its waters fill numerous canals, which are furnished with locks, and carry fertility to many districts which would otherwise be dry and sterile. As for the internal commerce of the empire, the Chinese are rendered almost entirely independent of the rivers and of coast navigation by their Imperial Canal, which, in point of extent and magnitude of undertaking, is, like the Great Wall, unrivaled by any other work of the kind in the known world.

The flat, sandy and unproductive province in which Peking is situated offers, according to universal report, little that is worthy of notice. The vast plateau, or elevated plain, which surrounds that capital, is entirely devoid of trees, but wood is procured from the nearest hills and mountains of Tartary. The provinces at the mouth of the Yang-tsz-kiang are described as the richest provinces in all China. They are famous for their silks and japanned goods, made principally at Su-chau, a very ancient city. Nanking, the capital of Kiang-su, and at one time of the whole empire, measures seventeen miles in circumference; but only a corner of this vast area is now occupied by the habitations of men, the city having suffered greatly in the wars with the Tartars, and from its occupation by the Tai-ping rebels, who slaughtered a vast

multitude, and also in consequence of the removal of the court and capital to Peking. In the district of Hwui-chau-fu, the most southern part of the province, is grown the best green tea; the soil in which the tea-plants are reared is a decomposition of granite, abounding in felspar, as is proved by the soil being extensively used in the manufacture of fine porcelain. Thus, as Davis observes, the same soil produces the tea and the cups from which it is drunk.

The adjoining province of Kiang-si is described as being, in natural scenery and climate, the most delightful part of the empire. Here the Po-yang lake, in size approaching the character of an inland sea, spreads its broad waters, and exhibits on its west side a long framework of strikingly beautiful mountain scenery.

The maritime province of Chi-kiang competes with the great provinces north and west of it in the production of silk and the extent of its plantations of young mulberry-trees, which are constantly lopped and renewed as the most certain way of improving the silk spun by the worms which feed on the leaves. The younger the tree, the more tender the leaves; and the more tender the leaves, the finer the silk. It is by want of attention to this rule that silk, in several parts of the continent of Europe and in various Asiatic countries, has deteriorated in quality. The principal city of this province is the celebrated Hang-chau, close to the famous lake Si-hu. This beautiful lake is about six miles in circumference; its water is quite limpid and almost overspread with the beautiful water-lily. It figures continually in Chinese tales, poems, apothegms, similes and songs, and is held as a place sacred to pleasure and enjoyment. Its exten-

sive sheet of water is described as being covered with barges, which are splendidly fitted up, and appear to be the perpetual abodes of gayety and dissipation. The province of Fukien, which is contiguous to Chi-kiang, and like it maritime, is very far from being so fertile. But the inhabitants are the best sailors and the boldest and most adventurous part of the Chinese population; they chiefly supply the emperor's war-junks with sailors and commanders; they build an immense number of the trading-junks that are found in the seas of China and Malacca; and they furnish the greater part of the Chinese emigrants to the Indian archipelago and the neighboring countries, and of the coolies who have gone to the West Indies and South America in Spanish vessels. Other coolies have been taken from Canton province, sailing from Macao. Fukien, moreover, is the great country of the black teas; and our word *Bohea* is merely a corruption of *Bu-i*, the name which the natives give to the hills on which these black teas are principally grown. The name *tea* was first derived from the people of this province. In the dialect of Canton, whence it was exported afterward by the East India Company, and in those of the court and of most of the provinces with which we are acquainted, it is called *Cha*.

Yun-nan, the most western province of China Proper, borders on the Burmese territory, and extends nearly to Amarapura, the old capital of that kingdom. It is extremely mountainous, and abounds in metals and other valuable minerals, among which is good coal. The copper is said to be very fine, and nearly equal in quality to the copper worked in the islands of Japan. Gold is found in the sands of the rivers, and the Yang-tsz-kiang,

in this part of its course, is called the "golden-sanded river." Toward the north-west of this province, and the borders of the Tibet country, is found the *yak*, or cow of Tibet, the tail of which is famous on account of the people of the province using the hairs of it in various manufactures, particularly carpets. Though presenting a more alpine character than any other part of China Proper, Yun-nan yet contains some extensive, broad and finely-watered plains.

The extensive province on the north-east of Yun-nan is traversed by very lofty mountains, called the "Mountains of Snow." These peaks, which are probably from ten to twelve thousand feet high, look over the mysterious, closed country of the Delai Lama. The province of Shen-si, which also borders on Tibet, is said to abound in mineral wealth—in mines which have been neither worked nor visited by any people of the West for very many ages. Both this country and the adjoining province of Shan-si, toward Peking, abound in craters and other symptoms of extensive and tremendous volcanic action. Sulphur, tufa, salt-water lakes, hot wells, springs with jets of inflammable gas, pools of *petroleum* (which the Chinese burn in lamps), are found all through these regions.

The provinces of the interior and West do not seem to require special description in this volume. The general character of their productions resembles that of those in corresponding latitudes upon the coast, except that upon the western confines of the empire the land becomes more mountainous, forests are more numerous, the population becomes more sparse, and wild tribes are found occupying the more rugged and inaccessible regions.

In those of the south-west, contiguous to Canton province, the cassia, a species of *laurus*, is found, whose tender bark, carefully separated from the smaller branches, supplies that spice which is an inferior kind of cinnamon. In the same regions the camphor tree flourishes. The gum is obtained by macerating the leaves and wood in water, from which it is evaporated over a slow fire. The larger wood is made into a great variety of articles of furniture and use. Few foreigners visit China without securing at least a bureau or a chest made of it, for the sake of its bright yellow color, and because the odor which long remains in the wood is a preservative of its contents from insects.

The province best known in past ages to the people of the West is Canton. It is the most southern in its situation. It is well watered, and all parts of it are reached by the Pearl river and its spreading branches and other streams. Its extent is about eighty thousand square miles, or nearly that of the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia together. Its irregular and bold shores afford numerous harbors and are often the haunts of pirates. The northern and western parts are mountainous. The city of Canton has been the great outlet of the commerce with Europe for many centuries. The Arabian fleets from the Red sea and the Persian gulf traded there, and probably the Romans before them. Its importance has diminished since the opening of the northern sea-ports and the new channels of trade created by the rapid growth of the Pacific States of this continent. The climate of the coast is tropical, and tropical fruits and other products abound there. Of this province and its people we shall have much to say hereafter, since

nearly the entire body of immigrants to California and our Pacific coast have been inhabitants of it.

The countries contiguous to, and dependent on, China may be briefly dismissed. Manchuria consists of three provinces. Moukden or Shing-king commences at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, and is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Pe-che-lee. Here, in the country from which they originally came, the emperors are buried. Kirin is to the eastward of Moukden and borders on Corea. Here the famous wild plant, *ginseng*, a mild aromatic to which the Chinese attribute, however, for superstitious reasons, miraculous properties, is gathered as an exclusive monopoly of the emperor. Till about a century ago they would never believe that this plant could grow in any other part of the world. But it then was discovered in New England also. In 1752 the celebrated Rev. Jonathan Edwards complains in a letter to his friend, the Rev. Mr. McCulloch in Scotland, that since it had been found the previous summer in the woods about Stockbridge and elsewhere in New England, and in the country of the Six Nations, "the traders in Albany have been eager to purchase all they could of the root to send to England, where they make great profit by it. This has occasioned our Indians of all sorts, young and old, to spend abundance of time in the woods, and sometimes to a great distance, in the neglect of public worship and their husbandry, and also in going much to Albany to sell their roots (which proves worse to them than going into the woods), where they are always much in the way of temptation and drunkenness." This was probably the first of the troubles arising out of commercial intercourse between China

and America. The East India Company sold the ginseng in China at a profit of five or six hundred per cent. The trade in it yet continues. Large quantities are annually sent to China from the newer parts of the West, especially from Minnesota and Wisconsin, which correspond somewhat in climate with the districts where it is found in Manchuria and Corea.

The other province, called by the Chinese Hih-lung-kiang, or "the river of the Black Dragon," borders on the Russian territory. The river which gives its name to the province is, in fact, the Amoor. A district of three hundred thousand square miles in extent north of this river was gradually taken possession of by the Russians, who, in the year 1860, by a masterly diplomacy, while the Chinese government was struggling against England and France, backed, we may add, by at least the moral influence of that nation and the United States, succeeded in obtaining a formal cession of it. This was, however, under Providence, a means for bringing it more within the range of the influences of civilization and Christianity, as well as of giving to Russia a territory much needed for the development of her vast Asiatic possessions.

All these regions are excessively cold in winter, and sterile and thinly peopled. The people seem to be chiefly employed in tending sheep or rearing horses and other cattle. As they approach the frontiers of the dominions of the czar of Russia they become very independent of Chinese rule, yet they acknowledge the laws and follow most of the customs of the "Central Kingdom." They will be described more at length in a future chapter.

The western and Mongol Tartars, commencing from

the western line of the Great Wall, extend as a distinct race to the very borders of the Caspian sea, where they, too, give the hand to the subjects of Russia. They are thoroughly a nomadic people, wandering with their flocks from one region to another, dwelling in tents and still making use of the bow and arrow in warfare as in hunting. They appear to be all Buddhists; the bonzes or priests, who accompany them in their wanderings, are called "shamans." They are governed through the medium of their own princes and khans, but a vast portion of them acknowledge a dependence on China.

On the western side of China, bordering principally on the province of Sz-chuen, are other Tartar tribes, called the Si-fan and Tur-fan, who occupy inaccessible mountains, and are quite independent of the Chinese, who, however, count them among their subjects: they are all Buddhists, and said to be completely under the control of their Lama priests and excessively superstitious.

On the southern side of China, bordering on Yunnan, is an exceedingly mountainous and wild territory, occupied by several Tibetan tribes, whose chief wealth consists in their flocks and herds. The imperial authority over them is but doubtful, although their chiefs receive titles of honor from Peking. On the utmost outskirts of the empire, toward the west, are found a number of small settlements or stations, called "native jurisdictions," where the people are ruled to some extent by their own khans in the name of the emperor. Others, however, have during the last few years taken advantage of the national troubles with foreigners to proclaim their independence. Whether they will be able to maintain it is doubtful.

The principal islands of China are Formosa and Hai-nan. Formosa owes the name by which it is known in the West to the Portuguese, who called it *Ilha Formosa* (the beautiful island), and it is by far the more desirable region of the two. It lies just opposite the coast of Fuh-kien, from which it is distant about twenty leagues. It is nearly two hundred miles long, with an average breadth of about fifty miles; the climate is delightful. The island is divided longitudinally by a chain of high mountains; westward of this chain it is occupied by the Chinese, but the country eastward of the mountains is still inhabited by the aborigines, who are described as a primitive and savage race, bearing some common resemblance to the Malays and to the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific. Hai-nan, the second island, is rather smaller than Formosa, being about a hundred and fifty miles in length by sixty in breadth. It is separated from the continental province of Kwang-tung by a very narrow and shallow strait. The climate is excessively hot, and the island is much exposed to those terrible tempests—the typhoons—which annually strew the Chinese seas with wrecks. The mountains in the interior of Hai-nan are occupied by another wild race, who not unfrequently beat up the quarters of the Chinese on the coast.

The Chinese, previous to the treaties of the past few years with the nations of the West, affected to treat all foreign nations as tributary that have once sent an ambassador to their court. In their court calendar, Portugal, Spain, Holland, England are all tributaries. Their list must be greatly shortened, but still there would remain some really tributary states. The principal of these are Corea, Cochin-china, Loo-choo and Siam.



Custom-Chinese Signatures.



All these annually send their tribute to Peking, and, with very little interruption, they appear to have done so for many ages.

If we limit our observations to China Proper (which, it must be remembered, is about twelve hundred English miles long, and nearly as broad as it is long), and make every deduction for the less-favored parts of the land, we must still admit, with our best informed travelers, that it deserves the name of a vast, a fertile, a wealthy and a beautiful country.

The zoology of China is very rich and varied, for although there are scarcely any animals which are not to be found in some other countries, she has within her wide limits and diversified surface nearly all those which are found collectively in all the other countries of the globe. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the dromedary abound in various parts. Bears are very common in the hilly country west of Peking, and the paws of these animals, which abound in fat, are eaten by the Chinese as a delicacy. Deer of various kinds, from the majestic elk to the diminutive tippity, wild boars, foxes and other wild animals, swarm in some of the provinces. The lion, the royal tiger, the leopard, the ounce, the lynx, the hyena, the jackal and other savage creatures, are found. It is declared by the Chinese that the tiger abounds to a fearful extent in some parts of the empire, but we are inclined to believe that a good many of the animals they speak of are not tigers, but leopards. The lion has become degenerate and scarce. The woods of the south swarm with a breed of wild-cat, which, though rather small, is fierce and altogether untamable.

This noxious creature is considered by Chinese epicures as an exquisite kind of *game*, and it is served up in ragouts and stews at table, after being fed for some time in a cage.

They have domesticated the horse, the ox, the buffalo, the dog, the cat, the pig and all the other animals which have been domesticated in Europe, together with some creatures with which we have failed.

Some of the native birds are very splendid. The gold and silver pheasants of China are now quite familiar to the eye in America. The still more splendid bird, called the *Reeves' pheasant*, is yet a rarity, even in China. Its tail feathers are of the extraordinary length of six feet and surpassingly beautiful. Another description is called by the eminent naturalist, Mr. Bennett, the *medallion pheasant*, from a beautiful membrane of resplendent colors, which is displayed or contracted according as the bird is more or less roused. The brilliant hues are chiefly purple, with bright red and green spots, which vary in intensity according to the degree of excitement. It should appear that this rare pheasant might be acclimated in most parts of Europe and in America. The country abounds in wild fowls of all kinds. The immense flocks of geese and wild-ducks during the winter months quite cover the rivers of the south, and excite the notice of all strangers. In the summer season they migrate to the north. A handsome species of teal, usually called "the mandarin duck," is very common. Unlike its fellows, it generally roosts in high situations upon trees or rocks. The fishing cormorant, which the Chinese have perfectly tamed and trained to their will, is well known by

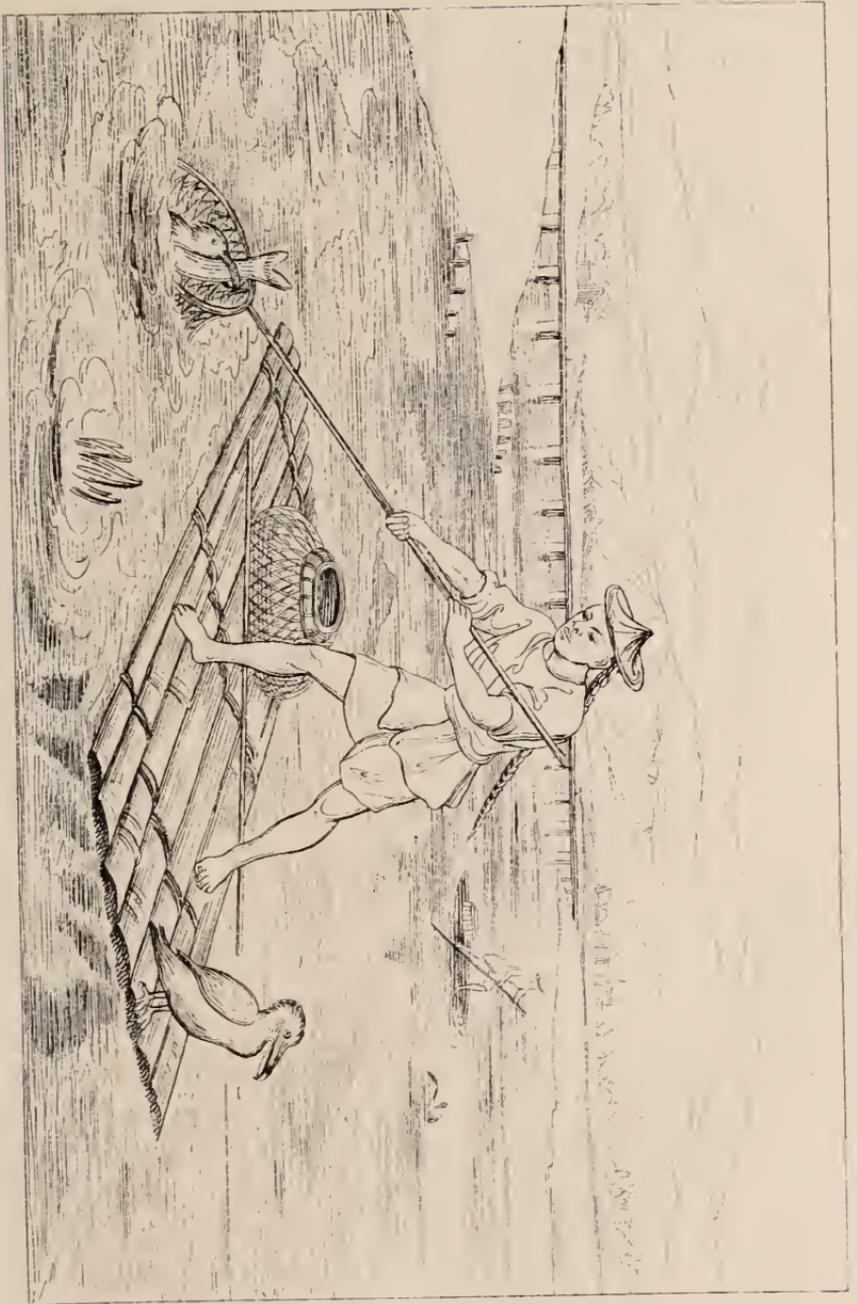
drawings, engravings and descriptions. It is a brown bird of the pelican family, with yellow bill, white throat and whitish breast spotted with brown, having a compact, rounded tail. While employed in diving and fishing for their masters these birds are prevented from swallowing what they catch by means of a ring or tight collar passed over the lower part of the neck; but when their work is over, this ring is removed and they are allowed to fish for themselves or to feed upon the refuse. It is said, however, that they are sometimes so perfectly trained and disciplined as to need no restraint whatever—that they will finish the work for their masters before they think of themselves. On many of the more considerable rivers there exists a large aquatic population, dwelling in boats and barges and seldom setting foot on shore. With two or three good fishing cormorants, a family of this sort can nearly support itself. Quails are very abundant, and the Chinese have trained them to fight like our game-cocks. The sport is much cherished by the common people, who will frequently stake all they possess on the result of a quail-fight. A delicate species of ortolan makes its appearance in the neighborhood of Canton during the rice harvest. The Chinese call it the “rice bird.”

In other parts of the empire, crocodiles, alligators and monstrous serpents exist; but the neighborhood of Canton, though under the tropic, is little infested by these reptiles or by any venomous creatures. There is, however, a slender snake, between two and three feet long, which is very much dreaded by the natives, and the bite of which is said to cause inevitable death in a few hours. It is covered from head to tail with alternate bands of

black and white, and is called by the Chinese the black-and-white snake.

Fish are in great and almost endless variety. An immense number of people on the coast are maintained in various ways by the fisheries; a portion of them spend their whole lives on their boats or vessels, except when they come ashore to purchase clothing, food and other necessaries, or to worship at the shrine of some favorite deity. Besides those produced in the seas, gulfs, bays and estuaries, fresh-water fish (of which great care is taken) swarm in most of the rivers, lakes, canals and brooks. On the sea-coast and at Canton, sturgeon, soles, carp, shrimps and other species are held by foreigners in high estimation. The Chinese stew made from sturgeon is so palatable as to have been introduced at their tables. The beautiful gold and silver fishes which ornament our vases and garden ponds came originally from China, where they are very numerous. They are a species of carp, and were perhaps carried by the Dutch first to Java, and thence to Holland, whence they have been brought to England and to America. Some of them have escaped into the rivers in congenial climates in America. We have seen some in Philadelphia which were caught in the Schuylkill river.

Among the curious insects of China there are some which call for notice, even in a brief and general sketch like the present. A monstrous spider is found inhabiting trees, and attaining to such size and strength as to be able to catch and devour small birds, as our spiders do flies. Locusts sometimes commit extensive ravages, but their depredations do not usually extend over any great tract of country at once, and they seldom appear



Fishing with Comacina

two years successively. Eastward of the city of Canton, on a range of hills called Lo-fau-shan, there are butterflies of large size and night-moths of remarkable dimensions and most brilliant coloring, which are captured for transmission to the court at Peking and for sale to foreigners and others. Some of these insects measure nine inches across; their ground color is a rich and varied orange-brown; in the centre of each wing there is a triangular transparent spot, resembling a piece of mica.

Sphinx-moths, also of great beauty and size, are common in the south, and in their splendid coloring and rapid, noiseless flight from flower to flower at the close of day, remind one of the humming-bird. The common cricket is caught and sold in the markets for gambling, and persons of rank, as well as the coolies and lower classes, irritate two of these insects in a bowl, betting upon which shall prove the conqueror—an amusement which may seem trivial to some, but which is surely far less objectionable in every way than the brutal exhibitions in which men beat and bruise each other or torture bulls, dogs and other powerful animals worthy of better treatment. A gigantic species of the *cicada*—described as being more than four times the size of the cicada of the south of Italy and Greece—is very common among the trees in the neighborhood of Canton, and in every other part of the country where the climate is warm and the pine tree abundant. All through the summer its stridulous sound is heard from the trees and woods with deafening loudness. Even those who have been accustomed to the noise of the cicada in the American forests have been astonished and almost stunned by the Chinese insect. These loud sounds proceed solely from the males,

the females being perfectly silent. This difference was known to the old Greek epigrammatist, who said, "The male cicada leads a happy life, for he makes all the noise himself, and his wife makes none." Chinese boys often capture the males, tie a straw round the abdomen, so as to irritate the sounding apparatus, and carry them through the streets in this predicament, to the great annoyance of strangers. The fire-fly, or, as it is called here, the "lantern-fly," is very abundant in many parts of the empire. It is far larger than the fire-fly of Southern Europe, and said to be as much more luminous. It has orange-yellow wings with black extremities. Its appearance, when seen flitting through the skirts of a thicket or grove in the summer evenings, is striking and poetical, and imparts a brilliant aspect to the shades of night. The *pih-lah-shu*, or wax-tree, affords nourishment to an insect which is supposed to belong to the coccus tribe. It is covered with a white powder, which it imparts to the stem of the particular plant it inhabits, from the bark of which it is collected by the natives. This substance resembles beeswax, and is used as such. A casing of it, colored with vermilion, is often used to enclose the tallow candle. Small as are these insects, the quantity of wax is said to be very considerable. This wax is used as a medicine, as well as made into candles and tapers. The tree or shrub it inhabits resembles our privet. Wax is also made from wild and domestic bees, but honey is said not to be much in demand. The *mantis*, or soothsayer—so called by us from the superstitious respect paid to it in idolatrous countries on account of the priest-like posture in which it raises up its anterior legs—is common in Southern China. The Chinese are fond

of making collections of curious insects, some of which find their way to our museums. The most valuable insect of China—that from which the name of the empire is probably derived, the silkworm—we will briefly notice in a future paragraph.

China is uncommonly rich in vegetable productions. The southern provinces possess all that are found growing in the tropical regions. In other parts, oranges, lemons, tea, sugar-canes, rice, pomegranates, black and white mulberries, the vine, walnut, chestnut, peach, apricot and fig are seen growing on the same spot of ground. There are several pleasant native fruits, such as the lai-chi, lung-yen or “dragon’s eye,” and others, for which foreigners have not yet found names. Camellias, cypresses and bamboos, of all sorts and sizes and in immense quantities, are also found. The mountains, for the most part, are covered with pines and other forest trees. The list we already possess of Chinese plants is a very copious one, but many new discoveries remain to gratify and reward botanical research: The principal object of cultivation is rice, but in the north-western provinces, where there are many districts too cold and dry for this grain, rice is replaced by wheat, millet and other grains. Yams, potatoes, turnips, onions, beans, and a white kind of cabbage, called *pih-tsai*, are extensively and very carefully cultivated. The Chinese pay more attention to the manuring of the soil of their gardens and orchards than any other people, whether in the East or in the West.

Of all the natural productions of China, the tea-plant is the most interesting to us, and is one of the most important as an article of home consumption.

Tea is grown, more or less, in many parts of the country, but principally in the province of Fukien and about the Yang-tsz-kiang. It is cultivated on the hills, these being sometimes clothed to the very summit with the fragrant shrub, a species of camellia, which bears a white flower. The difference in the quality of the teas depends partly on the district in which they are grown, and partly on the season when they are gathered, as the young leaves of the spring are of much finer flavor than the full-grown leaves of the summer or the still coarser ones of the autumn. The plants produce each, on an average, about half a pound of the dried leaves in the course of the year.

The tea-growers are generally small proprietors, who, with the help of their families, cultivate their own pieces of land, which are divided from those of their neighbors by a narrow path or ditch. The farmers, after having gathered their crops, partially dry them in the sun, just sufficiently to prevent their being spoiled, and in that state they are sold to the agents of the merchants, who usually contract with the farmer to take his whole crop at a certain price.

The best account of tea-gathering, and of the districts which produce the greatest quantities of tea, has been given very recently by Mr. Robert Fortune, an intelligent English botanist and traveler.¹ In the year 1848 the court of directors of the East India Company were anxious to improve the cultivation of tea in their own dominions on the lower slopes of the Himmaleh mountains. Government plantations existed in those parts,

¹ His work on this subject is entitled, *A Journey to the Tea Countries of China, including Sung-lo and the Bohea Hills*. London: Murray, 1852.

and in one or two districts in the Tenasserim provinces, which had been ceded in 1826, after the war with the Burmese. But the tea-plants were not of the best qualities. They had been originally imported from the southern provinces of China, where inferior teas are grown; and in order to get at the finer varieties it was essential to explore the northern provinces. It was thought, moreover, that the cultivation of tea did not prosper in India, for want of good manufacturers and proper implements. Although the treaty of peace which closed the war with the Chinese in 1842 opened several new ports, it by no means gave free access to the north of China or to any part of the interior, and it was believed that no foreigner could safely penetrate into the best tea districts. Mr. Fortune, however, undertook the feat. This gentleman had previously spent three years in the Middle Kingdom, absorbed in botanical pursuits; he could speak the Chinese language, and his previous experience had induced the belief that the Chinese inhabitants of the north, and especially of the interior, were a civil, harmless, obliging people. In 1848, Mr. Fortune, unaccompanied by any European, and himself disguised as a native Chinaman, started on his journey. He returned safely to England in September, 1851, having forwarded to the Himmaleh mountains twenty thousand plants from the best black and green tea countries of Central China, together with six first-rate native manufacturers, two headmen and a good supply of Chinese implements from the celebrated "Hwui-chau districts."

The soil in which Mr. Fortune found some of the finest of his black-tea plants was in the Bohea district, called by the Chinese Wu-i Shan, or the Wu-i moun-

tains. This soil he describes as being moderately rich, of a reddish color, and well mixed with *débris* of rocks. It was kept moist by the water constantly oozing from the sides of the rocks, and was well drained—on the mountains in consequence of its height, and on the plains by reason of its slight elevation above the water-courses. In the month of June the temperature at Wu-i Shan ranged from 85° to 95° Fahr., and in July it rose to 100°, beyond which it rarely rises. In winter the maximum shown by the thermometer was 78°, and the minimum 44°.

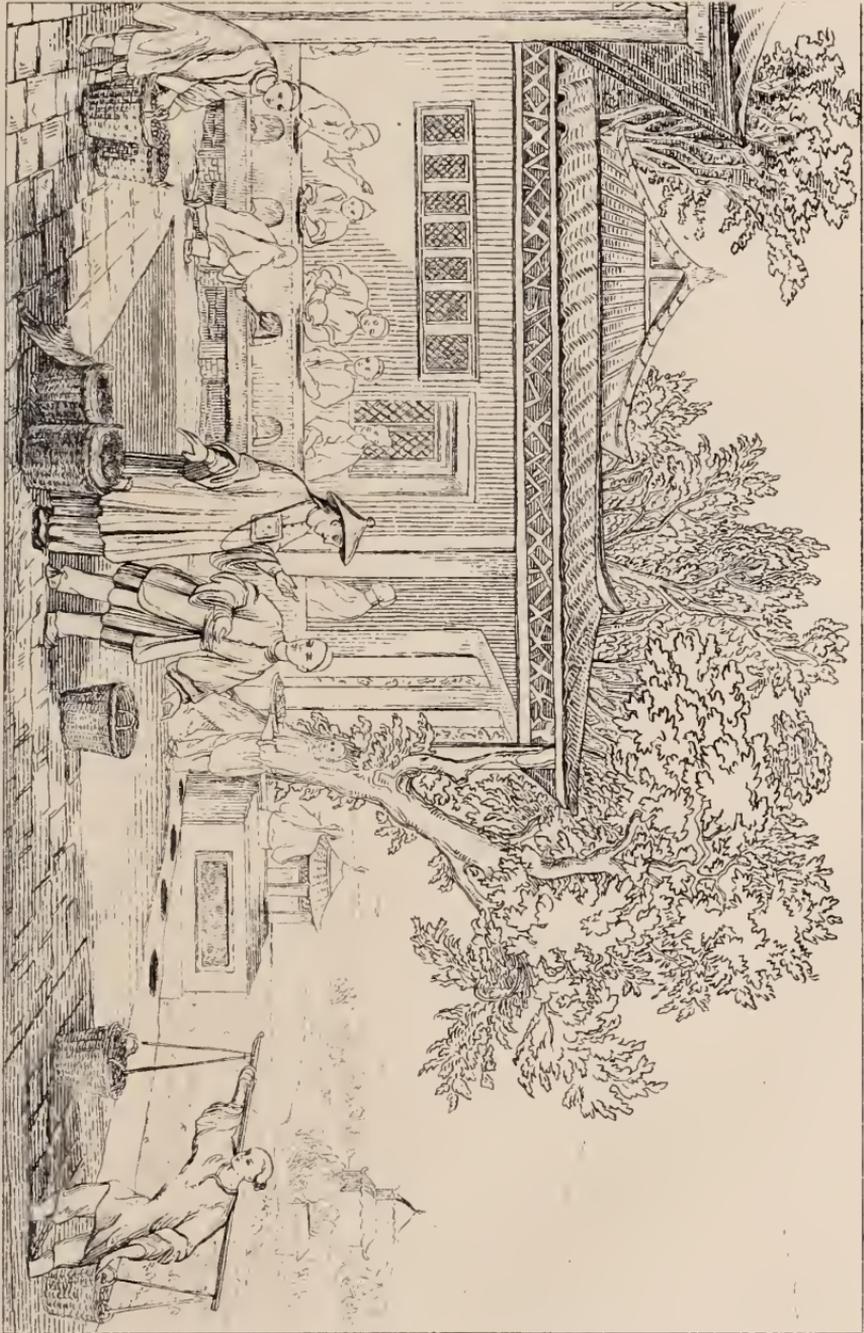
Mr. Fortune informs us that black and green tea are both really made from the same variety of plants, the difference in the appearance of these teas (when the *green* teas are not artificially colored) depending entirely upon manipulation. It would appear that age, as in the mulberry plant, injures the quality of the produce. In the black-tea districts, as well as in the green, great quantities of young plants are annually raised from seeds. These seeds are gathered in October, and kept mixed up with sand and earth during the winter months. In spring they are sown thickly in a corner of the farm, from which they are afterward transplanted. When a year old they are about ten inches high, and are ready for transplanting. They are then planted in rows about four feet apart; five or six plants are placed in each hole, and the holes are about four feet from each other in the rows. A plantation of tea at a distance looks like a shrubbery of evergreens. The plantations are suffered to grow unmolested for three years, when they are well established and produce strong and vigorous shoots.

The tea farms at Wu-i Shan were small in extent, no single farm producing more than a chop of six hundred chests. A chop, or lot, is made up as follows: A tea merchant from one of the larger towns in the interior sends his agents to all the small towns, villages and temples in the district to purchase teas from the Buddhist priests, who are large growers, and from small farmers. All the teas so purchased are taken to the merchant's house, where they are mixed together, care being taken to keep the different grades apart as much as possible. By such a method a chop of six hundred and twenty or six hundred and thirty chests is made, and all the tea of this chop is of the same general description.

The process of manufacture is briefly this: In the northern provinces the leaves from which green tea is to be made being gathered are brought from the plantations and spread thinly out on small bamboo trays, in order to get rid of their moisture. In two hours the leaves are dry; they are then thrown into roasting-pans and rapidly moved about and shaken up. Affected by the heat, they make a crackling noise, become moist and flaccid, and yield a considerable portion of vapor. In this state they remain five minutes, when they are drawn quickly out and placed upon the rolling-table. Men take their stations at the rolling-table and divide the leaves among them. Each takes as many as he can press with his hands and makes them up in the form of a ball. The ball is rolled upon the table and greatly compressed to force out the last remaining moisture and to give the leaves the necessary twist. The leaves are then shaken out upon flat trays, and are carried once more to the roasting-pan, where they are kept in rapid motion by

the hands of the workmen. In an hour and a half the leaves are well dried and their color is fixed. So ends the first process. The next one consists in winnowing and passing the tea through sieves of various sizes, in order to get rid of impurities and to divide the tea into the kinds designated by the names which we commonly apply to them. During this process the tea is refined—the coarse kinds once, and the finer sorts twice or thrice. Such is the manufacture of the most grateful of our beverages. Black tea, in the Wu-i mountains and elsewhere in the southern provinces, undergoes similar treatment, but the method of manipulation, as before indicated, is not the same; the difference, according to Mr. Fortune, being sufficient to account for some of the effects experienced by the foreign drinker who swallows green tea only.

The tea, being manufactured, is secured in the house of the merchant, resident in one of the larger towns, whence it is conveyed to the sea-coast, there to be delivered to foreign purchasers. The merchant who intends his tea for the Canton market engages a number of coolies to carry the chests northward across the Bohea mountains to Ho-kau. If the teas are of the common kind, each coolie carries two chests slung over his shoulder on a bamboo pole, one being suspended at each end. These chests are often much knocked about during the journey over the steep and rugged mountains, and the carrier is allowed to rest them on the ground, which is often wet and dirty. The finest teas must, however, never touch the soil during the whole journey, and they are accordingly carried in single chests across the coolie's shoulder. In six days the



Preparation of Tea.

coolie reaches Ho-kau, where the teas are placed in flat-bottomed boats to proceed by water to Canton, the time occupied in the transport from the Bohea country to Canton averaging from six weeks to two months. The tea intended for Shanghai and the eastern ports is sent in the opposite direction.

The green tea obtains its complexion, in most of what is exported, from the presence of foreign coloring matter. By one of those perverse tastes which obtain among us, our early tea-purchasers betrayed a strong predilection for a certain color. "Foreigners," said the Chinese, "like to have their tea uniform and pretty;" so they poison the herb to gratify the ridiculous tastes of England and America for *bright green*, just as many of our pickle-makers poison their pickles. They throw in a blue substance, commonly known as "Prussian blue" or prussiate of iron (cyanide of potassium and iron), and they mix it with a quantity of gypsum. They never think of drinking this tea themselves, but the more gypsum and blue they can communicate to the plant, the higher becomes its value in the eyes of their best customers; and the dyeing process accordingly goes on in China to an alarming extent. It is calculated that in every hundred pounds of some of the cheaper colored green tea consumed by our people, more than half a pound of coloring blue and gypsum is contained!

The consumption of tea among Chinese themselves is truly immense. They make it best by putting a few leaves in the cup and pouring hot water over it when wanted, but in shops and families it is kept in pots ready made. A true Chinese is never seen to drink cold water, for he thinks it destructive to health, and hates it. Tea

is his beverage from morning till night. He uses it without milk or sugar. He takes it, in short, as the Persians, Arabs and Turks take their coffee, without the admixture of any other ingredient. If a Chinaman is traveling, he stops at an inn to take his cup; if he pays a visit, he is offered tea as soon as he arrives; and if he receives a visitor, he immediately plies him with a cup of tea and a pipe, just as the Turk produces his tiny cup of coffee and long chibouque. Before dinner he takes a cup of tea to stimulate appetite, and after dinner he invariably takes another cup to promote digestion. With such incessant potations there can be little doubt that he would be a dead man in three months if he betook himself to the use of the colored green tea which we so rashly consume.

Tea-drinking prevails to an almost equal extent in regions far beyond the Great Wall. John Bell of Antermony found it universal throughout the wilds and steppes of Tartary. Wherever the gentlemen of his Russian embassy stopped in those regions, scalding hot tea was served up to them. But the Tartars had the disagreeable custom of frequently mixing solvent mutton fat, and even salt, in their tea-cups. It has often been said that Asia may be divided into "Tea-drinking Asia" and "Coffee-drinking Asia." Where the use of tea ceases that of coffee begins, and is quite as frequently in requisition.

The following advice is from a native Chinese writer as to how best to make tea. "Whenever the tea is to be infused for use," says Tung-po, "take water from a running stream and boil it over a lively fire. It is an old custom to use running water, boiled over a lively fire;

that from springs in the hills is said to be the best, and river water the next, while well water is the worst.

“When making an infusion do not boil the water too hastily, as first it should begin to sparkle like crabs’ eyes, then somewhat like fishes’ eyes, and lastly to boil up like pearls innumerable, springing and waving about. This is the way to boil the water.”

The same Chinese author gives the names of six different kinds of tea, all of which are in high repute. As their names are rather flowery, Mr. Fortune quotes them for the reader’s amusement. They are these: the “first spring tea,” the “white dew,” the “coral dew,” the “dewy shoots,” the “money shoots,” and the “rivulet garden tea.”

“Tea,” says he, “is of a cooling nature, and, if drunk too freely, will produce exhaustion and lassitude; country people before drinking it add ginger and salt, to counteract this cooling property. It is an exceedingly useful plant; cultivate it, and the benefit will be widely spread; drink it, and the animal spirits will be lively and clear. The chief rulers, dukes and nobility esteem it; the lower people, the poor and beggarly, will not be destitute of it.” Another Chinese author says, regarding tea, that “drinking it tends to clear away all impurities, drives off drowsiness, removes or prevents headache, and it is universally in high esteem.”

The great object of agricultural interest to the population of China is rice, the staple food of all classes, from the prince to the peasant. The plains present an endless succession of rice or paddy fields, which, in the early stage of the crops, exhibit a vast surface of bright green, but turn yellow as the grain ripens. The seed is

first sown in small patches, enriched with a preparation of liquid manure, which promotes its immediate development, so that soon the shoots are five or six inches in height, when they are transplanted to the fields, the laborers dropping them into holes, about six together. This method of cultivation requires much additional labor, but it greatly economises the rich and valuable soil of the river shores, and gives the plants, when of a maturity to need it, the space and sun which make them vigorous and productive. These men stand up to the ankles in water, for it is requisite that rice should be kept constantly wet, or it would be spoiled; but when the rice is ripe the fields are drained, so that the reapers, whose labors commence about midsummer, work on dry ground.

The second harvest is ripe in November, after which the ground is usually planted with cabbages and other vegetables; but in some parts of the country a crop of cotton is obtained between the two rice crops.

The Chinese are deservedly celebrated for their industry and ingenuity; yet it is to be remarked that in their cultivation of the soil they employ very little machinery, and are strongly prejudiced against the introduction of any improvements which would tend to abridge manual labor. Even their agricultural implements are as few and simple as they were in the early days of the empire; yet, by dint of the excessive toil of the vast numbers of people employed, the lands are as well cultivated and as highly productive as they are elsewhere by any improved system. The plough, the harrow and the hoe, all of the rudest construction, are the chief implements used by a Chinese farmer, the spade being only seen occasionally. The plough is

usually drawn by buffaloes, but sometimes that labor is performed by men, and even by women, among the lowest class of farmers. Water-wheels and chain-pumps are used for irrigating the lands. The water-wheel is an immense yet very light machine, composed entirely of bamboo, its buckets for raising the water being made of the same material; it is fixed adjoining the banks of all such rivers as have the stream running one way, which keeps it going night and day, and supplies water to a large trough, which empties its contents into several channels which run through the fields in various directions, and thus keep them constantly watered. The chain-pump is used to raise water from the wells and ponds for the same purpose, and, being portable, is extremely useful to the Chinese laborer; consequently, the making of such machines is a branch of industry which affords employment to a great number of mechanics.

Another great edible product of the soil of China is sugar. It is not made, as many suppose in this country, from the sorghum, which was brought to us by the French. This plant is there comparatively little known, and is only used for fodder; and the Chinese are surprised at the ingenuity which has managed to extract so excellent an article of sugar as we do from its juice. The sugar-cane is sold on the fruit-stalls in pieces a few inches in length, to be eaten thus; its expressed juice is evaporated in the sun and made into coarse brown sugar, or crystallized into rock-candy, which is pulverized to make a finer article; and it is manufactured into a thousand forms of colored candies, syrups, artificial and ornamental work, saturated dried fruit, and others to please the eye and the palate.

The provinces adjoining the Yang-tsz-kiang are those where cotton is most extensively cultivated; and in the neighborhood of Nanking the cloth known by that name is made in large quantities. The weavers work at their own homes, for there are no large manufactories in China, either for silks or cottons; so that there is scarcely a cottage where there is not some manufacture carried on, either for sale or home consumption, and generally for both.

The introduction of cotton instead of silk for clothing must have proved a material benefit to the lower classes, being so much more durable and better suited to their occupations than silk; yet it was not till after the accession of the Ming dynasty that it was cultivated in sufficient quantities to allow of its coming into general use. The extended cultivation of cotton was one of the causes of the almost entire disappearance of sheep from the southern provinces, for it was found that it would take much more land to supply a certain number of persons with mutton and wool than with rice and cotton; there the pastures were gradually turned into rice and cotton plantations, while sheep were banished to the mountains and less fertile parts of the country. For the same reason, cattle, horses and other domestic animals are scarce; the few that are kept for the purposes of husbandry are poor and ill-fed. Dairy farms are unknown in China, where the people use neither milk nor butter, though they use curds in various forms.

A large portion of the peasantry in the silk districts are chiefly engaged in taking care of the mulberry plantations, which require constant attention that they may produce fine leaves. The worms are kept in



Cleaning Cotton.

houses in the centre of the grove, for it is an essential point in the management of them that they should be always surrounded by perfect stillness, as it is found that noise is extremely injurious, especially to the younger ones. The care of feeding and tending them belongs to the female part of the family, who also manage the silk after it is spun by the worms.

The provinces which produce the finest silk are those about the mouth of the Yang-tsz-kiang and the region adjoining; but there are species of worms in many other parts of China that feed on some of the common forest trees, and from which are obtained coarse silk, which is very durable, but which will not take any dye, and is less glossy and beautiful than the silk of the worm which feeds on the mulberry tree.

The Chinese do not sell their best silk fabrics to foreigners; consequently we rarely see in this country the rich silks which they wear themselves. Their velvets are not equal to those of Europe, but their damasks and crapes are superb. There are skillful workers among the women who can earn thirty dollars a month by embroidering the beautiful shawls of China crape which are so much admired in Western countries.

The bamboo is one of the Creator's best gifts to the people of China, and it is wonderful to what a variety of uses it is applied by them. There are many varieties of this valuable production of the East, some kinds being much larger and stronger than others, and differing also in color. In the construction of temporary buildings it is far more useful than timber, on account of its lightness; and from it are made excellent water-pipes, the cabins of the sampans, or family boats, ropes, etc., whilst

it enters largely into the manufacture of paper. It is shaped into a thousand articles of furniture, household use, rude machinery, and amusement or ornament. Its young shoots are a very delicate vegetable for the table, not unlike asparagus; and among the innumerable minor purposes to which it is applied, we may mention its employment at Canton in the manufacture of hats, which are made and sold to foreigners in that city. The making of these hats is a specimen of the ingenuity of the Chinese, who are very clever in imitating anything they see, and will produce the counterpart of articles of foreign dress with the most minute exactness. The body of the hat is made of a composition formed of the inner part of the bamboo, beaten into a pulp and mixed with glue. It is spread on a block of the proper shape, and when dried, is covered and lined in the same manner as gentlemen's silk hats in this country. There is another small species of bamboo which grows in the marshes, seldom measuring more than two inches in diameter, the pith of which is the material commonly called rice paper. The pith is used in its natural state, being only pared in thin slices and rolled out into flat sheets, as we receive it in this country. The Chinese, who make some use of everything that falls in their way, may really be said to make almost everything out of bamboo. We have mentioned but a few of the articles of furniture, shipping, etc., to which this gigantic cane is applied; to name them all would fill pages.

The most valuable of all the uses of bamboo is to make the paper of which their books are composed. Among a people so addicted to reading and writing, the manufacture of paper must necessarily be carried on to an im-

mense extent, and this is much increased by the annual consumption of it in their sacrifices. The paper used for printing books, being thin and transparent, is only impressed on one side, and folded, so that every leaf is double, with the edge uncut. Books are not bound, like ours; but every work is divided into a number of separate parts, with strong paper covers. The parts in this shape are placed all together, loosely, in a square case or envelope—a plan that seems to have been adopted for the purpose of avoiding the inconvenience of holding a thick volume in the hand.

Books are very cheap, for there is no duty on paper; and the wages of printers, as of all other workmen, are very small. There are a great many booksellers in all the principal towns. The books are almost wholly those of the native authors. The most ancient are those most valued. Then, say they, men were more pure, more honest and more wise. The most valuable are those of a historical character. But multitudes are seen in the shops on medicine, agriculture, the language, religion and poetical subjects; novels are very abundant, and theatrical plays, which are, some of them, well written and interesting.

Printing is executed very cheaply on wood, hardened wax or metal. The most common method is by means of wooden blocks, which are prepared thus: The copy is written on very thin paper, and pasted on plain blocks, from which all the blank parts are neatly cut away, and as the letters are left raised on the surface, they are, of course, an exact representation of the manuscript, which should, therefore, be very carefully written. Movable types have been used at Peking, but they are expensive.

In the process of printing the Chinese employ no press; nor would it facilitate their operations while they continue to print on paper of so delicate a texture that any hard pressure would be likely to break through it. The printer works with two brushes; having inked the characters with one brush, he lays on his paper, and runs the other over it, which makes the impression; and this is done so quickly that a good workman can take off two thousand copies in a day.

There are other members of the vegetable kingdom which deserve particular mention as affording materials for the industry of the people. One of the most remarkable is the tallow tree. This has some resemblance to the aspen and birch, the branches being long and flexible, with leaves of a very dark green, which, in autumn, turn red, with a purple tint. The fruit, or rather seed, is contained in brown pods, which grow in bunches at the extremity of each bough, and on opening disclose three small white berries, which hang very prettily by their slender strings when the husk has completely fallen off. These have each a small nut in the middle, but the white coating is the tallow, of which candles are made; and thus the Chinese, who from local circumstances kill but few animals as compared with the number killed in America, are furnished with a vegetable substance which supplies the deficiency of the material used here for the manufacture of candles. This, in fact, is a very important branch of Chinese industry, as it is not alone for domestic purposes that lights are required, but all the temples have to be supplied with those great candles that are set up at the festivals before the images.

The camphor tree grows to a great height, and is one of the most useful timber trees in the empire, as it does not split and is never destroyed by insects. It is chiefly used for chests and household furniture, and sometimes in boat-building. The luxuriant foliage of this fine tree is of the brightest green, and from the fresh-gathered branches is obtained the resinous gum which we call camphor, and with which the wood is highly scented.

Another branch of industry, which has never been imitated with success in this part of the world, is that of making the lacker, or japanned material that we often see in the shape of folding-screens, cabinets, tea-trays, boxes and ornamental tables, so brilliantly adorned with paintings and gildings in that peculiar style which is at once recognized as Chinese. In some branches of this art, however, the people of China yield the palm to those of Japan, from whom it derives its name; and costly screens and cabinets are seen in the houses of Chinese gentlemen, the work of the Japanese, who send them to China. The varnish used for japanning them is the gum which oozes from a small tree, a species of sumac which grows both in China and Japan. The excellence of the art consists in laying on the varnish perfectly smooth, which is a tedious and difficult process, as many coatings are required, and each must be spread with the same nicety. The varnish will take any color without losing its brilliancy, so that all the painting is executed upon the japanned surface; and although the Chinese have no high or pure art, we cannot refuse to give them credit for their skill in the execution of the ornamental designs.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE; AMUSEMENTS; POPULAR FESTIVALS; THE GOVERNMENT.

THE habits of social life in China are peculiar, although not destitute of refinement. It is not the difference between civilization and barbarism that distinguishes the Chinese of the present age from their contemporaries, but it is the more remarkable dissimilarity between ancient and modern and Eastern and Western civilization which marks them as a nation belonging to other times and other climes.

To speak of the Chinese as a rude or uninformed race would be quite as erroneous as to style them a highly-civilized people—a term that can only be applied with propriety to those who are enlightened by modern science, which in China has hitherto made no progress. The refinement of the Chinese consists in the elegance and luxury with which the higher and richer classes are surrounded in their own houses, and that strict attention to the forms of good-breeding which prevails generally through all the grades of private life. Politeness is an indispensable accomplishment, and the rules of etiquette are studied in all the schools of China as regularly as grammar in those of the West. A knowledge of the forms and ceremonies to be observed both at home and

abroad, in the drawing-room of a friend as well as at the court of the emperor, is essential to every one who studies with a view of taking degrees, as he knows not to what rank he may be called, and ought to be prepared to conduct himself with propriety in different grades of life, from the station of the petty officer of an obscure village to that of the chief ko-lau, or minister of state. It must be understood that to conduct himself with propriety does not altogether refer to his integrity in office or his moral character—to both of which, however, his most careful attention is requisite—but he must know how many bows to make to his visitors; what compliments to address to them according to their rank; whether, at their departure, he should attend them as far as the door or only so many paces toward it; and other minute observances, too numerous to mention, must be studied and practiced. These trivial ceremonies impart a dullness and formality to Chinese society which are found tedious by most Americans, whose easy, un-studied manners would be thought quite barbarous among the well-bred of the Celestial Empire.

Yet there is withal a great deal of genuine courtesy in the intercourse of the better classes, and a true refinement, which can only come from the cultivation of the purer and better sentiments of our nature. The degree of this existing in circles to which some of our officers, merchants and missionaries have been admitted has often surprised them. It is confessed that men like Keying and Howqua would be considered gentlemen in the best society of any country. The manners of the ladies are often polished and agreeable.

The houses of the wealthy are built, like those of most

other Oriental nations, within a court, surrounded by a wall, consequently they are not visible to the passers-by ; but those of government officers are always known by two red poles which are set up before the gate. The handsomest dwellings are those which consist of a number of separate buildings, or ranges of apartments, all on the ground floor. The principal entrance is three-fold—namely, by a large folding-door in the centre, and a smaller one on each side, at which hang two handsome lanterns, inscribed with the name and titles of the master of the house. This entrance leads to the saloon, where visitors are received, which is usually the first of a suite that may be called the state-apartments, since they are chiefly used for the reception and entertainment of distinguished guests. They are elegantly and commodiously furnished ; for the Chinese are not deficient in taste, nor do they spare expense in their interior decorations of their houses, which are often fitted up in a very costly style. The walls of the best rooms are generally adorned in different parts with scrolls of silk or paper-hangings from the ceiling to the floor, on which are written or painted, in large characters, maxims and moral sentences extracted from the works of the ancient sages, which are considered far more ornamental than the finest paintings. Many of these sentences bear some resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon. Their chairs—which, it may be remarked, are articles of furniture not used by the natives of other parts of Asia, and indicate the more dignified manners of the Chinese as compared with other Asiatics—are rather clumsy and heavy in appearance, but they are made of a beautiful dark brown wood which grows in

China, and is not unlike rosewood. They are all made with arms, and sometimes are furnished with silk or satin cushions and hangings for the back, embroidered by the ladies of the family, who devote a great portion of their time to needlework. Japanned cabinets and tables, with a profusion of porcelain jars and other ornaments, are always seen in a Chinese drawing-room; but none of these are so striking or so characteristic as the lanterns, suspended by silken cords from the ceiling and ornamented with a variety of elegant designs.

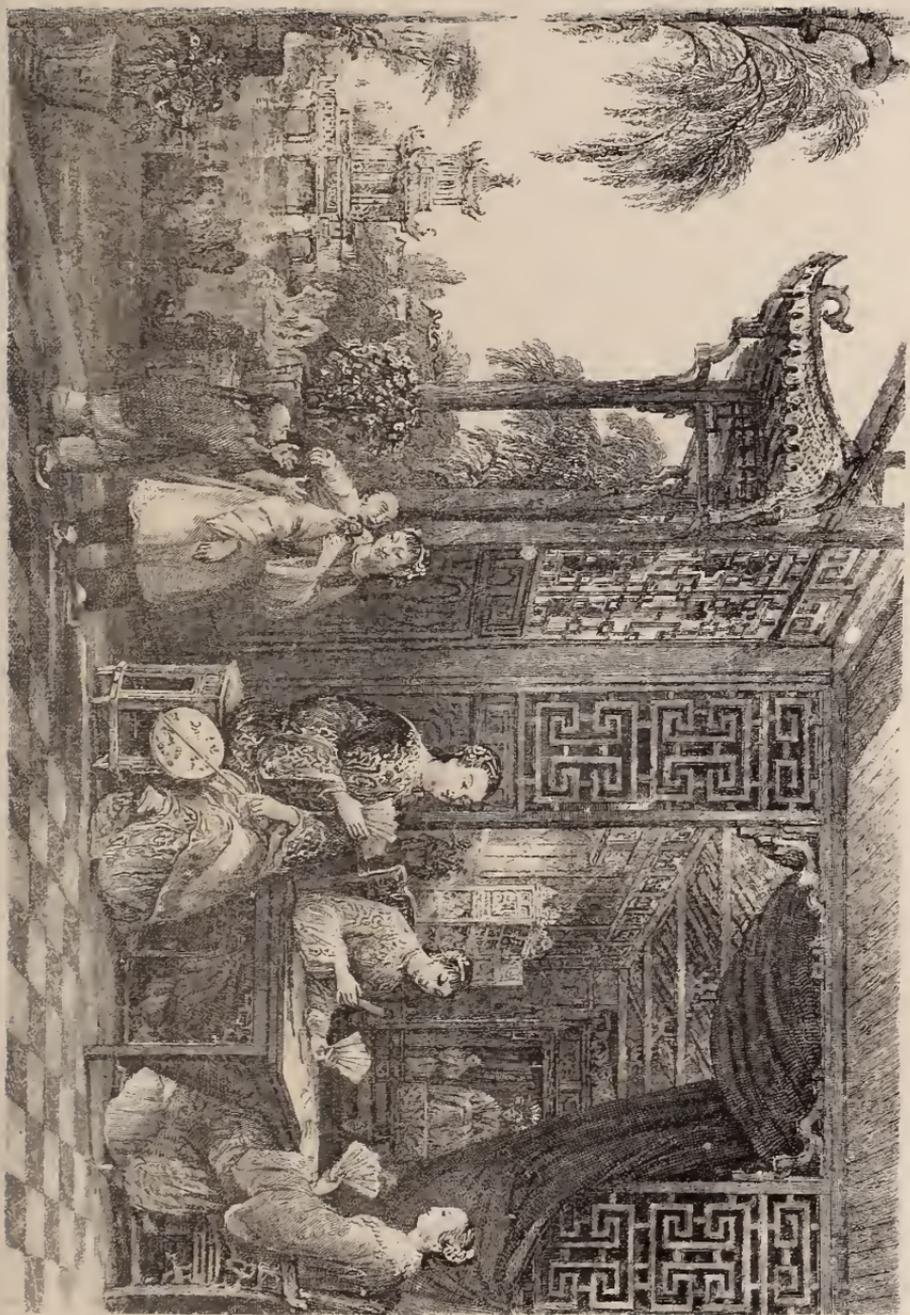
In any civilized part of the world we may find Indian cabinets and porcelain vases, but the lanterns are exclusively Chinese, and are very showy specimens of the national taste and ingenuity. They are made in every form that fancy can invent and of all sizes—from the small ones carried by pedestrians at night to those that illumine the halls of the great; the latter being sometimes eight or ten feet in height and three feet in diameter. The most costly are composed of transparent silk, adorned with landscapes, birds, flowers and fanciful devices in colors of dazzling brightness; the framework being richly carved and gilt, and the cords and tassels by which they are suspended made of silk and gold thread. The possession of fine lanterns is a sort of passion among the Chinese, many of whom spend considerable sums in the gratification of this fancy.

The real condition of ladies in China, and the position they hold in society, are not yet very accurately known. They are seldom seen in the streets, it is true, but that is sufficiently accounted for by their inability to walk with ease; and as they do sometimes appear abroad, and are often observed at the windows, without making any

attempt to conceal their faces from the gaze of strangers, it is evident they enjoy far more liberty than the Turkish ladies, although it is not the custom for the sexes to mix together in general society. When a mandarin gives a grand entertainment, his wife frequently invites her friends to witness the theatrical performances and various amusing exhibitions that are going forward during the dinner. These they can see, without being seen, from a latticed gallery provided for that purpose; and thus they are not entirely debarred from the enjoyment of the festivities, although they do not mingle with the guests.

But we must consider the sex degraded wherever the system of polygamy prevails, and wherever (as in China and all these Eastern countries) men add to the number of their wives according to their wealth and rank. Another source of humiliation should seem to be the common practice of buying and selling women. All classes of Chinese present some equivalent to the parents or guardians of the women they marry. A family of handsome daughters, particularly if well trained in ceremonials and Chinese accomplishments, are often a source of great profit to their parents.

The dress of a Chinese lady is not different from that worn in ancient times: it consists of a short loose robe, confined round the throat with a narrow collar. The robe is worn over a long, full skirt, and both are frequently made of richly-embroidered silks. The sleeves are wide, and sufficiently long to fall over the hands; and the hair is gathered up in a knot at the top of the head, and is fastened with golden bodkins and adorned with flowers. They all wear trowsers; and their tiny



shoes are of satin, silk or velvet, beautifully worked with gold, silver and colored silks, the soles being formed of layers of paper, from one to two inches in thickness, and covered outside with white leather made from pigskin. The little girls are very becomingly attired in short dresses, reaching to the throat and worn over the full trowsers. The hair, which is combed from the forehead, hangs down on each side, and the black hair is plaited into one or two long tails; in which style it remains until the young lady is about to become a bride, when the more matronly fashion is adopted, and the braids and curls are formed into a knot, intermixed with flowers and jewels.

A gentleman usually wears in the house a loose robe of silk, cloth, or, in summer, of some lighter material, with a cap also suited to the season. If he be a mandarin, a ball is worn on the top of the cap to designate the class to which he belongs. The summer cap is as light as chip, to which it bears a resemblance. It is made of bamboo, in the shape of a cone; and if the wearer be a government officer, has attached to the ball a crimson silk ornament, which hangs like a fringe. The winter head-dress is of satin, with a wide brim of black velvet turned up all around, and the usual adornments of ball and fringe at the top. A mandarin of the first rank is known by a red ball on his cap; a transparent blue one denotes the second class; and the other grades are distinguished by white, opaque blue, crystal, gilt and other balls.

A Chinese is not at liberty to wear his summer or his winter cap when he pleases, but is obliged to wait for the time appointed by the Board of Rites for making the

alterations in his head-gear. The announcement is made in the Gazette, when the viceroy of the province lays aside the cap he has been wearing for the previous six months to adopt that of the approaching season, and the example is immediately followed by all other mandarins and officers within his government. It is very usual to wear at home a cap of silk or velvet, fitting closely to the head. Furs are very much used in the winter costume, for as the Chinese have no fires in their apartments, they wear a great quantity of warm clothing, putting on one garment over another until they are sufficiently protected from the cold. Dress boots are of velvet or satin, with the universal thick white soles; and a fan, in an embroidered case hanging from the girdle, is as indispensable a part of the costume of a Chinese gentleman as his cap or gown.

Visiting in China is conducted in a manner which is very formal according to our notions. A gentleman in making a morning call does not alight from his chair until he has sent in his visiting card, that the master of the house may give him a proper reception according to his rank, as it is the etiquette to hurry to the door, in some cases, to receive a guest, while in others it is only necessary to meet him in the middle of the room; and in the former case the bowings are lower and more numerous than in the latter. The law has decided that the superior shall take precedence in entering the room, yet it is considered polite to make a pretence of refusing to go in first, and a few unmeaning compliments always pass on the occasion, both parties knowing very well which of them is to take the lead. It is not the custom in China to uncover the head unless invited so to do;

in warm weather, therefore, a gentleman usually says to his friend, "Pray put off your cap!" and it would be a mark of ill manners to omit this compliment.

Tea is always offered to a morning visitor, and is usually accompanied with sweetmeats and pipes, for the Chinese are fond of smoking, and every gentleman wears an embroidered tobacco-pouch at his girdle. It is not exactly certain when tobacco was first introduced into China, but it is supposed that it found its way there soon after the discovery of America, as the Chinese were in the habit of smoking before the time of the Manchu-Tartar conquest, although there is no mention of such a custom prior to the sixteenth century. Smoking is not confined to the male sex nor to the lower class of females, but even a Chinese lady may have her richly-ornamented pipe, which would really be an elegant appendage if it did not involve so unfeminine an indulgence. It has become quite common for men, and even women, to intoxicate themselves by smoking opium. The usual employments among wealthy Chinese ladies are—working embroidery, playing on different musical instruments and painting on silk and rice paper. Yet some ladies are well educated, and there are families where private tutors are employed, and the girls are allowed to participate, to a certain extent, in the studies of their brothers.

The lower orders in the towns—men, women and children—all wear loose gowns of nanking cloth, usually dyed blue, without collars. The laboring men in the country work in large cotton trowsers, with or without a gown over them, and a broad bamboo hat, which answers the purpose of an umbrella to shield them from the sun and rain. But the most extraordinary article of apparel

worn by the Chinese laborer is a cloak made of long, narrow leaves, which has a very rough, unsightly appearance, but is extremely useful in wet weather, either in the fields or in the boats.

The river population of Canton forms a very large portion of the community, and is considered by the people of the city to be a distinct and inferior race. Until the time of Kien-lung these people were not permitted to intermarry with the people on shore; but that enlightened sovereign removed the restriction, and those who live on the water now enjoy equal privileges with those who have their dwellings on land, and a boatman may take to wife a village lass without incurring any penalty. Some of the poor people who emigrate to neighboring counties often take their wives with them, notwithstanding the laws that so strictly prohibit women from leaving China; but there is no doubt that the laws against emigration are altogether very much relaxed, and it is probable that the government may purposely refrain from being very vigilant in seeing them enforced.

It is rather curious that, among the personal decorations of the Chinese, there is not one they prize more highly, or on which they bestow more attention, than the plaited queue, which, at first, was detested as a disgraceful badge of dependence, and is still a sign of their subjection to the Tartar rule. The beauty of the queue consists in its length and thickness, and many who have not hair enough to make a handsome braid supply the deficiency with false hair and silk; but whatever pains and cost a man may bestow upon improving his appearance by the aid of art, he can have no pretensions to

personal attraction unless his figure indicate that he has not been kept upon spare diet.

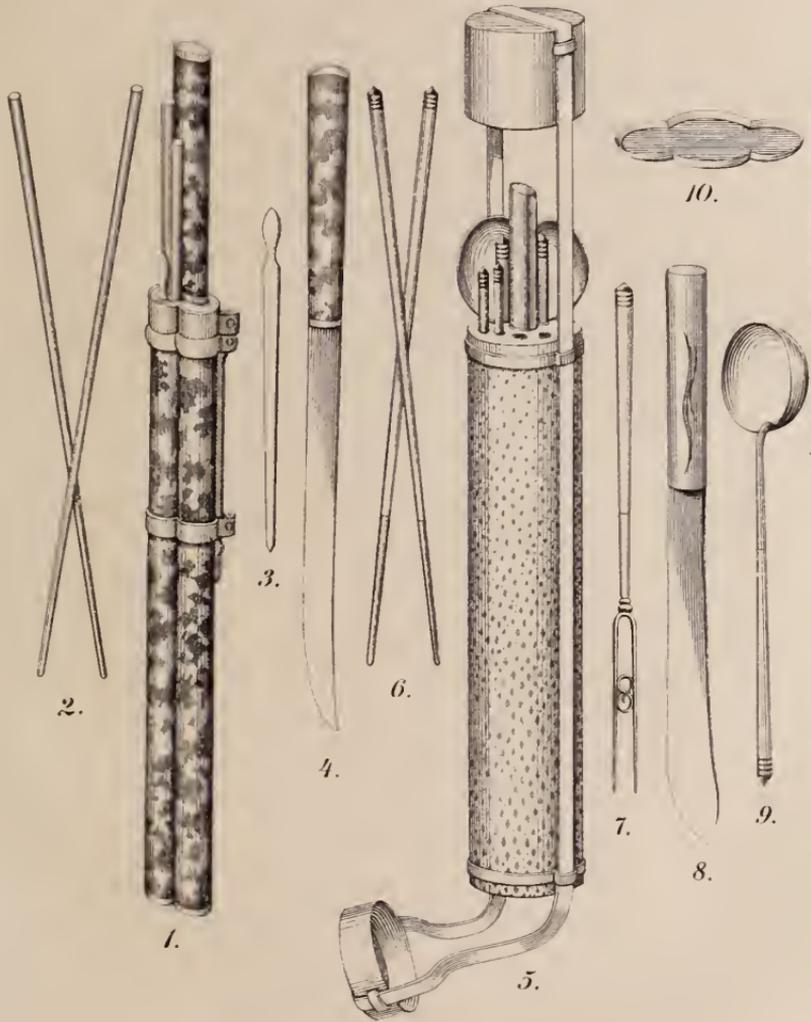
The tables of the wealthy are supplied with a great variety of rich dishes, among which is a soup that supplies the place of our turtle. It is made of the nests of birds, the trade in which is a government monopoly. These nests are principally brought from Java, Sumatra and the coasts of Malacca; they are obtained among the rocks with difficulty by men let down from their summits by a rope. They consist of a delicate sea-moss gathered from the surface of the waves by a species of swallow, and formed into nests among the precipitous cliffs. They are best when taken before they have been soiled by the bird. After having been properly cleansed, they are packed in boxes and sent to Canton, where they are often worth more than their weight in silver. Sharks' fins are esteemed a great luxury. There appears to be scarcely an end to the number and variety of the culinary preparations of these people; but of all their dishes there are very few that are palatable to an American stomach.

The Chinese take wine with each other, and when they have done so, turn the cup upside down, to show that they have emptied its contents, this being a point of good-breeding. The wine, which is a liquor extracted from rice, is taken hot, and at the tables of the rich is poured into the cups from a silver vessel like a coffee-pot. The dinner-service consists of porcelain bowls of various sizes, with plates shaped like saucers, and sometimes a few silver dishes. Instead of knives and forks, they use what are termed chopsticks, which are small round sticks of ivory or ebony; but they have also

spoons of ebony, and silver ladles for the soups. The dinner is preceded by fruits and confectionery. After it the company usually adjourn to another room to take tea and amuse themselves, but the foreigners are never gratified by the company of the ladies.

The shopkeepers of China, and those whose appetites are not stimulated by bodily labor, usually take only two meals in the day—one between eight and ten in the morning, the other between four and six in the afternoon. Their usual fare is rice and vegetables, with a little pork or fish; their ordinary drink is tea, but they sometimes indulge in samshu, a spiritous liquor distilled from rice.

Flour of rice or wheat is chiefly employed in making pastry and flat, unleavened cakes, the latter constituting the only bread which is known in China. The ovens, or rather baking-machines, consist of a flat plate of iron, suspended by chains from a beam over a copper filled with burning charcoal. The cakes are placed on the iron plate, which can be raised or depressed at pleasure by means of the chains; and as this is the only mode of baking among the Chinese, their bread is necessarily made in the form of cakes, and is eaten only as a dainty. The process of cooking is carried on over charcoal fires; and as there are no chimneys to any of the houses, a part of the brick-work above the fire in their kitchens, or cooking-places, is left open to suffer the vapor to escape. There are plenty of eating-houses, both for rich and poor—those for the latter being open sheds, where they can procure a hot breakfast or dinner at any hour of the day for a very trifling sum. The superior sort are fine, handsome hotels, where gentlemen of the



1. Tortoise shell
Chopstick case.
2 & 6. Chopsticks.
3. Toothpick.
4 & 8. Knives.

5. Large Chopstick case
with sliding top and bottom.
7. Chinese Fork.
9. Soup Spoon.
10. Quarter-foil saucer for soy.

higher classes can dine when their families are out of town.

The traveler and botanist, Mr. Robert Fortune, has given us a description of a road-side inn in the provinces, that will convey a good idea of such places, which have their counterparts in some of the Chinese restaurants of California. The first use of the "company-houses" there is to be a sort of general inn for the people from the same neighborhood in their own country. It must be borne in mind that the gentleman named was traveling in disguise and passing for a Chinese :

"The inn was a large and commodious building, extending backward from the main street of the town. Its front was composed of a number of boards or shutters, which could be removed at pleasure. The whole of these were taken down in the morning and put up again at night. The floor of the building was divided into three principal compartments, the first facing the street, the second being behind it, and the third at the farthest end. Some small rooms which were formed on each side were the bed-rooms.

"Coolies and chair-bearers crowded that part of the building next to the street, in which they had their meals and smoked their pipes. The second and third divisions were destined for travelers, but as there were large doors between each, which stood wide open, it was easy to see through from the front to the back part of the premises.

"When I got out of my chair, I followed 'mine host' into the second compartment, in which I observed a table at each side of the room. One of them being unoccupied, I sat down at it, and with becoming gravity

lighted my Chinese pipe and began to smoke. The host set a cup of tea before me, and left me to attend upon some one else. I had now leisure to take a survey of the strange scene around me. At the opposite table sat two merchants, who, a single glance told me, were from the province of Canton. They were evidently eyeing me with great interest, and doubtless knew me to be a foreigner the moment I entered the room. One of them I had frequently seen at Shanghai. This person looked as if he wished me to recognize him, but in this he was disappointed, for I returned his inquiring look as if I had never seen him before. I now observed him whispering to his companion, and thought I heard the word 'Fankwai' used. In the mean time, Sing-hu, who had just arrived, came in, and began to bustle about and get in the dinner, which was soon ready. The host was a civil sort of man, but very inquisitive, and as he set down the dinner he put various questions to me. With Chinese politeness he asked me my name, my age, where I had come from and whither I was bound; and to all such questions he received satisfactory answers. The Canton merchants were all eyes and ears while this conversation was going on, and one of them quietly prompted the innkeeper to ask a few more questions. These gentlemen wanted to know the starting-point of my journey, the particular part of Fukien to which I was bound, and the objects I had in view. As I could not see that answers to these questions concerned them very much, or could be of any use, I judged it better to keep them in the dark.

"Several dishes being now set before me, and a cup of wine poured out by the host, I took a sip of it, and,

taking up my chopsticks, went on with my dinner. Having had great experience in the use of chopsticks, I could handle them now nearly as well as the Chinese themselves; and as I had been accustomed to all the formalities of a Chinese dinner, I went on with the most perfect confidence.

“When I had finished dinner, a wooden basin, containing warm water and a wet cloth, was placed before me, in order that I might wash my hands and face. Wringing the wet cloth, I rubbed my face, neck and hands well over with it, in Chinese style. Having finished my ablution, I returned again to the table. The dinner and dishes having in the mean time been removed, tea was again set before me.

“The Canton men still remained at the opposite table, but the greater part of the others who, at their instigation, had been taking sly peeps at me, had gone away. I suppose when they saw that I ate and drank just like the rest, they must have felt some little surprise, and had their original opinion strengthened—namely, that, after all, I was only one of themselves.

“My chair-bearers having dined as well as myself, they sent a message by Sing-hu to say that they were ready to proceed. Making a slight bow to mine host, and a slighter one to the Canton gentlemen in Chinese style, I got into my chair and went my way.”

Gambling with cards, dice, dominoes and other contrivances, and gambling by betting, are excessively prevalent. The populace bet upon anything, from two crickets in a basin to fighting quails and a combat of gamecocks. This is one of the great national vices. From childhood to old age they never get rid of the

propensity. Some of the games played by the wealthier classes indoors appear to be childish; they, however, play at draughts and have a sort of chess.

Among the outdoor amusements of the commonalty, that of kite-flying is carried to a degree of perfection unseen in any other country. The kites are made in a variety of forms, as of birds, butterflies or fishes, and the flyers often try their skill in bringing down each other's kites, in imitation of hawking. Football is a favorite pastime, and a game called *jang*, which is of very ancient date, and is played with two wooden toys in the form of a pair of shoes, one of which is placed on the ground and its fellow thrown from a distance, the object being to insert one within the other, and he who succeeds in doing so is the winner.

Our child's game of battledore-and-shuttlecock is very prevalent, and is played by grown-up people as well as by children. There is, however, this difference—the Chinese do not play with their hands, but with their feet, and their battledores are the broad soles of their shoes, with the sides of which they adroitly strike the shuttlecock as it approaches the ground. The game thus played is still more common among the Siamese, whose dexterity at it is said to be surprising.

But the great amusement of the people of all ranks and at all seasons of the year is the theatre. A lively American writer has given us some very amusing notes on this subject, which are the more suitable to quote since some of the theatrical companies have crossed the ocean to the New World:

“The actors are formed into strolling companies, and travel all over China. They perform their parts ad-

mirably and excel in pantomime. The Hong merchants sometimes engage a company for several days, and throw open their hong to the foreigners as well as the rabble. I accepted an invitation to attend one of these exhibitions, and the tea merchant at whose establishment the show took place politely expressed his desire that all should come.

“Two or three of us went together to the hong, and were ushered into an apartment in the second story looking out upon the courtyard, and furnished with seats ascending as they retreated, so that the hindmost spectators could see as well as those in front. These benches, with the exception of a few reserved seats, were densely occupied by the respectable and well-dressed friends of the hongist.

“We were politely ushered into the first seats, looking immediately on the stage opposite. As soon as we were comfortably seated a boy brought to us very nice tea and fans, as the weather was warm. Below us, in the open yard, were the closely-packed hundreds admitted to the exhibition without charge, but obliged to stand, and with the sun beating down on their unprotected heads. They were very orderly and quiet, however, and watched every change of scene with intense interest. The stage was formed of bamboo poles, strongly tied together, and the floor was of boards, resting on the horizontal reeds and covered with a carpet. The ceiling was of a piece with the splendor of the theatre, and composed of rather dingy matting. There was no drop or green curtain, no footlights or scenery of any description, and the orchestra was behind the performers. There was a retiring-room at the back of the stage,

whither the actors resorted to change their dresses. The beauty of the establishment was much improved by a number of half-naked coolies, who had climbed up the bamboo poles to have a better view of the scene, where they clung like apes; and one or two, more fortunate than the rest, had actually managed to get on top of the frame, and sat with their dusky legs dangling through holes in the matting. The performance was ludicrous, and yet very good in its way; in pantomime, the actors were masters, and the expressions of their countenances admirably suited to the feelings they meant to express. The dresses were truly gorgeous; it is in costume, not in scenery, that great sums are expended, and that of actors is always a representation of the ancient dresses of China before the Manchu-Tartar conquest.

“They were of the richest silks and satins, stiff with gold thread and gay embroidery, and well put on.

“The actors screamed and bawled at the top of their voices, and seemed to lash themselves into the most furious excitement. There was a vast deal of fighting, and on the least pretence the heroes of the piece drew their swords and hacked at each other without mercy; and every moment the orchestra would come in with an awful crash, and nearly drive one frantic by the din of gongs, the squeak of stringed instruments and the shrill shrieks of fifes. I soon became aware that I could not appreciate the performance, for when I laughed at the apparent absurdities, all the Chinese looked on with breathless interest; and sometimes, during a part that I considered particularly stupid, I would hear loud explosions of delight, and a contagious chuckle would animate the whole assembly.

“There were no women to be seen, either as spectators or actors, though the impersonation of feminine character was so admirable, and the dress so perfectly worn, that I came away at first under the belief that I had seen females acting. Delicate-looking lads of seventeen or nineteen are selected to personate the softer sex; and when the dress is put on, the false head-gear assumed, the feet squeezed into the smallest of shoes, and the voice mimics the high, shrill tones of womanhood, the disguise is complete.

“The faces of the boys are painted, as is usual with the females in China, and the womanly way of moving, talking, and even thinking, seems to be adopted. They make love in the most natural and sentimental manner, assume airs of coquetry and raillery with equal ease, and play the belle and the mother much better than nine-tenths of the European actresses. There was no indecency committed.

“To the bamboo poles in front are attached boards, with the name of the play represented inscribed on them, and these are changed with the drama. A play will frequently last two or three days; the one I saw occupied nearly twelve hours, and when I returned in the afternoon the boards were unchanged, and the same old fellows were wrapped up in the story that I had seen all eyes and ears in the morning.

“When it is time to go to dinner, the orchestra suddenly ceases to emit its deafening clangor, the actors roll up the stage carpet and adjourn to some eating-house, and the audience disperses till the meal is over, when the actors come back as violent as ever. The crowd will stand patiently for hours under the hot sun to enjoy a

performance which depends more on the excellence of the actors than on the merits of the play.

“The actors vary their exhibitions by gymnastic exercises, some of which are very remarkable. In one that I saw a number of men formed a circle, joining hands, and on the shoulders of these stood another tier, and a third group of three or four persons stood on the top of the pyramid. Those beneath then commenced dancing, and finally went whirling round like a top until they attained a fearful velocity. I expected to see some of the fellows go off in a tangent, but they all managed to retain their hold, those above jumping and kicking as they revolved.

“As there is no scenery, of course the audience have to imagine it, and transport the players in their fancy from point to point; but the actors have a very cheap and ingenious method of locomotion. If they wish to mount on horseback, they bestride a chair and crack a whip; and if the hero of the piece desires to go to Peking he skips across the stage, claps his hands, bawls with joy and informs the hearers that he has arrived. The fashionable world at once believe him, and go to court without presentations. There are hundreds of dramatic authors in China; their name is legion, and their productions seem to be the most popular reading of the Chinese. A few plays have been translated into English, but are hardly adapted for the European stage. Books are extremely cheap in China, and the ‘sing-song’ books, as they are called, are more lively and entertaining than most others. All the plays represented can be found in print, and a complete collection would outnumber the British drama.

“The same company does not visit a city more than once in three or four years, and each troop has a number of performances in which it is particularly skilled.

“The only harm likely to result from theatrical exhibitions arises from the narrow and densely-crowded streets; if a panic ensues, many are trampled to death, and a short time after I left Canton a lamentable tragedy occurred. A fire took place during a performance, and upward of two thousand persons lost their lives by the flames and by their frantic efforts to escape destruction.”¹

These theatrical exhibitions are designed partly for the propitiation of the gods and good and evil spirits. The first play each day is generally religious in its character.

The Chinese are a religious people, yet far from being so superstitious as the Hindùs. Their objects of worship are generally their deceased sages, heroes, emperors or ancestors. Every house, belonging either to rich or poor, has its household gods, to which offerings are frequently made according to the mode of Chinese worship, consisting of cakes, rice, plates of meat and cups of tea, which are placed before the images for a certain space of time and then taken away to be consumed by the family. At the great public festivals, tables covered with offerings brought by the people are set in the streets or in the temples, and are arranged with the nicest care. Each table displays a variety of choice viands, such as ducks, fowls, pigs' heads, large cakes, fruits and confectionery of all kinds, with wine and rows of very

¹ OSMOND TIFFANY, JR. *The Canton Chinese; or, The American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire.* Boston, 1849.

small cups filled with tea. Upon the tables are large wax candles and lighted incense-sticks, which burn slowly, and when exhausted are replaced by others. As long as the festival lasts the tables remain untouched, but as soon as it is ended the offerings are distributed among the crowd, so that the lower orders may be said literally to share in all public festivities.

The commencement of a new year is the great time for feasting and merry-making in China and wherever its people emigrate. The Christmas of the olden time in Europe was not a season of more universal merriment than this is in the Flowery Land. On this most important of all the Chinese festivals, high and low, the rulers and the people, indulge in a cessation from the cares of life and give up all their thoughts to pleasure. A regular order is issued by the Board of Rites that all government business shall be suspended from the twentieth day of the twelfth month to the same day of the first month; thus allowing to all the mandarins in office a holiday of thirty days, unless any particular business should demand their attention; and they do not fail to avail themselves of this release by locking up their seals and preparing to enjoy their long vacation. The rest of the people devote as much time to amusement as they can spare from their ordinary avocations; but those must be miserable indeed who do not join, for two or three days at least, in the general gayeties.

The festival, which begins at the midnight that closes the old year, is ushered in by the ceremonies of offerings, incense-burning and numerous other rites, which last till daylight; the temples being lighted up, the pagodas illuminated and candles set up before the do-

mestic idols in every house. As soon as the day appears, visits of congratulation are paid and received, and new year's gifts are sent to particular friends, always accompanied by a visiting card of red paper, on which is written the name of the donor and a list of the presents sent, consisting usually of silks, fine tea, sweetmeats, ornaments, toys and other trifles suited to the occasion. All the actors, musicians, jugglers and tumblers in the empire are in requisition at this period of recreation, when grand entertainments are given by the rich, and plays are performed in the streets, at the expense of government or by a subscription among the inhabitants, for the amusement of the poor. The lower orders are very much addicted to gambling, smoking and drinking, particularly in the towns, where there are plenty of booths for their accommodation, to which they resort as soon as their daily labors are ended. These taverns, which are merely open sheds, are much frequented at all seasons, but at holiday times they are crowded from morning till night with noisy revelers.

The last day of the year is not quite so joyful a one as the first, for among the many regulations of the Chinese government is a law by which all men are obliged to settle accounts with their creditors on that particular day; and it is considered so disgraceful to leave any debt unpaid that the unlucky debtor who cannot discharge his pecuniary obligations at the appointed time is liable to be treated with insult and injury by those to whom the money is owing; and among the vulgar it is not uncommon for an individual under such circumstances to have his furniture broken, and his family annoyed in every possible way; nor can he apply to the magistrates

for redress, however serious the injury he may sustain, because the fact of not having paid his debts would render his complaint of no avail.

The Feast of Lanterns, which takes place almost immediately after the celebration of the new year, is a popular festival of ancient date among the Chinese, and is the occasion of a most brilliant and beautiful spectacle. On the fifteenth day of the first moon, every city, village and hamlet throughout the country is splendidly illuminated with an infinite variety of these beautiful lanterns, which are hung up at every house, from the palace of the viceroy to the hut of the humble fisherman, the general feeling being a desire on the part of each to outshine his neighbor. The tradition respecting this festival is, that the wife of an emperor of one of the early dynasties, being extravagant and fond of pleasure, chose to have the palace illuminated every night with a thousand lights, which might supply the place of the sun and keep up a perpetual day within her abode. This legend, which refers to a period antecedent to the era of Confucius, may be received as an evidence that the Feast of Lanterns was celebrated in China in very ancient times; but its real origin, like that of many other Chinese customs, is lost in obscurity, nor is it likely ever to be discovered. The illumination is continued for three nights, and is attended by a grand display of fireworks, in which the Chinese excel all other nations. Many of the lanterns made for such occasions exhibit moving figures, such as huntsmen on horseback galloping round, ships sailing, troops of soldiers marching or people dancing, all kept in motion by some ingenious contrivance not visible to the beholder, the propelling power

of which is the current of air created by the heat of the lamp within. These are seen only at the houses of the rich, and of course attract vast crowds of spectators. The chief part of the many thousands of lanterns manufactured for this festival are of strong, transparent paper, or gauze, varnished, which is used in many parts of China instead of window glass. Even the commonest of them are elegant in shape and gayly decorated, so that altogether the effect of the illumination is very brilliant. Even the poor fishermen who dwell on the sea-shore, and those who live in boats on the rivers, bestow as much as they can possibly spare of their hard earnings for the purchase of a fine lantern to exhibit on this festive occasion; so that even the waters are lighted up; and as the towns and villages are neither few nor far between, the spectator placed upon any eminence beholds on all sides an illuminated panorama of the country. During the festival the gates of the cities are left open at night, that the country-people may enjoy the pleasure of seeing the display.

Besides the annual festivals already mentioned, there are several others, to which the people run with great eagerness. The "Dragon Festival," which falls in spring, is very pretty and interesting. It is a sort of regatta, and is in honor of Kiu-h-yuen, a famous sage, who was drowned before the Christian era. The boats are shaped like Indian canoes, with the figure of a dragon at the prow, and are otherwise highly ornamented and gilded. They are of great length, and the rowers use short paddles or sculls. They dart up and down the rivers in vast numbers and with fearful speed, for the long, narrow boats cut through the water like birds

through the air. Some of the boats contain more than sixty men, and the sport sometimes continues two or three days. The boatmen shoot hither and thither, as if searching for some lost object; and this commemorates the efforts made to discover the ancient sage when he fell into the river. In the mean time, the boatmen shout and the people on shore beat gongs, wave flags and fire innumerable crackers to inspire the rowers to redouble their exertions. If firing crackers can be styled a recreation, it is one which lasts in China all the year round, and is not neglected by a human being in the empire. But what appear to a stranger to be amusements, in the festivals of which we have spoken, are in their deeper nature manifestations of dark and distressing superstitions and idolatry, which fetter alike the highest and the lowest minds. The explosions of the crackers are supposed to frighten away the multitude of evil spirits which haunt the dwellings, streets, and waters, and thus avert sickness and calamities of many kinds.

A very remarkable observance of a moral, if not religious, nature is the stated assemblage of the people of the principal cities and towns to hear the Commands, or edicts, of the emperors Kang-hi and Yung-ching. The object is that the moral virtues shall be instilled into the minds of the people by the magistrates, who are obliged by law to give instruction in public on the first and fifteenth days of every moon, by reading one of the sixteen discourses, which treat on all the principal duties of social life in every station. The first lesson is on filial piety and the respect which a younger should pay to an elder brother. These duties are so strictly enjoined and en-

forced that a few years since a man was put to death for having beaten his mother, and his wife shared the same fate for having assisted him. The act was regarded as a crime so heinous that the house in which it was perpetrated was deemed unfit for the residence of any human being, and was dug up from the foundation, that not a stone of it might remain. The magistrates were all disgraced, the wife's mother was severely punished, and the scholars of that polluted district were prohibited from attending the public examinations for three years. The second of the sixteen discourses exhorts the people to preserve a respectful remembrance of their ancestors, and enjoins them not to neglect to visit their tombs at the proper periods. The principal subjects of the other lectures are—the benefits of concord in the villages; the respect due to the profession of husbandry and the culture of silk; the advantages of economy and industry; the education of youth; application to business; obedience to the laws; and the punishments incurred by those who are negligent of their duties.

The care of admonishing the people belongs to the officers of small communities; but the governors have also to perform their part as teachers by assembling the inferior officials within their provinces about once a year to give them instructions as to their respective duties, to which they are bound to listen with respect, as coming from the emperor himself by the voice of his representative. However, all these moral lectures are now printed from the ancient originals, and in order to save themselves trouble the mandarins often merely enjoin the people or their headmen to read them at least once in every year. At every step one must be careful not

to confound theory with practice, and not to attribute unreservedly the strict ancient usages to the existing generation.

In a country where the system of instruction is entirely regulated by the laws, and forms so material a part of the constitution, the palpable deficiency is that there are no free schools supported by the government. Yet there are numerous establishments for education founded by the munificence of those who in past ages have acquired fame and riches by their literary attainments. The master of a district school is paid at the rate of two to three dollars a year for each boy; yet even this small sum cannot very easily be spared by a laboring man, whose wages are not more than a few pennies a day; so that many families of the poorer classes send only one son to school, selecting, of course, him who shows the most promising genius. The boys are incited to industry and good behavior by the hope of prizes which are distributed at stated periods, and consist of pencils, paper, Indian ink and ink-stones or little palettes for grinding the ink, which are all much prized by the Chinese, who call them "the four precious materials," and teach the children to keep them in very neat order. In most of the country villages and in all large cities there are evening schools for boys who are obliged to work in the day-time; for the children of the poor are inured to labor from a very tender age, so that little fellows of five or six years of age may be seen trudging along the roads with a stick across their shoulders carrying loads; and they are set to work in the fields almost as soon as they can walk. It is the usual practice now for persons of rank and wealth to engage private tutors

for their children ; but whether the latter are educated at home or at a public school, they must undergo the regular examinations before they are eligible to office, nor are they taught in any way differently from the boys at the village seminaries.

These examinations were first instituted for the purpose of selecting the fittest persons to fill all offices of state, without regard to rank or fortune, and have as a general rule previous to the present dynasty been conducted with impartiality. One of the favorite maxims of the Chinese is, "By learning the sons of the poor become great ; without learning the sons of the great are mixed with the common people." The beneficial influence of this maxim is observable in the village schools, which are generally well attended, since it is natural for every father to hope that one of his children at least may distinguish himself by a superior capacity, and thus make his own fortune as well as that of his family ; for as parents are frequently degraded in consequence of the misconduct of a son, so they are often honored and rewarded on account of his virtues.

Many years of laborious application to study are required to fit a youth to become a candidate for literary distinction. Five or six years are entirely spent in committing to memory the works of the ancient sages, particularly the five canonical books of which Confucius was either the author or the compiler ; and thus its officers come to know by heart the maxims by which the empire has been regulated from time immemorial. Six years more are devoted by the unwearied student to the making himself master of the art of composition, to which end he studies innumerable set phrases and apt

similes; so that the learned Chinese all write in the same general figurative style and use the same metaphors.

The lower examinations take place annually, when those young men who are looking for preferment and are qualified for trial assemble at the public hall before a council of the literati, who are to judge of their merits; when each candidate is furnished by the president with a theme, on which he has to write an essay and an ode to test his fitness for a further trial. The best of these compositions being selected, the authors are sent to the chief literary mandarin of the department in which their district is situated, who subjects them to a much more rigorous examination than the former one, which ends by giving certificates to a certain number, who thus gain what is called "a name in the village," while the rest either give up the pursuit or wait for the next opportunity of making another trial. The chosen few have then to appear before a still higher tribunal, which is yet stricter than the last. The hall where this trial takes place is provided with a great number of small apartments, so that each candidate may be shut up alone, and the judges thus assured that their performances are entirely their own. They are even searched on entering these little cells, to see that they have neither books nor papers about them; and this being ascertained, all are supplied with writing materials and themes to try their skill in composition, both in prose and verse. To guard against any partiality being shown by the president and members of the board, these papers are laid before them unsigned, and they select the best without knowing who are the authors. The fortunate individuals whose pieces are thus approved then receive

the first degree, styled *Siu-tsai*, which is equivalent to that of our Bachelor of Arts; but the numbers are so considerably diminished at each fresh trial that, on an average it is reckoned that not more than ten arrive at this degree, out of every thousand who present themselves, in the first instance, at the hall of the district; but as the districts are numerous, these tens amount to several hundreds in a province.

The second degree is that of *Ku-jin*, which may be translated "elevated man," a rank equal to that of Master of Arts at our colleges. All those who have attained the first step are qualified to try for the second, but the task is a much harder one, and as the number to be chosen is very small in proportion to that of the candidates, being not much more than one out of every hundred and forty, the emulation and excitement are of course very great. This trial takes place only once in three years in all the provincial capitals, before a board composed of an imperial chancellor and some of the principal officers of the province. On this occasion, as before, the competitors write their essays in separate cells, which are guarded by soldiers to prevent the possibility of communication with any one outside. They have to pass through three ordeals, with an interval of two days between each. On the first day two or three thousand *pièces* are, perhaps, sent in for inspection to the judges, who are so strict that if one word of the composition be incorrectly written it is thrown aside, and the mark with which it is signed (for no names appear) is put up at the gate of the hall, which spares all the mortification of a public rejection, as no one knows the signature but the candidate himself, who, on recognizing his own mark, returns quietly home;

so that on the second day there are not perhaps one-quarter of the original number, and on the third there are fewer still. At length the names of the successful candidates are declared, on which handbills notifying the same are printed and posted up in all directions; their parents and nearest relatives are sent for to share in the honors that are bestowed on them; they are invited to the houses of the great and overwhelmed with presents and congratulations. Their blue dress is exchanged for a brown gown with a blue border, and their silver badge superseded by a golden or gilt one. The happy scholar is now on the highroad to wealth and fame; he is qualified for any office, and if his conduct and ability are such as to entitle him to advancement, he is expected to rise.

Such are the means by which nobility is acquired in China, and before the reign of Yung-ching they were the only means; but in the reign of that prince and since his time rich merchants and others, who have not gone through the ordeal above described, have been allowed to purchase rank, and have thus obtained office without possessing the necessary qualifications; but this innovation caused much dissatisfaction, and was not carried then to any great extent. There are still two degrees above those already mentioned, to which all who have taken the second degree are privileged to aspire. Once in three years those who are ambitious of rising another step repair to Peking for the examination by the doctors of the Han-lin College, who elect three hundred out of about ten thousand, which is the average number of candidates for the honor of a rank somewhat similar to that which among us is called Doctor of Laws.

The three hundred elected to this dignity are again examined in the presence of the emperor, and a few of them chosen to fill up the vacancies that have occurred in the Han-lin College, from which the ministers and other high officers of state are usually appointed. The attainment of this grade is the grand object of every one who enters upon a literary career in China—a grade equally open to all, yet reached only by a few.

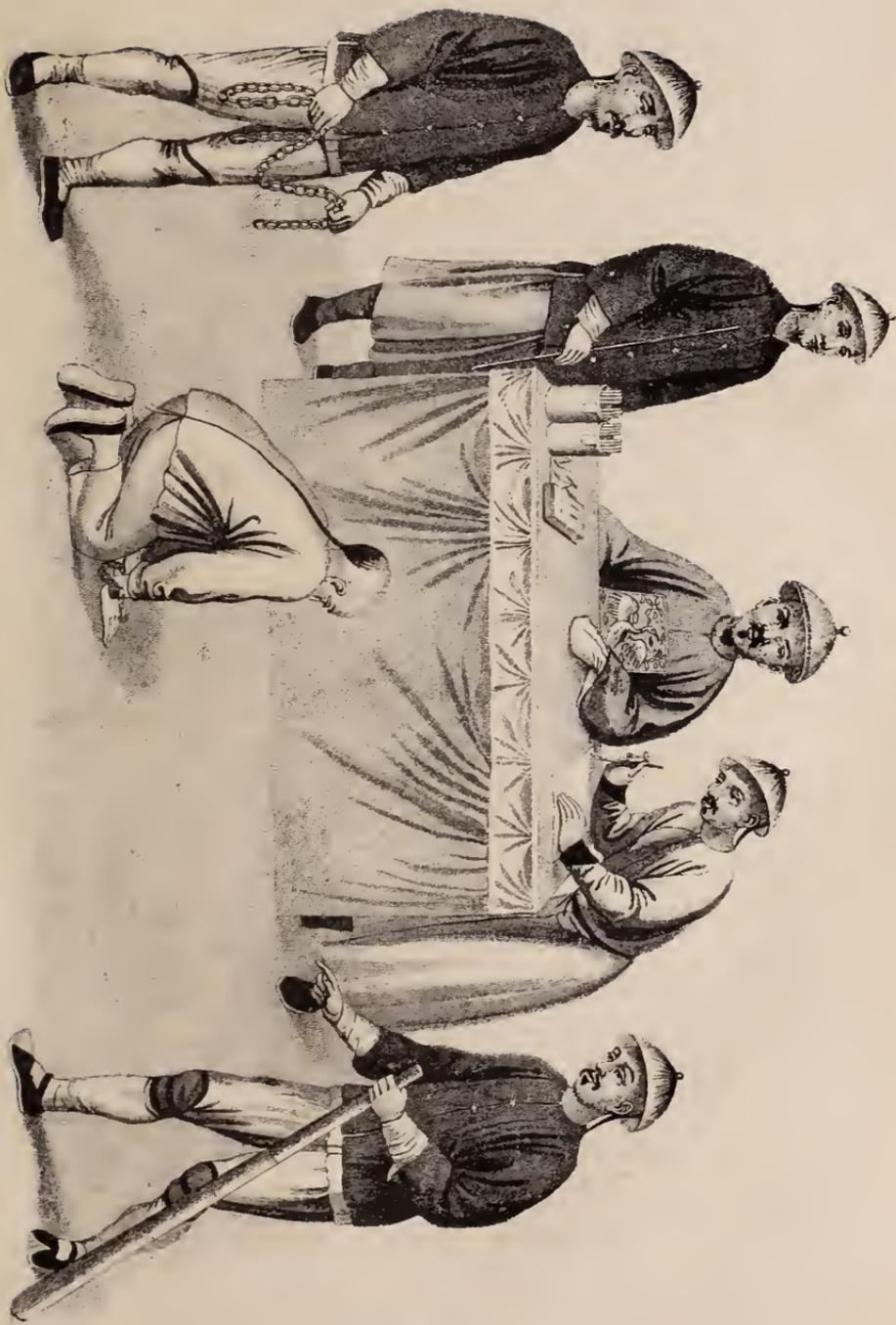
When the last election is decided, three of the new members whose names stood highest on the list are paraded round the city for three days with flags flying, drums beating and all the usual pompous appendages of a Chinese procession.

The number of civil officers in China, it is estimated, amounts to about fourteen thousand, all of whom are paid by the government. Every province has its viceroy, every city its governor, every village its prefect, and each of these is assisted by a council of inferior magistrates, and has a number of officers in various departments subordinate to him.

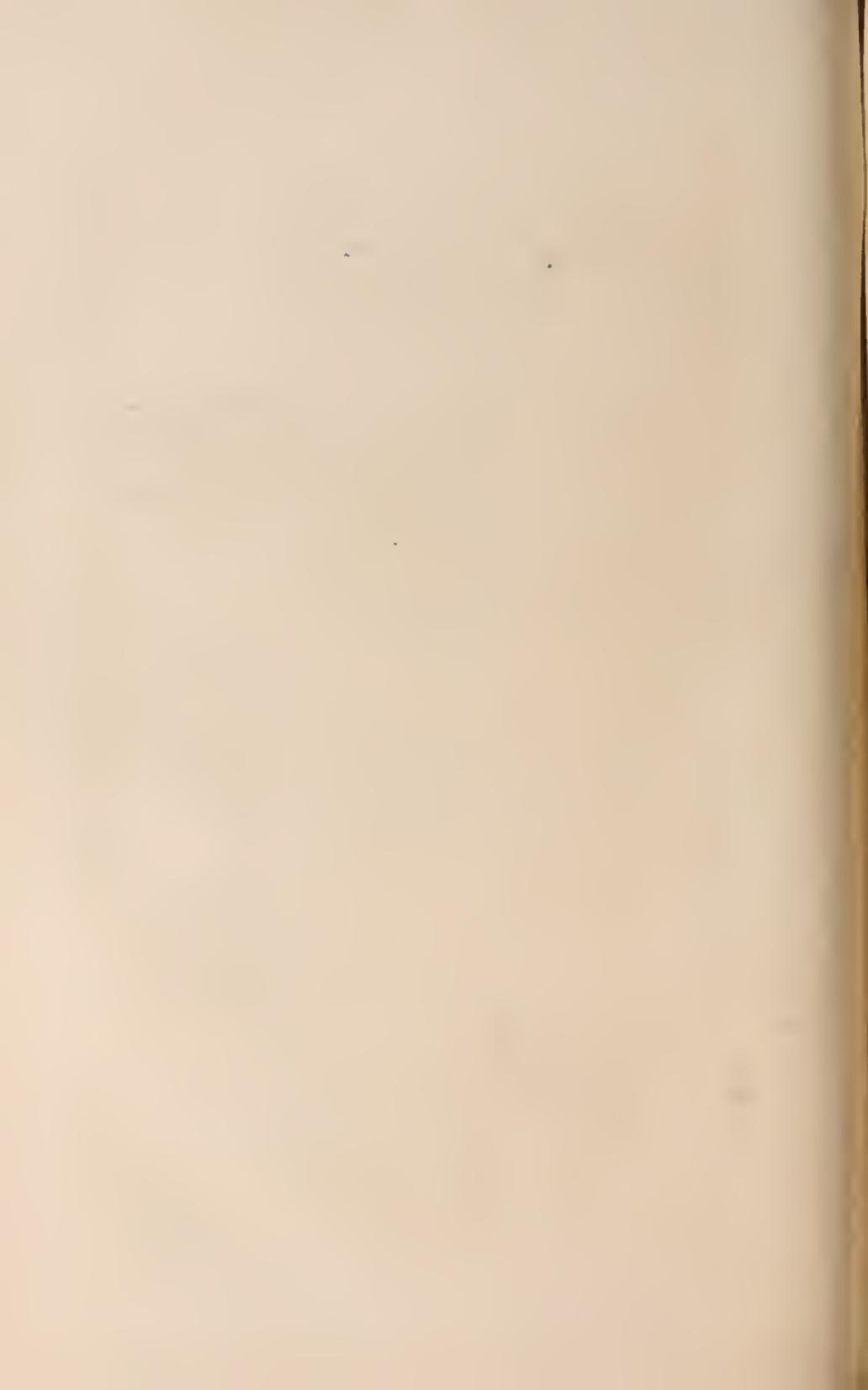
The officers, whatever may be their rank, are only elected for three years, at the expiration of which they are appointed to the government of some other place. It was formerly a custom that when a good magistrate of a village or district had fulfilled his term of office, the people should testify their respect and gratitude by sending a deputation to invest him with a richly-embroidered robe, which was proudly preserved in his family as a memorial of his virtues; and on such an occasion, when the time of his departure had arrived, the villagers would set up lighted sticks of incense for some distance along the road by which he was to pass, and kneel down by

the wayside to receive his farewell greeting. We regret to say that this is a picture of past more than of present times. There is much corruption in the government, and multitudes of the people pine for the expulsion of their Tartar rulers. Yet their dynasty as a whole has been exceeded by no other in the intelligence and justice of those who have occupied the throne.

Each governor of a province maintains a court of his own, and whenever he appears abroad he is attended by a numerous retinue bearing the symbols of his high office. He is carried in a gilded chair or sedan, and invariably followed by the public executioners, some carrying chains, others that universal instrument of justice, the bamboo, which is very unceremoniously applied on the spot to any unlucky wight who may chance to be detected in a misdemeanor; consequently, the approach of the high functionary never fails to inspire a degree of awe, which is manifested by the respectful haste with which the people make way for the procession, ranging themselves close to the wall, where they stand perfectly still and motionless till the whole retinue has passed. The governors are entrusted with despotic authority; but they must be careful how they use it, as they are always liable to the visits of the imperial commissioners, who frequently arrive from the capital without giving notice of their approach, for the purpose of seeing whether all is as it should be; and if they find anything wrong it is immediately reported at the court, when the offender is visited with a prompt, and often a severe, punishment. A single word from the emperor is sufficient at any time to deprive the first grandee in the land of his rank, his property, or even his life. The



Execution of a Prisoner



governor of a province or city is particularly liable to such a reverse from the nature of the laws, which hold him responsible for many public calamities, which are attributed to accident in other countries, which are supposed to arise from want of vigilance on the part of the chief magistrates, who are required to see that the subordinate officers are attentive to their several duties. Every one holding an official situation is answerable for the conduct of those below him, and if the inferiors are negligent in their respective departments, the superiors are liable to punishment. Thus, if the country is inundated by the sudden rising of a river, the chief magistrate is considered in fault for not having attended diligently to the repairing of the embankments. Should lives or property fall a sacrifice to fire, it is presumed that they might have been saved by more active measures; consequently the magistrates are blamed for not keeping a more efficient police, and the governors are blamed for appointing such careless magistrates. The most usual punishment for maladministration is degradation to a lower rank, according to the nature and magnitude of the offence. If the fault be a very serious one, the offender, if of the highest degree, is perhaps degraded to the lowest; that is, from the first to the ninth class of officers; but if it be only a trivial error, he is lowered one, two or three degrees; and in most cases the punishment is only for a certain time, at the expiration of which he is restored to his rank and office, and resumes his former place in society as though nothing had happened, for a temporary disgrace of that kind leaves no stigma on the character of the individual.

Crimes that are considered in the light of treason are

visited with a heavier penalty. Banishment or death is the doom of him who is discovered to have neglected or disobeyed the commands of the emperor; and generally the whole family of the culprit share in some measure his fate, although they may be wholly innocent of any participation in his crime. The enactment of this unjust law was no doubt originally intended to deter people from ill-advising their relatives or encouraging them in any act contrary to the interests of the government, and even to make them watchful and anxious for the good conduct of each other.

The seat of government is at Peking, a name which means the "Northern Capital," where, on the borders of their original territory, the Manchu Tartars have planted their imperial power. The previous native dynasty, the Ming, had its seat at Nanking, the "Southern Capital." Two centuries' enjoyment of dominion and wealth have made Peking one of the most magnificent cities in the empire.

The city is about twenty-five miles in circumference. It is divided into two distinct parts; the northern, or Tartar city, and the southern, or Chinese city. The former, which is inhabited chiefly by Tartars, is surrounded by a wall with nine gates, always guarded by soldiers, and contains the imperial palace, which, with its magnificent gardens, stands in the centre, within a space of about five miles in circumference, enclosed by another wall, and called the Forbidden City, as no one may enter it but privileged persons. The Tartar city contains the residences of all the grandees of the court, the halls of the Six Tribunals, the Han-lin College, several superb temples, a Mohammedan mosque and many

other public buildings. The principal streets are very long and wide, and contain numerous shops as well as private houses; but they are not paved, which is a great inconvenience in wet weather; neither are they lighted at night; but as no one is allowed to be abroad after dark unless on some very particular occasion, it is not of much importance that they should be so, particularly as any one who is obliged to go out must carry a lantern with him. Large spaces of ground in this part of Peking are occupied by ornamental gardens belonging to the richer classes, and it is adorned with a fine lake a mile and a half in length and more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, crossed by a bridge of nine arches constructed entirely of white marble. The banks of this lake are bordered with trees, among which the drooping willow bends its graceful branches; and in the midst of this expanse of waters is an islet adorned with a temple and an elegant pagoda, the never-failing ornaments of Chinese scenery. Peking is, therefore, by no means devoid of natural beauties; and even the old, or Chinese town, which is the trading part of the capital, contains large gardens and fields where vegetables are grown for the daily supply of the markets; and also many nursery-grounds, where flowers are cultivated expressly for the adornment of the ladies of Peking, who wear them in their hair. This simple and elegant mode of decorating the hair is generally adopted in all parts of China, and when natural flowers are not to be obtained, artificial ones are substituted; but a female head is seldom seen without the one or the other, which, among the higher classes, are mixed with golden bodkins, jewels and other ornaments.

The temples in this part of the capital are very magnificent, especially those dedicated to Heaven and Earth; the former standing in the centre of a spacious enclosure, elevated by three stages, each ascended by a flight of marble steps and surrounded by a handsome balustrade. Within the enclosure is an edifice styled the Palace of Abstinence, to which it is customary for the emperor to retire for three days before the grand ceremony of sacrificing in the temple, which is performed annually at the winter solstice, when the emperor officiates in his character of high-priest; and on this occasion the produce of the field he ploughed in the spring, with the silks cultured and woven within the precincts of the palace, are offered up to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, under the name of Tien, or Lord of Heaven. The procession to the temple on the day of the sacrifice is very magnificent, as the emperor is accompanied by the whole court, besides a numerous cavalcade of civil and military mandarins, all in full dress. It is remarkable that in a religious procession there should be no priests, nor any symbols of its sacred character; unless we may so consider a vast number of lighted flambeaux and several hundred gorgeous lanterns, which are carried in the train. On the day of this solemnity, as well as that of the ploughing festival, the emperor is visible, but is seldom seen in public at any other time, or passes the boundary wall of his own park, except during the annual hunting expedition or when he removes from one royal residence to another.

The streets of Peking are crowded, noisy and bustling; for there, as in all other great cities of China, it is a common custom for men of the lower orders to work at their



Itinerant Barber



several trades in the streets, where they sit with their tools around them as if they were in a workshop. Cobblers, tinkers and blacksmiths set up their apparatus wherever they may obtain a job; and medicine-venders, who are generally fortune-tellers also, establish themselves, with their compounds ranged in order before them, in any convenient locality. There are also a great number of peddlers, ballad-singers and mountebanks, who contribute no less to the noise than to the throng. But the most remarkable persons who exercise their calling in the streets are the barbers, who are all licensed, and shave the heads and plait the queues of their customers with the utmost gravity in the open air. All the men of the lower orders, as well as some of a higher class, have this operation performed in the public street. The shops have open fronts, gayly painted, and before the door of each is a wooden pillar, covered with gilt characters describing the nature of the goods sold within; and as these sign-posts are usually decorated with gay streamers floating from the top, they have not been unaptly compared in appearance to a line of ships' masts with colors flying. The windows of all the houses in Peking are made of Corea paper, very frequently of a rose color, and strengthened by a thin framework of bamboo; for there is no glass in the north of China, nor is it yet very common in the south, although more frequently seen now than in the last century. The houses in Peking are seldom more than one story in height, and have flat roofs, which are often covered with flowers and shrubs; for as there are no fireplaces, so there are no chimneys, the rooms being warmed by pans of lighted charcoal, of which fuel great quantities are brought from

Tartary on dromedaries, and these animals are constantly seen thus laden in the streets of the city.

The new town was partly built and greatly embellished by the emperor Yung-lo when he removed the court from Nanking to Peking, which was then entirely inhabited by Chinese; but when it was taken by the Manchus, the native people were all driven out of the new town and the houses given to the Tartar conquerors, since which time it has been called the Tartar city. In this part of the city the streets are wide and handsome, but the old town presents the same general features that distinguish all the great cities of China; the most striking of which are the high walls, narrow streets, open-fronted shops, gayly-decorated temples and triumphal arches, with a constant succession of sedans and noisy processions, the bustle being increased by the incessant activity of itinerant artificers and venders of almost every commodity, amongst whom not a few are water-sellers.

The triumphal arches, which are seen in most of the principal streets, are ornamental gateways that have been erected in honor of eminent persons; by which may be understood those who have distinguished themselves by their wisdom and virtues, either in public or private life. The emperor Kang-hi, for instance, ordained that every widow who attained to her hundredth year without forming a second matrimonial engagement should be presented with thirty taels of silver for the erection of a triumphal arch, with an inscription in her praise; for although a woman is allowed to take a second husband if she pleases, and many do so, it is accounted far more honorable to remain faithful to the memory of the first.

CHAPTER V.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE IN CHINA.

THE ancient records of China mention nine sovereigns of the first dynasty, founded by Fuhì, whom they suppose to have been gifted with superhuman virtues and knowledge, by which they were enabled to rescue the people from their original barbarism and to instruct them in the arts of civilized life, which were undoubtedly acquired at a very early period and promoted by the rulers of the country.

The earliest and most useful of these arts were husbandry and silk-weaving, both of which must have been taught by necessity as soon as the nation was established, as the people depended for subsistence on the cultivation of the land, and for clothing on the chief natural produce of the country adapted for that purpose, which was found in the vast forests, where silkworms were abundant on many species of the forest trees. The merit of teaching the people to weave silk into garments and dye it of various colors is ascribed to one of the earliest empresses—Si-ling; and that of instructing them in husbandry is given to Shin-nung, which may be translated either “Shin, the husbandman,” or “the divine husbandman,” the immediate successor of Fuhì, whose name is held in veneration accordingly; and even to this day

the Chinese offer up annual sacrifices and hold a festival in honor of the princess who first wove silken garments, and the no less praiseworthy monarch who taught his people to plough the earth.

Agricultural pursuits have always been, and still are, held in the highest estimation by the Chinese, who commence the year with a grand festival in honor of the spring; on which occasion the emperor, in imitation of his ancient predecessor, performs the operations of ploughing and sowing seed in a field set apart for that purpose—a custom which has seldom been neglected by the sovereigns of China, who have thus by their own example stimulated their subjects to the performance of these useful labors and maintained the honorable character of the husbandman, who even now holds a rank in their theory of society next to the literary man, and above that of the soldier or the merchant, however wealthy the latter may be. Among the ancients, particularly the Egyptians, Persians and Greeks, it was a common practice to hold games and festivals, mingled with religious ceremonies, at that season when the earth is ready to receive the seed, thus showing the cheerfulness with which the farmers returned to their rustic toils, and the reliance they placed on a superior Being to reward them with an abundant harvest. The old festival of Plough Monday in England was probably derived from these customs of the ancients, and was formerly celebrated in all the rural districts with great merry-makings on the Monday following Twelfth Day; some of the rites observed being not unlike those among the Chinese; as an instance of which, the plough-light was set up before the image of some patron saint in the vil-

lage church—a custom somewhat similar to that observed among the Chinese, who placed lighted candles opposite certain images in their temples.

To their ancient emperors they impute inventions which must have been made much farther West and previous to their existence.

One is said to have been the inventor of writing, another of musical instruments, a third the discoverer of the art of working in metals, while a fourth has the credit of having taught his subjects to build bridges. Shin-nung was the father of several inventions. His successor, Hwang-ti, divided all the land into groups of nine equal squares, of which the middle one was to be cultivated in common for the benefit of the State. He is said, likewise, to have invented the mode of noting the cycles of sixty years, the foundation of the Chinese system of chronology.¹ Other emperors of this semi-fabulous period are celebrated for their skill in astronomy and chronological computations. But some of these inventions had in truth been brought from the plains of Chaldea. And it is curious to observe the Chinese at one extreme of the habitable world retaining the Babylonish sacred number of sixty for the largest division of time, and ourselves, at the other extreme, applying it to the smallest—the minutes and seconds. They, like us, preserve twelve as a numerical division for hours, though

¹ According to this system, which seems to have been kept up with great care and precision, they are now in the seventy-sixth cycle. The year 1863 completed the seventy-fifth; that is, exactly four thousand five hundred years since the date assumed for a beginning, which would be 2637 B. C. Whatever theory of chronology we adopt, this must carry us back to an early generation after the deluge, or into the life of Noah, of whom, as has been shown, they retain a legendary remembrance.

they reckon the hours of light and darkness as but six each.¹

Among the wonderful inventions which there is every reason to believe originated in China is that of the mariner's compass, which, according to an old tradition, was invented by the same Hwang-ti to guide him through the forests when hunting. This story may be, and most probably is, an utter fiction, but it forms a reasonable ground for supposing that the powers of the magnet were originally discovered by the Chinese ages before the Christian era. It appears, however, from modern research, that although the attractive power of the loadstone has been known to the Chinese from remote antiquity, its property of communicating polarity to iron is for the first time explicitly noticed in a Chinese dictionary which was finished in the first quarter of the second century of the Christian era. The Arabs borrowed the invaluable invention from the Chinese, with whom they then traded, and Europeans borrowed it from the Arabs during the early Crusades; for it is now universally admitted that Gioja of Amalfi, or whoever brought it into notice in the West, was only the introducer, and not the inventor, of the magnetic needle. Gilbert, in his work on the Magnet, asserts directly that Marco Polo brought the knowledge of it to Europe about A. D. 1260. But it was probably used before his time, at least east of the Red Sea; and he does not seem to make mention of it in his own book.

The last two emperors of the line of Fuhī are celebrated, under the names of Yau and Shun, as the wisest

¹ HERODOTUS says (lib. ii., § 109) that the Greeks obtained the division of the day into twelve parts from the Babylonians.

and best of princes, and have always been held up as bright examples to all Chinese sovereigns. They are reckoned among the sages of China, and to them are attributed most of the political institutions by which the country is even now governed. About this time it is mentioned that the lands were flooded. It was then that Yau the Great, one of the ministers of Shun, distinguished himself by draining the lands, which by his means were again rendered fit for cultivation; and for this eminent service, added to his wisdom and numerous good qualities, he was appointed by the emperor to succeed him on the throne, according to the laws of China, by which the reigning sovereign chooses his successor. Yau, to promote Shun, set aside his own son. Even at the present day the choice of the emperor regulates the succession to the throne, and it is seldom that the eldest son succeeds in preference to the rest. By this time the empire was extended over all the northern provinces as far as the Yang-tsz-kiang river, not by conquest, but by the establishment of new colonies as the population increased. The monarchs from time to time bestowed the government of these new settlements on their relatives, so that there arose by degrees a number of petty kingdoms, each having its own sovereign, who was dependent on the emperor. Of the southern part of the country very little was then known, but it is supposed it had but few inhabitants, and that these were in a state of barbarism.

As time rolled on the country became more populous and the people more civilized than in earlier days. The emperors, who succeeded each other without interruption, employed sages to record the principal events that occurred during their several reigns; but in these early

annals much fable is blended with the truth, just as in the early traditions of the classic nations of Europe; and yet there is much less that is extravagant and much more that is designed to convey sound lessons of morality in those of the Chinese. It is supposed that the earliest *authentic* history relating to the Chinese empire is contained in the compilations of Confucius, who was born in China about five hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, and who was one of the most illustrious characters that ever appeared in that country. He was nearly contemporary with Herodotus, the father of Grecian history, and Pope has given to him a very lofty niche in his Temple of Fame :

"Superior and alone Confucius stood,
Who taught that useful science—to be good."

The monarchy had probably then made great progress in civilization. The people lived under a regular form of government, were skilled in agriculture and were acquainted with many useful and elegant arts. The northern part of the country was still divided into the several small principalities which had been granted by the emperors at different times to their sons and brothers, who constituted the only hereditary nobility of the State, and were all tributary to the chief sovereign. Each of these petty states contained a city, where the prince resided, and all around it were numerous villages and detached dwellings inhabited by the peasantry, who held small farms, which they cultivated for their own advantage, growing rice and vegetables in abundance, so that every poor man could support his family by his own industry. They were not held in bondage by the great, like the

peasantry of Europe during the feudal ages; and amongst other privileges which they enjoyed were these: a ninth part of the land was in common amongst them for pasturage and farming, and all the poor were at liberty to fish in the ponds and lakes—a right which was denied to the lower orders in feudal countries, where the mass of the people were vassals and slaves. The peasants of China, therefore, appear to have been at that period in a better condition than those of any other part of the world, working for themselves and paying taxes to their respective princes, who by that means raised the tribute which the emperor claimed of them.

At the time of Confucius all taxes and tribute were paid as they are at present, chiefly in kind—usually, as Mencius, who lived in the next generation, says, to the amount of about one-tenth of the produce of the earth. It is, however, supposed there was always some sort of coined money current among the Chinese, and that at a very early period of the monarchy they had coins of gold and silver as well as of lead, iron and copper; but many ages have elapsed since any other than copper money has been in use among them. Silver is also used as a medium of exchange, beaten out into small bars or pieces, and upon these responsible traders generally put their stamp in a small character, so that they become in time particularly ragged and broken. Yet even in these bits adroit rogues make holes which they fill with lead. In buying and selling men scrutinize them carefully and weigh them, being always provided with a small pair of scales for that purpose. They reckon their accounts by means of an instrument called in the Canton dialect, the *sün-pún*, which resembles the Roman *abacus*.

It consists of a frame across which are fastened thin rods of bamboo, like the notation tables used in the primary schools of America. But instead of ten balls, as with us, the Chinese use seven. A cross-bar divides the frame, so that the rods have on one side five balls each, on the other side two each. The two balls on each rod count, however, five apiece. This makes the process of counting more rapid and certain. Commencing at any convenient rod or row, it counts as units, the second as tens, the third as hundreds, the fourth as thousands, and so on. To count five, either the five balls on the lower side of the units row are pushed up or to the middle with the finger, or one of the two balls on the other side of it. Ten is made by the two five balls, or by one of them and five of the other balls. And thus we go on in each row successively for tens, hundreds or thousands. For any number between five and ten a five ball is pushed to the middle and the remainder in single balls from the other end of the same row. An expert accountant pushes the balls with his fingers as rapidly in adding or subtracting as a player strikes the keys upon a piano. It is rarely a mistake is made, and when done it is never to the disadvantage of the accountant. The invention of the *sün-pún* is attributed to the emperor Hwang-ti, the same who is said to have found his way through the forests by means of the compass. Their arithmetic, as well as their weights and measures, proceeds universally on the decimal scale; and decimal fractions are their *vulgar* fractions, or those in common use. It is remarkable that the single exception to this consists in their *kin* or marketing pound-weight, which, like ours, is divided into sixteen ounces or parts. This

affords another illustration of the common origin of the Chinese and our own arithmetic and weights and measures in Central Asia. The Roman Catholic missionaries relate that when the first of them went to China from Europe they found Persian astronomers at the Chinese court, who yielded the field to their superior scientific knowledge. There are still many things in the Chinese ideas of astronomy which remind us of those of the ancient Chaldeans.

There were public markets in the towns to which the people generally resorted about noon; and there were shops also, where the artisans pursued their various callings, and sold, or exchanged with the farmers the produce of their labors for rice and other commodities of which they stood in need. Beyond the cultivated lands were pastures for sheep; and the rest of the country generally consisted of extensive forests, inhabited by tigers and other beasts of prey, which were so destructive, especially among the flocks, that great hunting-parties were made every spring for the purpose of destroying them; and this dangerous sport seems to have been the favorite amusement of the sovereigns and great men of the land.

For a long series of years, trade, even with foreign nations, appears to have been remarkably free. The markets of China were the resorts of foreign merchants before the Romans invaded Britain, and her ports were annually visited by great squadrons of commercial vessels from the Red sea, the Persian gulf, Ceylon, the Malabar coast and the coast of Coromandel.

The principal weapons used both in war and hunting were bows and arrows, consequently the practice of

archery was a constant and favorite sport of the great, and there were particular rules by which it was conducted; as, for example, the imperial target was the skin of a bear, while that of a stag was set up as a mark for a prince to aim at, and that of a tiger for the grantees of the court. Yet the Chinese have not often during their long history attempted to enter the lists of the world as a martial nation, holding literature, as they have done husbandry, in far higher estimation than military achievements; regarding the man who distinguishes himself by his literary attainments beyond him who gained renown by his warlike exploits, and the husbandman who labored in the field as a better member of society than the soldier who fought in it. Yet the petty princes were frequently at war with each other, so that the whole of the empire was seldom quite at peace.

The education of youth was considered of so much importance that every district was obliged by law to maintain a public school, where boys were sent at eight years of age to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and their several duties to parents, teachers, elders and magistrates, as well as to their equals and inferiors. They were also taught to commit to memory a great number of wise maxims and moral sentences contained in the writings of the ancient sages; and many of their lessons were in verse, that they might be the more readily learned and remembered. A new school was always opened with much ceremony in the presence of the chief magistrate, who delivered a discourse to the boys, exhorting them to be diligent and submissive to the master, and setting forth the advan-



An Archer of the Chinese Army



tages of learning, which has been, in every age, the only road to wealth and honors in China. At fifteen, those who had most distinguished themselves were sent to higher schools, where public lectures were given by learned professors on the laws and government of the empire, and such subjects as were best calculated to fit them for offices of state, to which those who attended these schools usually aspired, but which were never bestowed on any but such as had studied profoundly and given proofs of their knowledge. Subordination, submission to the laws, to parents and to all superiors, and a peaceful demeanor, were strictly inculcated. This instruction has continued unchanged. "The Chinese," says a modern writer, "teach contempt of the rude, instead of fighting with them; and the man who unreasonably insults another has public opinion against him, whilst he who bears and despises the affront is esteemed. A Chinese would stand and reason with a man, when an Englishman would knock him down, or an Italian stab him. It is needless to say which is the more rational mode of proceeding."

Among the arts that are held in high estimation among the Chinese is that of writing, which was known at so distant a period of their history that it must have been one of their earliest steps in civilization. This art, as practiced in China, is rather difficult of attainment, on account of the number and not very simple formation of the characters; yet it was rare to meet even with a poor peasant who could not read and write, for rich and poor were all educated alike, in the manner just described, which is mentioned as "the ancient system" in books that were written more than two thousand

years ago. The autographs of distinguished men are highly prized.

The females of China, from the empress to the wife of the meanest peasant, practiced the spinning and weaving of silk; which material, from the earliest times known, was used for clothing by the poor as well as by the rich, for the same reason that wool was used by the ancient English—because it was the material of which they had the greatest abundance. “When the king of France,” says Barrow, “introduced the luxury of silk stockings, the peasantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in silks from head to foot; and when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow, and the man in office enjoyed his silken mattress.”

The empresses of those days were as zealous in promoting the branches of industry adapted for females by their own example as were the emperors in encouraging agriculture by similar means. A plantation of mulberry trees was formed within the gardens of the palace, and a house built purposely for rearing the worms, which were tended by the ladies of the court and often fed by the fair hands of royalty. Every autumn a festival was held to commemorate the invention of silk-weaving, when the empress, attended by the princesses and ladies of her train, made sacrifices in the temple of the Earth, and then proceeded to her mulberry grove, where she gathered leaves and wound the cocoons of silk, which were afterward spun and woven by her own hands into small webs. These were carefully preserved for the grand spring festival, when they were burned in sacrifice.

Great attention was bestowed on the management of silkworms throughout the whole of the empire; and as it had been discovered that those which were fed on mulberry leaves produced a finer kind of silk than the common worms of the forest, a law was made by one of the early emperors that every man possessing an estate of not less than five acres should plant the boundary with mulberry trees.

The difference between the garments of the higher and lower orders consisted in the quality and colors of the silks of which they were composed and the fashion in which they were made. The robes of the grandees were often richly embroidered with gold and silver, and ornamented with various devices, according to their rank and occupation. The dress of a literary man was ornamented with a bird worked on a square of black silk on the breast, or with the figure of a tiger or some other animal or design; and these are among the innumerable customs which have been continued from that time to the present.

The wars among the princes, and the efforts of some of them to render themselves independent of the emperor, led to a vast deal of disorderly conduct in the several states, each petty sovereign being more intent upon his own aggrandizement than on keeping good order among his people; who, finding that the affairs of government were neglected and the laws seldom enforced, paid very little attention to them. Such was the state of the Chinese empire when the celebrated philosopher Confucius was born in the kingdom of Lu, one of the small sovereignties in the north of China. This event occurred when the ancient Greek republics

were in all their glory and Rome was just beginning to rise into power and greatness. The Greeks and Romans, however, knew little or nothing of China at that time, nor did the Chinese imagine there was any truly great empire in the world besides their own; an opinion they have maintained even until our own days.

But on the other hand it is manifest from the remains of great, populous and magnificently-built cities which stretch in a chain from the Mediterranean sea to the countries now embraced in the Chinese empire, from the historic legends and philology of the nations existing there, and from hints in the inspired history which the holy men of Palestine have given us, that there was kept up an intercourse by caravans¹ across the continent, and also by sea between the western and eastern sides of the continent. The silk, the cassia, the camphor, the broided work, the ivory, the porcelain of China, were known through the ages of the old Jewish dispensation to the people of India, Central Asia and Phœnicia and her neighbors. The vessels of Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, sailed two monsoons eastward and two monsoons back—a period of three years—which connected them at the Indian archipelago with the commerce which in like manner from the beginning of history has vibrated with the semi-annual monsoon up and down the China sea. The prophet Isaiah (as has been shown in a previous chapter) looked with glowing hope to the time when China, multitudinous and vast, and potential in Asia, should “come” to the feet of Immanuel as her Prince and Saviour.

¹ The most common route is traced by A. H. HEEREN; *Historical Researches*, vol. i.; Babylonians, chap. ii., vol. ii.; Appendix xiii., etc.

We observe, with strengthened confidence in the government of the Great King over all, the historical fact that the philosopher whose life marks the greatest moral era of the Chinese people was raised up just at the period when the Jewish nation was sent into captivity to Babylon, and when thus from that metropolis of Asiatic commerce, science and religious ideas there began to stream forth to the most distant confines of the continent the light of the clearer revelation of God and of the promise of a coming Saviour.

The influence of the dispersion of the Jews upon the literature and religious systems of the remoter East has long been a subject of the deepest interest. We observe the most distinct marks of it in the fragments of the religion of Zoroaster, the great philosopher of Persia; in the traditions of Bokhara, Affghanistan and Northern India; in the apparent hint by Confucius of "a holy One in the West;" in the continual pilgrimages of the Chinese in that direction to inquire for One that was to come; but still more plainly in the discovery in modern times of a colony of Jews upon the Yellow river, in the most populous part of China, whose accounts of themselves prove that they have been there since long before Christ. They were first brought to light by Semedo and Martini, Jesuit priests, in the year 1625. Within the past twenty years they have been visited several times by Protestant missionaries or Chinese members of Protestant churches; and some of them in turn have visited our stations on the coast. Some of their children have been sent to our schools to learn of Him of whom Moses and the prophets bore witness. Of late years they have become very poor, ceased some of

their ancient observances, and seem prepared for a change.

It is calculated to fill the soul of the thoughtful student of God's ways among the nations of the earth with awe and reverence to mark, inscribed upon the walls and tablets amidst the ancient temples upon the great river of the north, the grand and solemn declaration :

“HEAR, O ISRAEL! THE LORD OUR GOD IS ONE LORD.

“BLESSED BE THE NAME OF HIS GLORIOUS KINGDOM FOR EVER AND EVER.”

Or elsewhere these words :

“UNSEARCHABLE IS HIS NAME; FOR JEHOVAH IS THE GOD OF GODS.”

What a verse is the following in the Chinese, to meet the eyes of the worshipers of idols!—

“Raise thine eyes to Heaven, the source of creation;
 Canst thou refuse to render solemn praise?
 Or, bowing before the Lord of eternal life,
 Should'st thou not come with clean body and a pure heart?”

At what time this Jewish colony reached the city of Kai-fung, where now they reside, their traditions do not mention. No doubt they were one of many that were either pushed forth by the oppressions of the Persians or attracted by the fame of the wealth and grandeur of China, and were distributed at various times into different portions of what are now the territories or provinces of the Chinese empire. This colony seems to have known nothing of the fact of the advent and atonement of Christ or of the destruction of Jerusalem. They “ate not of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day; because God touched

the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank."¹ They have always kept the passover; and it is only within two centuries past that they have neglected to circumcise their children. Large portions of the Old Testament in Hebrew, written with the Masoretic points, have been obtained from their rabbis.

It seems to have been a part of the purpose of the great Governor of nations in the "captivity in Babylon" that the Jews should be dispersed over the East as witnesses of the approaching kingdom of his Son. In all the "hundred and twenty and seven provinces" of the empire, "from India even unto Ethiopia," "to the rulers of every people of every province, according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, in the name of King Ahasuerus," were written the wonderful works of the Almighty. And before any distinct colonies of the Jews could have made their homes in China some knowledge of them must have been carried thither. A remarkable evidence of the expectations of the Jews of Palestine and Egypt in regard to the return of their brethren then in China, and of the conversion of that nation to the Messiah, it is probable may be seen in the Septuagint translation of the Scriptures. In that version, made in Egypt at the desire of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, nearly three centuries before Christ, by seventy of the most learned Jews, the words, "These shall come from the land of Sinim," which modern enlightened criticism supposes means China, and which they knew most probably did so mean, they chose to render into the Greek by the substitute, "These shall come from the land of the Persians." Their purpose seems to have

¹Gen. xxxii. 32.

been to include the remotest East, all of which the Persians claimed as their possessions, and to signify that, as some of their brethren were known to have been driven to that distant empire by the God of all the earth, so thence also would He, according to his promise, bring them finally back again.

The age of Confucius was the great turning-point in Chinese history. He was to Eastern Asia what Luther was to Western Europe—the great harbinger of the departure of an old, corrupt and iron age, and of the advent of a new, thinking, progressive, silver age. Or we might compare the new era of Chinese history from the beginning of the Han dynasty (249 B. C.) to that of the Roman empire in the Augustan age.

These statements seem necessary as preliminary to some account of Confucius himself.

The proper name of this greatest philosopher of the Oriental world was Kung Chung-ni, the first, according to the Chinese order, being the family name. He is popularly styled Kung Fu-tsz; the last word is a title which we may translate "doctor," or "professor." The French missionaries have given us the Latin form of this title, Confucius. He was born about 550 B. C., and was nearly contemporaneous with the Jewish prophet Daniel. He was the only son of a lady of illustrious family, if not of royal rank. His father, who had several other sons by another wife, held a high government employment, but dying some three years after his birth, seems to have left the future philosopher very indifferently provided for. He was a native of what is now Shantung, in the north-east corner of the empire, the province where he grew up. In his nineteenth year he married,

but divorced his wife after she had borne him a son. The Chinese tell marvelous stories of his love of study when a child and of his early proficiency. They also record a little fact which may interest phrenologists—namely, that Confucius' head was remarkable for the elevation of its crown.

His object in acquiring knowledge was to turn it to the purposes of moral reform and good government. When he thought himself sufficiently qualified to instruct the age in which he lived, he quitted his solitude for populous cities and the courts of princes and rulers. China was not then united and governed by one emperor as now. When Confucius began his mission there were many independent kings. The Chinese were not then more pacific than the rest of mankind. King warred against king, and every part of the Celestial Empire was in its turn deluged with blood. Not long before the birth of the philosophical reformer the horrors of internal war had been increased by some of the belligerents calling in the foreign aid of the Tartars, but at the period when he commenced his travels a powerful international confederacy had been formed, and China was comparatively tranquil.

He made a progress through the different states, giving public lectures on the benefit of virtue and social order, which produced such good effects that in a short time he was at the head of about three thousand disciples, who were converts to his doctrines and practiced the rules he laid down for their conduct. His fame increased with his years. He now visited the different princes, and endeavored to prevail upon them to establish a wise and peaceful administration in their respect-

ive territories. His wisdom and birth recommended him to the patronage of the kings; he was anxious to apply his theory to practical government, but he had to learn by sad experience that his designs must frequently be thwarted. After many changes and disappointments, he became prime minister in his native country, Lu, when fifty-five years of age. By his influence and his prudent measures the state of the kingdom underwent a thorough change within the space of three years. It is said that while he continued in power justice was so well administered that if gold or jewels were dropped on the highway they would remain untouched until the rightful owner appeared to claim them. But the corrupt influences communicated from the neighboring kingdom of Tsi were the means of staying the progress of reformation, and at length of compelling the departure of Confucius.

He was repulsed at three different courts to which he applied for office in order that he might improve the morals of the people; and after many other wanderings and disappointments he went into the kingdom of Chin, where he spent some time in grief. From Chin he went again to Lu, and vainly solicited to be re-employed in the government of that state. Meanwhile, war had again broken out among the rival kingdoms. Not being able to rule, or to make people virtuous, peaceful and happy, Confucius devoted himself entirely to philosophy, and the composition of those works which have rendered his name immortal, and the precepts of which, even to this day, regulate both the government and the religion of the state. His system perhaps may be more properly termed one of morality than of religion, as it is intended to

inculcate the duties of men toward each other, rather than those which they owe to a superior being. The Confucians speak of Heaven as supreme, which, if it mean the great Creator, does so only in a vague and impersonal sense, and they adore the earth as the mother of all things; but they have no regular priesthood, their religious rites consisting solely of sacrifices made in the temples on stated occasions, when the emperor officiates as high priest and the chief officials of the court as his subordinates. The reformation in which Confucius was the prime mover consisted mainly in the new force given to the idea of the parental relation, in founding firmly upon this theory the whole structure of the government, and in the higher and purer motives infused into the mutual obligations of society and into the acts of religion. The books of Confucius, which are universally studied by the Chinese as sacred volumes, teach them that the true principles of virtue and social order are, obedience to parents, and so representatively to elders and rulers; and the not acting toward others as they would wish that others should not act toward them. In the works of this great moralist the duties of the sovereign are as strictly laid down as those of his subjects; and while they are enjoined to obey him as a father, he is exhorted to take care of them as though they were his children. There was nothing absolutely new in this patriarchal system of government, which had existed from the very beginning of the monarchy; but it was brought into a more perfect form, and the mutual obligations of princes and people were more clearly defined than they had ever been before. But it was not only on the government of the empire collectively that

this celebrated teacher bestowed his attention; he also stated laws for private families, founded on the same principle of obedience from the younger to the elder and submission from the inferior to the superior. Indeed, all classes of persons, including even young children, were instructed in the duties of their several stations. Through his rigid principles, and firm, uncompromising practice of them, the philosopher gained many enemies. His life was more than once in danger, and his death was saddened with the spectacle of the wretched state of his country, and the apparent fruitlessness of his labors. The vital defects in the doctrines of Confucius are those of all human wisdom. The great teacher could show with wonderful distinctness the offenses of man against heaven, society, and self; but he could point his disciples to no way of reparation of wrong, pardon of sin, and reconciliation with a just Ruler of the universe. He could teach truth, right, and duty; but not impart a will to choose and the strength to obey them. This is the revelation of the gospel of Christ."

The envy and hatred of his contemporaries soon passed away, and his disciples succeeded in erecting Confucius and his philosophy as the great objects of national veneration. When the empire was amalgamated and peace restored, his works, which had largely contributed to that happy issue, were looked upon as of paramount authority, and to mutilate or in any way to alter their sense was held a crime deserving of condign punishment. Unfortunately, however, the brevity and obscurity of the language rendered alterations and mistakes of the sense numerous and inevitable. Though

he had been left to conclude his life in poverty and neglect, the greatest honors and privileges were heaped upon his descendants, who still exist, and may be called the only hereditary nobility of China. In all the revolutions that have happened their privileges have been respected; every male of them holds by birth an honorary rank, and they are all exempted from the payment of taxes.

The writings of Confucius are chiefly on the subject of moral philosophy; but there are among them two books which may be considered historical—the one relating to his own, and the other to more ancient times. From the former—the *Chun-tsiu*, literally “Spring and Autumn,” or “Annals”—is gathered all that is known of the state of the country at that period. The latter is regarded more as traditionary than as historical, for it is supposed to be merely a collection and arrangement of the records kept at the courts of the early monarchs by their historians; this is the *Shu-king*, or “Book of History.” The *Shi-king*, or “Book of Odes,” contains ancient poems and songs, which used to be sung or recited before the emperors, the compositions of patriotic bards who celebrated in verse the great and good actions of the heroes and sages. These traditional poems were collected and revised by Confucius, who formed them into a volume, which is still one of the standard works of the Chinese, and must be studied by all who aspire to preferment, as it forms the subject of a part of their examination ere they can be admitted as candidates for any high office. The same great man formed into a ritual all the ancient observances, both in public and private life, being of opinion that the preservation of order in a

state depended much upon the outward forms of society in general. This "Book of Rites" regulates the ceremonial observances of the whole community, from the emperor to the most obscure of his subjects, and it has maintained its influence from that time to the present in forming the manners of the people. The study of this book constitutes an important branch of the education of every Chinese. Confucius spent the whole of his long life in the practice and teaching of virtue. Two thousand four hundred years have elapsed since his death, and yet his name continues to be held in as much veneration as ever throughout the Chinese empire; and although he did not pretend to divine inspiration like Mohammed, or profess to be endowed with more than human attributes, he is worshiped as a superior being, and many temples are dedicated to him in all the provinces of China. The learned and refined are, however, careful to distinguish the worship which they render to Confucius from that offered by the common people to the Buddhist and other idols. They never employ in it an image or picture of the philosopher, but write his name, with some eulogistic titles, as the "most holy" or "wise," on a tablet of wood several inches in length and a third as wide, and before that present their oblations and bow themselves to the earth. The Jesuits in China maintained long and bitter discussions with the Dominicans and some other missionaries in behalf of the permission of the worship to Confucius among their converts. They were willing to sanction it because it procured them the favor of the learned and powerful class of the empire, and also the worship of ancestors, which was most deeply rooted in the hearts of the whole people.

The Tibetan, the Buddhist and other idolatries have divided influence with the system of Confucius, but have never overthrown its empire. All classes, from the emperor on the throne to the poor mariner on board the junk, burn gilt paper and offer sacrifices to wooden idols, practice incantations and offer up prayers to countless false gods, but at the same time they revere the name of Confucius, and the more enlightened of the nation pretend to be chiefly guided by his merely philosophical dictates. The mass of his laws and instructions is still followed to the letter by Chinese, Japanese, Coreans, Cochinchinese and other people, who, taken collectively, will probably exceed five hundred millions of souls.

If Christianity had nothing else in its favor than the elevation of the female condition and character, it ought to be revered as the purest and best of faiths. Confucius, like other Eastern lawgivers that preceded or followed him, has said little that is designed to elevate woman, or to inspire in man proper sentiments with regard to her position and influence in society. The worthy Protestant missionary, Gutzlaff, remarks, "We regret to say that he treats women and the duties of husbands toward their wives very slightly. By not giving a proper rank in society to females—by denying to them the privileges which are their due as sisters, mothers, wives and daughters, the more sensitive and devoted part of our kind—he has marred the harmony of social life and put a barrier against the improvement of society."

There was something in the system of Confucius calculated to carry the Chinese to a pitch of learning and

civilization beyond the other nations of Eastern Asia. After the fall of the Roman empire, and when all Europe was involved in the darkness of the Middle Ages, China might be considered as the greatest and most civilized kingdom upon earth. But, one by one, all the countries in the West awoke to a second dawn, and they have generally continued to improve ever since, while China has remained comparatively stationary. The peculiarity and difficulty of the language of the Chinese; the geographical situation of their country; the fact that for many centuries their neighbors and the only people they had frequent intercourse with were rude barbarians, that could suggest no improvement and no comparison, except such as was most flattering to themselves, have further tended to make them remain perfectly satisfied with the state of excellence in civil polity, arts and literature at which they had arrived, and to produce their past inflexible and self-complacent attachment to the ideas of ancient times. But a change is coming over the empire since it has been humbled by the late foreign wars, and since the light of Western religion and science has begun to penetrate it, which it will be our place to exhibit in another portion of the present volume.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE IN CHINA.

THE Augustan age of Rome was the period of her greatest power and renown. It was the boast of her people then that her armies had conquered the world. The Christian Church is accustomed to regard the extension of the dominion of Rome over the nations as one principal preparation for the coming of the Messiah and the universal preaching of the gospel. This is no doubt true. But it is a remarkable evidence of man's limited knowledge of the providence of the Most High that there was at the same period an empire equally extended and powerful upon the opposite side of the globe. The simultaneous existence of these empires, each so little acquainted with the other, is like that wonder of the heavens created by the moon's revolving round the earth in exactly the same time in which it revolves upon its own axis, so presenting to the gaze of the human race from age to age precisely the same surface. The opposite side of our satellite is as well lighted by the sun, and no doubt corresponds with that which we look upon in its physical character. But if it be peopled by any intelligent beings, they have never yet seen, from any of those opposite lands, the great world around which

they unconsciously revolve. Nor, on the other hand, has any inhabitant of our earth ever beheld that mysterious hemisphere of theirs which is turned so constantly away from us.

And so it seems to have been with much of the history of our world, which has moved on from age to age, the one and the other of its two great sides each knowing so little of that which was opposite. The side which we see is what lies westward of the region where man was created, where revelation was bestowed and where Jesus Christ died. Westward the course of empire has moved for us. But there is another side of the globe whither at least equal colonies of mankind at first advanced; where God's providence has been full as beneficent; where some of his moral precepts have been on the whole better kept; where he as mightily prepared the way for the manifestation of the knowledge of his Son; where it is not improbable the preaching of the apostles was originally as successful; and where, though, as in many portions of Europe and America, the truth has been forgotten, yet there is reason to believe the triumphs of the kingdom of the Messiah will be as glorious as we anticipate they will be amidst the nations of the West.

We read of the preparation of the world for the advent of the Saviour by the extension of the Greek and Roman empires, and their influence upon the civilization of the West; but it is not observed by historians that the preparation of the East for the same event was as distinct and complete. It is not within the scope of the present volume to trace this parallel at length. But we are at a point where it may be mentioned, and where

a few of the more remarkable particulars may be grouped together.

As the Greeks spread over the West a "wisdom" which prepared it for the "power" of the Romans, so the philosophy of Confucius, who wonderfully resembled Socrates in many respects, prepared China for the conquests of the Han dynasty. The Punic wars and the downfall of Carthage in the third century before Christ were an advance toward the consolidation of society and the formation of the imperial power; and at the same period we see the states of China first united in one great empire. Civil wars had prevailed in each of these two portions of the world. Peace reigned, it is commonly said, just at the birth of Christ, so that, as a sign of it, at Rome the temple of Janus was shut. In China it is remarkable that the name of the monarch who sat upon the throne was Ping-ti, which means the *emperor*, or *prince, of peace*. In the West, the magi of Persia, moved by the universal expectation, went westward to seek the new-born King. In China, within the same century, a royal commission was sent toward the same quarter to inquire for "a holy One" that was to arise; and this was the sad occasion of the introduction of Buddhism, whose priests imposed upon the members of it the statement that the religious founder of the sect—a Hindù prince—was the one whose doctrines would satisfy their spiritual longings.

The founder of the first general dynasty, which dates from the year 249 B. C., was Chi Hwang-ti. He had been a prince or king of the Tsin, a powerful state in the north-west. He conquered the neighboring states in succession, and at length established his dominion over

the most of the territory now embraced in the empire proper. The name Tsin was given to the very brief but memorable dynasty which he established.

When Chi Hwang-ti had subdued all the petty princes, he turned his arms against the Tartars, who had become very troublesome neighbors, making frequent hostile incursions into the Chinese territories. They were portions of the same general people who in European history are called Huns and Turks. They consisted of numerous tribes, who wandered about the barren plains of Central Asia, living partly by hunting and partly by plunder; and as they were a much more warlike people than the Chinese, they were enemies very greatly to be dreaded. The emperor therefore devised a plan to keep off their invasions by erecting a wall along the whole extent of the northern frontier, of such a height, thickness and solidity as to be proof against any attempts which might be made either to scale or to effect a breach in it.

In order to obtain a sufficient number of workmen for so vast an undertaking as the building of the Great Wall, the emperor ordered that every third laboring man throughout the empire should be compelled to enter his service, and they were forced to labor like slaves, without receiving any compensation beyond a bare supply of food. The wall extended fifteen hundred miles, from the gulf of Liau-tung, an arm of the Yellow sea, to the most western province of Kansuh. It was carried over the highest mountains, through the deepest valleys, and, by means of arches, across the rivers. Its breadth was sufficient to allow of six horsemen riding abreast on its summit, and it was fortified by strong towers, built at

short distances apart, in which guards were stationed. The exterior was formed of stone and brickwork of the most solid construction, which was filled in with earth, so as to render it impenetrable; and the whole was finished in the short space of five years.

Such is the account generally given of the Great Wall of China, which has now stood for two thousand years, and has been regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Dr. Johnson was accustomed to say of it that it would be an honor to any man to be able to say that his grandfather had seen the Great Wall of China. Lord Macartney exclaimed on seeing it that it was certainly the most stupendous work of human hands, and he rationally concluded that at the remote period of its building, China must have been a very powerful and civilized empire. Mr. Barrow, who saw it with Lord Macartney, went into some amusing calculations as to the quantity of materials it contains. According to his account, all the materials of all the dwelling-houses of England and Scotland, supposing them at that period (the end of the last century) to amount to 1,800,000, and to average 2000 cubic feet of brickwork or masonry, would be barely equivalent to the bulk of the wall, without taking in its fortresses and towers, which he calculated contained as much masonry and brickwork as all London did at that time. The eastern termination of the wall has been often visited by foreign vessels since the treaty of Tien-tsin and the opening of the port of Niu-chwang, to the north of it, to trade with us. The descriptions of it corroborate the accounts of it by previous travelers. Stupendous as was the work, we shall presently see that it failed in its object.

Chi Hwang-ti, a title which literally signifies the "first emperor," seems to have been extremely ambitious of fame; for although he had rendered his name immortal by the work just described, he aspired to still higher renown, and even entertained the vain-glorious desire that his name should be handed down to posterity as the founder of the Chinese monarchy. But there was a great obstacle to the attainment of this end which none but the veriest tyrant would have thought of removing; and that was the existence of a vast number of books wherein might be read the histories of those who had reigned before him. The emperor, however, was one of those who would sacrifice everything which stands between them and the object on which they have set their hearts; therefore he issued a peremptory order that all books and writings of every description should be collected and burned by the magistrates of each district throughout the whole empire; and the decree was so strictly enforced that many literary men were put to death for being detected in attempts to save valuable records.

But the tyrant whose mischievous ambition had tempted him to commit such an act of madness missed the end he had in view; for, in spite of all his precautions, several copies of the works of Confucius and some other eminent authors were hidden behind the walls and under the floors of different houses, where they remained until the death of the emperor rendered it safe to bring them again to light.

It is somewhere related of this same prince that when dying he commanded that his favorite wife and a number of slaves should be buried with him. This dreadful

custom had existed in the barbarous ages, and was common among the Tartars and Hindùs, not only at the death of princes, but also at those of all classes of the people, from a superstitious belief that the wives and domestics thus interred would pass with the deceased into the next world and be ready to attend upon him there. With the same idea the Chinese used in latter times to bury clothes, furniture, and even food, for the use of the departed, with a number of effigies in the likeness of slaves; and this custom has been continued down to the present time—with this difference, that most of the articles now sacrificed are made of paper; millions of bundles being consumed annually in these superstitious rites. The revolting practice of immolating human beings had, however, been so long out of date that it is mentioned in reference to this period as a relic of the barbarism of distant ages.

Chi Hwang-ti appointed his eldest son to succeed him; a case of rare occurrence. The custom of bestowing territories on the princes of the royal family was abolished by Chi Hwang-ti, who saw that these petty sovereignties were sure to occasion civil warfare. He therefore provided for his family by giving to each of his immediate male relatives a palace in one of the great cities, with a suitable maintenance, and the privilege of wearing yellow, which was then, as it is now, the imperial color, and, as a distinctive mark of rank, is highly valued. A yellow girdle has a greater degree of importance in China than a blue ribbon in Europe. It is always a sign that the wearer is nearly related to the emperor. The prince chosen by Chi Hwang-ti as his successor happening to be absent at the time of his father's death, a younger

son took advantage of the circumstance to seize on the sovereignty, and contrived to have his brother secretly strangled. But the usurper did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime, for he made himself so unpopular by neglecting the affairs of the state and attending to nothing but his own pleasures, that a formidable insurrection broke out in the country, headed by the chief of a band of freebooters, named Liu-pang, a man distinguished by many noble qualities, although he was no better than a robber. It is related of this adventurer that just after the breaking out of the rebellion he happened to meet a fortune-teller on the road, who, falling at his feet, said he offered him this mark of homage because he saw by the lines in his face that he was destined shortly to become emperor. In making this prediction the soothsayer no doubt foresaw the probability of its accomplishment, for it was not an unlikely termination of the rebellion that the leader, if successful, should be placed on the throne; with this belief, therefore, the stranger followed up his prophecy by offering his only daughter in marriage to the chief. Liu-pang accepted the proposal and married the lady, who was thus, by her father's artifice, raised to the dignity of empress; for, after many scenes of violence and bloodshed, in which the lawful emperor lost his life, the insurgents were victorious and their leader was raised to the imperial throne.

The new sovereign was a native of the kingdom of Han, one of those small states into which the empire had formerly been divided; therefore he is called the founder of the Han dynasty. The princes of his race occupied the throne for more than four centuries. The

first of the race obtained the sovereignty two hundred and two years before the Christian era, and commenced one of the most celebrated periods of Chinese history. In spite of the Great Wall, the Tartars continued their predatory warfare, and sorely disquieted the more polished and peaceful Chinese, who vainly attempted to propitiate them with alliances and tribute. The first emperors of this race endeavored to make friends of the great Tartar chiefs by giving them their daughters in marriage. A native historian of the period exclaims: "Our disgrace could not be exceeded: from this time China lost her honor!" In the reign of Yuen-ti, the ninth emperor, the Tartars having been provoked by the punishment inflicted by the Chinese on two of their chiefs, who had transgressed the boundaries of the Great Wall while engaged in hunting, the empire was again invaded by the "erratic nations," and a princess was demanded and yielded in marriage. These incidents form the subject of one of the hundred plays of Yuen, an English version of which was printed in London under the name of the "Sorrows of Han." The impolitic system of buying off the barbarians, which commenced thus early, led many centuries afterward to the total overthrow of the empire by the Tartars.

During this period, however, the Chinese made very important advances in civilization. The arts and sciences were improved, literature was encouraged, agriculture was in a progressive state, and several useful inventions date their origin from the same era. Among the latter, one of the most important is the manufacture of paper, which is supposed to have been commenced toward the end of the first century. The Egyptians had long pos-

sessed the art of making paper from the rush called papyrus, which was also used at Rome for the same purpose in the first century; but that the Chinese obtained their knowledge from either Rome or Egypt may well be doubted. Before they were acquainted with this useful art they were accustomed to write on thin slips of bamboo, not with ink, but with pointed tools, similar to those used by engravers, with which they cut or engraved the characters. Books were formed of bamboo by taking off the outside bark, and cutting it into thin sheets, all of the same shape and size; which, after the writing was finished, were strung together in such a manner as to form a compact, though rather clumsy, volume. At length, about the year of our era 95, it was ascertained, by what means does not appear, that bamboo might be made into a better material for writing upon than it furnished in its natural state, by pounding it in a mortar with water until it became a thin paste, which, being spread out on a flat surface, was dried into what we call paper. The earliest specimens of this new art in China were probably of a very rough description, but the manufacture was gradually improved by the mixture of silk and other materials, until the Chinese were able to produce a paper of the most beautiful texture, adapted for printing, which we now call India paper, and another kind for painting, known by the name of rice paper.

The history of paper, as we now possess it in Europe and America, is curious. The Tartars borrowed the art from their neighbors, substituting *cotton*, which abounded in their country, for the bamboo. At the commencement of the eighth century, when the conquests of the Arabs carried them to Samarkand, in the heart of the

Scythian wilds, they found the manufacture of cotton paper established there. The Arabs learned the art from the Tartars, as the Tartars had learned it from the Chinese, and in their turn substituted *linen* for cotton. To the Arabs, therefore, we are indebted for the inestimable article or paper made from linen; but whether the art of making it was introduced by the Italians of Venice, Gaeta and Amalfi, who, during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries kept up a constant commercial intercourse with Syria and Egypt, or whether the Saracens (Arabs under another name), who conquered Spain in the early part of the eighth century, made known the manufacture in that country, has not, as yet, been clearly ascertained. Mr. Mills reasonably supposes that the flourishing linen manufactories at Valencia suggested the idea of the substitution of linen for cotton in that part of Europe, as the cotton manufactories at Samarkand induced the Tartars to employ cotton instead of bamboo.

The invention of paper naturally leads to that of ink, which in China is always made in those cakes which are imported by the merchants of Western countries under the name of Indian ink; it is used with the camel's-hair pencils for writing by the Chinese, who do not require such pens as ours in the formation of their hieroglyphical characters.

Most of the princes of the Han dynasty were munificent patrons of learning; they bestowed the highest dignities on men of literary fame, and thus learning, as in earlier times, continued to be the only sure road to wealth and honors. Nobility was not hereditary except in the imperial family, but depended entirely on personal merit;

and as it was always bestowed by the emperor, so it could be taken away at his pleasure. Thus the nobles, or highest class of mandarins in China, are not necessarily persons of high birth, but are men of learning, who must have passed a public examination with credit before they can aspire to rank and office in the state. This peculiar constitution of the government of China has continued down to the present time.

Under the Han dynasty lands were, for the first time, frequently bestowed on men of rank, with people to cultivate them, who were bound to the soil and were to a certain extent slaves: but it is not very clear how far the authority of their masters extended, how large a portion of the peasantry was thus held in vassalage, or how long the system continued. There are a few slaves in China at the present time. They are not, however, people of other races or countries. It is a mild servitude, like that among the Hebrews, which is sometimes entered into voluntarily by debtors or persons in distress through famine or other calamities. Poor parents often sell their children. The absurd stories that rich capitalists bring slaves to the mines in California are without foundation; they arise from the custom of forming "companies" or associations for their mutual benefit.

Reference has already been made to the extraordinary commission¹ of the emperor Ming-ti in the year 65 A. D., while several of the apostles were yet living and preaching in various parts of the continent of Asia, in search of further light as to some new religion, of which he

¹ It is said to have consisted of eighteen officers of state, with a prince of Chu, the brother of the emperor, as the head.

had heard, and which it is far from impossible was Christianity. Eusebius, the historian of the early Church, says that to Thomas was allotted Parthia, and to Andrew, Scythia. These names were each commonly applied to Northern and Eastern Asia. And traces of their primitive labors yet remain in some parts of the East. The counsels of Heaven alone can solve the reason why China was allowed to remain in the darkness of heathenism, while the gospel preached in the West was efficacious in converting multitudes and became the religion of its nations.

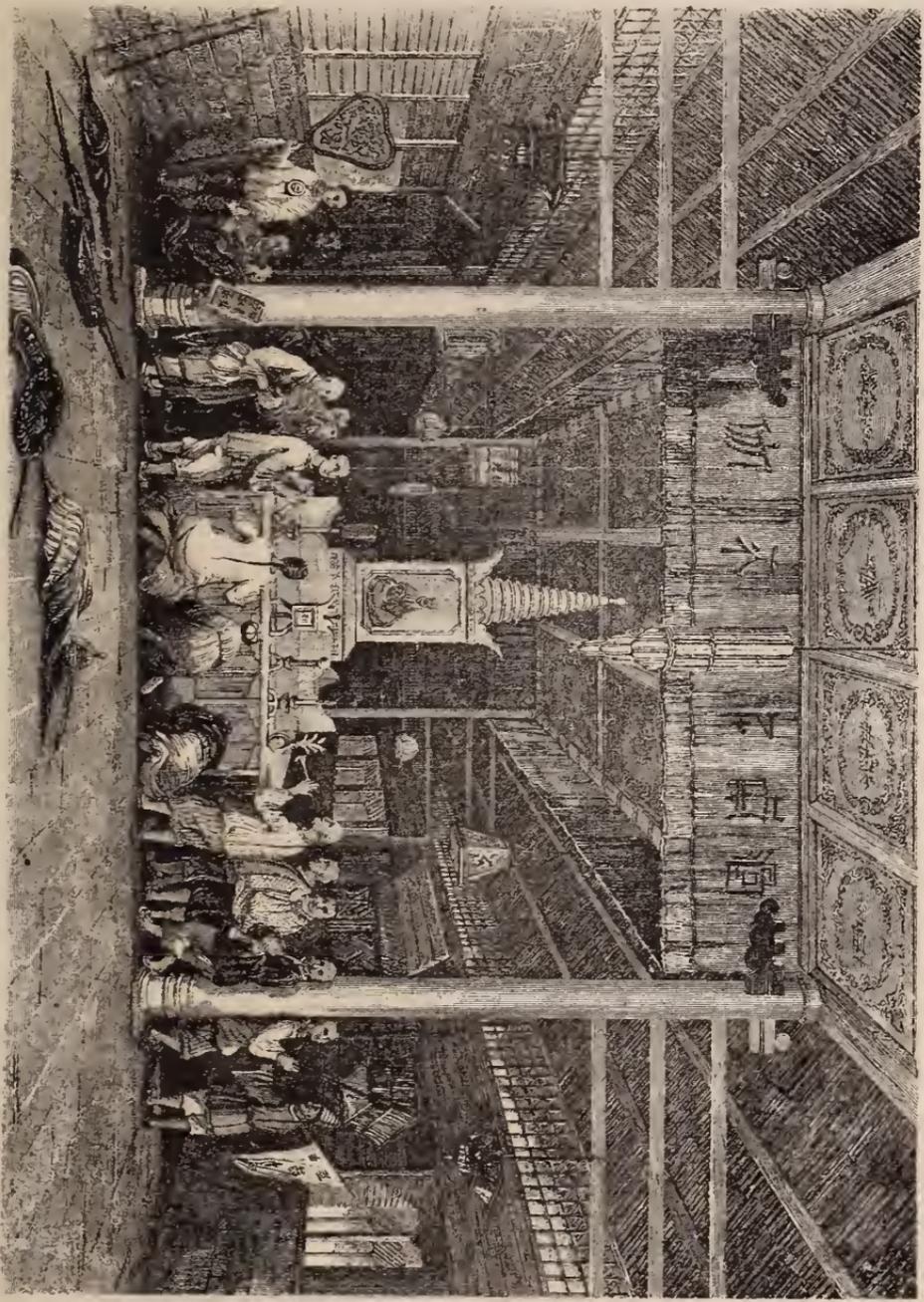
Some account of Buddhism will here be interesting. One of its leading doctrines was, and is, that of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls; according to which the Buddhists believe that the soul quits one corporeal frame to animate another, not necessarily of the human species; for that reason a Buddhist is forbidden by the laws of his creed to destroy animal life in any shape. Sakyamuni, the founder of the sect, is believed by the followers of it to be an incarnation of Buddha, or Fuh. The deity is said to have passed through one great incarnation, is now in another, and another will take place in the future. These they usually represent in their temples by three great gilded idols, which they term the three precious Buddhas.

The Buddhist priesthood dwell together in communities in the manner of monks, subsisting chiefly upon alms, like those of the Roman and other churches. The head of this religion in Tibet, who holds the same rank among the votaries of Buddhism there, at least, as the Pope does among those of the Roman Church, is called the Grand Lama. He resides with much state in

Tibet, and is supposed to be immortal; for when he dies, it is given out that his soul has passed into the body of some infant, whom the priests pretend to identify by certain signs, and who is brought up in the belief that the same spirit which animated the form of his predecessor exists within himself. Thus the office of Grand Lama always commences with infancy and lasts till the close of life. There are a great many female devotees belonging to this faith, who live like nuns secluded from the world, and never marry; but they are not so numerous in China as in Tibet, Japan and Tartary. The Buddhists have five prohibitory commandments, which they strictly observe. These are—"Not to destroy animal life; not to steal; not to speak falsely; not to drink wine; and that the priests or bonzes shall not marry." Their belief as to their final state is, that after having passed through a certain term of probation upon this earth under various forms, they shall at length be received into the paradise of Buddha and partake of his divine nature.

Some of the Chinese sovereigns adopted this faith, while others encouraged the sect of Tau, "Reason," a native system, the founder of which was Lau-tsz, a contemporary of Confucius. The Tauists might be called magicians rather than a sect of philosophy or religion. Among those who favored them was Wu-ti, one of the early emperors of the Han dynasty, a prince who was famed for many virtues, but was strongly addicted to the belief in magic, and maintained a number of the Tauist priests at his court, who were constantly engaged in studies which he was credulous enough to believe would lead at last to the discovery of the elixir of life, a

Temple of Buddha opposite Canton



draught of which he was extremely anxious to taste. In this hope he was continually supplying the sages with large sums of money to enable them to procure the rare ingredients for making the wonderful liquid, some of which they pretended were hidden in remote corners of the earth, and only to be obtained with great difficulty and by the aid of magic.

In vain did the ministers remonstrate with him on the folly of squandering the public money in such idle pursuits. He turned a deaf ear to their exhortations, and gave his whole attention to the Tauists and their experiments. At length it was announced that the coveted draught was really prepared, and the chief priest was deputed to convey it in a golden cup to his royal patron; when, in crossing the great hall of the palace, one of the ministers, feigning a desire to look closely at so miraculous a compound, suddenly snatched the cup from the hands of the astonished priest and drank off its contents. The enraged and disappointed emperor ordered that the offender should instantly lose his head; a consequence that had been foreseen by the daring courtier, who had provided himself with a very clever defence. "O most mighty prince!" said he, "how is it possible for thy commands to deprive me of life, if the potion I have just swallowed has really the power ascribed to it? Then make the trial; I willingly submit to the test; but remember, that if I die, thy system must be a false one, and in that case my poor life will have been well bestowed in convincing my prince of his error." The monarch pondered on these words for a few moments, and then pardoned the offender; not so much, perhaps, from motives of clemency as from reluctance to be un-

deceived, or to let the world into the secret of his credulity; so that it is evident he began to waver in the faith he had professed. The Tauists were engaged in other researches no less chimerical than that of finding means of prolonging human life beyond its natural time, and many of them spent the greater part of their lives in the search after the philosopher's stone. Yet we need not wonder at the folly and credulity of the Chinese princes in bestowing attention on such fruitless speculations so early as the first century, when we find the most profound scholars of Europe thirteen hundred years later engaged in the same visionary pursuits; and may read of one of the German emperors at the beginning of the seventeenth century neglecting the affairs of the state to shut himself up with the alchemists whom he maintained at his court, assisting them in their experiments, and expecting that they would at length discover the two great secrets which would bestow on him the gifts of endless life and inexhaustible riches.

The reign of Hwan-ti is memorable on account of a Roman embassy which reached China, according to the histories of that period, in the year 166 A.D. The fact of this intercourse makes more probable the brief assertions of the preaching of Christianity in those distant regions. The Romans are said to have come part of the way by sea, part by land, through Cochin-China. They are spoken of by the Chinese as remarkable for their wealth and for their integrity and honesty. It is interesting to remark also that accounts of Rome exist which seem to have been furnished by Chinese who visited that city about the same period, and even earlier, since they refer to the election of consuls by the people

themselves. The Chinese armies conquered during the Han dynasty the countries to the west and south of the empire, which have paid them tribute until now. One general is said to have reached the Caspian sea.

Toward the close of the second century the power of the Han dynasty began to decline. Some of the princes were weak, others wicked; the eunuchs of the palace fomented discord; and at length a formidable insurrection broke out, called "The Revolt of the Yellow Caps"—a cap of that color being the badge of the disaffected party, whose object was to depose the reigning family and place some warlike chieftain on the throne.

Ho-ti, the seventeenth emperor of the race of Han, is said to have had considerable intercourse with the nations to the west of China. It is even recorded that one of his envoys went as far as Arabia. It is certain that eunuchs, who afterward became numerous in China and the cause of infinite intrigue, malice, wickedness, confusion and revolt, were first introduced during this reign, and it may be inferred that Ho-ti borrowed them from Western Asia at the close of the first century of the Christian era.

The troubles occasioned by the Yellow Caps led to several usurpations of the imperial dignity, and opened a new field of ambition to the kings of Han, Wu and Wei, who each boldly asserted his claims to the throne. A fierce contest ensued, which lasted forty-three years, and is celebrated in Chinese history under the title of "The War of the Three Kingdoms." It would be vain to seek for any rational account of the events which marked this unhappy period of civil warfare. It was

the Chinese age of chivalry, and each chief was exalted into a wonderful hero by the writers of the time, who blended so much romance with history that nothing certain can be gathered from their works beyond the fact that the country was divided into three separate states, the sovereigns of which were at war with each other for nearly half a century.

The period of the "Three Kingdoms," into which the country was divided about A. D. 184, is a favorite subject of the historical plays and romances of the Chinese. A work designated by the above name is much prized and very popular among them. It is said to have as few extravagances as could be expected from an Oriental history, and, except that it is in prose, bears a resemblance in some of its features to the *Iliad*, especially in what Lord Chesterfield calls "the porter-like language" of the heroes. These heroes excel all moderns in strength and prowess, and make exchanges after the fashion of Glaucus and Diomed, Hector and Ajax. One shows his liberality in horses, another in wearing a weight of silver or *iron*—

"And steel well-tempered, and refulgent gold."

At length there appeared among the competitors for the imperial throne a prince who put an end to the war and reunited the three states under one sceptre. He assumed the title of emperor, established the capital in Ho-nan, and commenced, in A. D. 260, the dynasty called *Tsin*, a name which, though it is spelled in our alphabet like that of the first general dynasty of the empire, five hundred years earlier, yet is written in the Chinese with a different character. The new dynasty ruled over

China somewhat more than a century and a half, during which period fifteen sovereigns succeeded each other on the throne.

Warned by the destructions which had arisen from the interference and intrigues of women and eunuchs, the new sovereign of the race of Tsin passed a kind of Salic law, declaring that "women should not reign nor take any part in public matters." The Chinese historian of the period says that this was a good law and worthy of being an example. It was, however, soon abrogated in practice. Under weak emperors the women resumed their influence, and the mischievous eunuchs were greatly increased in number. This first emperor is said to have had political relations with a province of Sogdiana, and even to have received a Roman embassy.

The population of the country had so considerably increased that it had been found necessary to clear and cultivate much of the forest land, that a sufficiency of food might be raised for the people, who lived chiefly on rice. The peasantry were exceedingly industrious, the women and children working in the fields as well as the men; and as the farms on which they labored were in most cases their own, they had the greater motives for exertion. Many people at this period were employed in rearing horses for war, and most of the farmers grazed cattle on the commons; but this kind of farming was gradually discontinued as the necessity of bringing the public land under culture increased, till at length there were very few commons or pastures left, cattle became scarce, and sheep were only to be found in the mountainous districts.

The country people lived more together in large

families. It was customary for a son to bring his wife home to his father's house, where she was expected to submit entirely to the authority of her mother-in-law, whose province it was, as elder matron, to rule over the female part of the household; and if this part of the domination was not always exercised in the most gentle manner possible, it was no less the duty of the daughters-in-law to yield implicit obedience. Hence partly, perhaps, arose the custom prevalent among Chinese maidens, when any one of their young friends is about to marry, of going to sit and weep with her before she leaves her parental home to take up her abode with strangers. The birth of a son was always celebrated with great rejoicings, but that of a daughter was considered as rather a misfortune than otherwise, especially if the parents were poor; for a girl could in no way advance the fortunes of her family, whereas a boy always had the chance, at least, by applying himself to learning, of attaining high honors; and in that case his parents were sure to be exalted also as a reward for the attention they had bestowed on his education, which was regarded as a benefit to the state; and even if he were not gifted with extraordinary talents, he was looked up to for future support, as every young man was obliged by law to maintain his aged parents, and taught by his religion that it was one of his most sacred obligations so to do. This point of filial duty was held in so much importance by the government that a law was enacted to the effect that the life of a criminal, who would otherwise be condemned to death, should be spared, provided his parents were old, and had no other son or grandson above the age of sixteen to work for them.

Different names were given to an individual at successive periods of his life. The first was bestowed at his birth by his father, who, having assembled all his relatives, took the infant in his arms and pronounced its name with numerous prayers and ceremonies; the next name was conferred on the boy's first entrance into school by the master, and was called "the book-name;" the third appellation was assumed at his marriage, when, if he were the eldest son, the father also added another character to his own name; all which alterations, one would suppose, must at times have created some confusion, and must do so still, for these customs are even to this day continued; as is also a law which was instituted about this time, prohibiting any person from marrying one of the same surname, even though the parties were not related to each other.

In ancient times the law of primogeniture existed among the Chinese, and remained in force until the reign of the emperor Wu-ti, who abolished it and instituted a new one, by which, on the death of a father, his lands were divided among all his male children; the only difference being that the eldest had two portions. The right to this double portion still exists. A daughter had no inheritance, neither did she receive any marriage portion from her parents. On the contrary, her future husband or his friends sent presents according to their means, as was the custom as far back as in that primitive age when Abraham sent his steward to seek a wife for his son Isaac, who took with him jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment, which he presented to Rebekah and her friends on his asking the damsel as a bride for his young master. As daughters and wives,

the women of China were not held in as much consideration as they are among the nations of the West; but as mothers, they were treated with the utmost respect, especially by their sons, who, even when themselves advanced in years, paid great deference to the commands and counsels of an aged mother.

At this period the men did not shave their heads, as they do now; but suffered the hair to grow very long and thick, and fastened it in a knot at the top of the head. The male attire was long and flowing, with loose sleeves; and in the winter men of rank wore costly furs; but the winter dresses of the poor were made of sheepskin. As to the ladies, it does not appear that they have much altered the fashion of their dress from that time to this. Their costume is not altogether unbecoming. It consists in a full robe gathered into a narrow band round the throat, from which it hangs in graceful folds, unconfined at the waist, with large falling sleeves. The most striking difference in the appearance of the gentlemen of ancient and modern times relates to the head; that of the ladies to the feet, which were then suffered to grow to the natural size, and were not distorted and squeezed into shoes four inches long, as they are at present.

In the ordinary affairs of life the people were much governed by superstition, putting implicit faith in omens, dreams and spells innumerable. A belief in astrology was universal, and charms and talismans were frequently resorted to even by the most learned men of the age, by the power of which they hoped to avert an impending evil. One of these popular superstitions was exemplified in a singular manner during the War of the Three

Kingdoms, by a chief named Kung-ming, who was a great astrologer, and very often consulted the stars on the subject of future events. One night, being thus engaged, he fancied he saw signs in the heavens predicting that his own death would take place in a few hours; but, as he was not willing to die so soon, he lost no time in endeavoring to avert the fatal doom by means of a spell. He lighted a number of lamps in his tent, placing them in a particular order, corresponding with the position of the heavenly bodies at the time, and then composed a sort of prayer, which he continued to repeat incessantly as he sat on the ground before the lamps. But all was unavailing, for before the sun rose he had breathed his last, most probably in consequence of the nervous excitement produced by his own superstitious dread. The inefficacy of the charm was thus clearly proved, yet the superstition still remains, and many of the Chinese occasionally light lamps and arrange them in correspondence with the position of the stars, in the full persuasion that a threatened misfortune may be thus averted.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE AGES IN CHINA.

THE study of the history of the middle ages in China is calculated to fill the mind with surprise. Our ancestors present the melancholy picture of nations which had occupied a high position as to civilization retrograding to barbarism; of races which had enjoyed the light of the gospel of Christ allowing it to go out in darkness, and sitting down with a closed Bible, to accept for its heavenly teachings and comforts the "old wives' fables" of their heathen forefathers, only altered by the priests of Rome so far as to substitute the names of Christian saints for those of the ancient gods and goddesses. But in China there are peace, civilization, progress in the arts, and so manifest a superiority to Europe, that the fragmentary accounts of the travelers thither from the West express much the same wonder and admiration at what they beheld which now a native of Tibet might be expected to utter when he should visit the cities of France. The Arabs, who were then well acquainted with Europe, had such exalted ideas of the splendor of China that their authors were accustomed to say that "Chin" had the best inheritance of all the posterity of Noah, that he was the most ingenious and able of them all, and that he was the discoverer of the arts

of sculpture and architecture, of painting or dying with colors, and of the culture and manufacture of silk. The Persians also expressed this admiration of China. When they wish even now to describe a very beautiful and handsomely furnished house, they call it *kaneh Chini*, that is, a "Chinese house."¹ Such were the ideas of the Nestorian and the Roman Catholic missionaries who were drawn thither by the hope of converting so grand an empire to the Christian faith. And such were the pictures which Marco Polo² presented, which so greatly excited the zeal of Columbus and other European mariners to find a passage thither across the Western ocean.

But it is not our purpose to renew these extravagant pictures, or at least what would seem to us in this age extravagant. We would only recall the fact of a relative position of the East to the West, as to civilization and wealth, a thousand years ago, just the opposite from that which now exists.

The ancient capital of the Chinese empire was Hang-chau, a large, wealthy city, situated at no very great distance from Nanking, and containing an immense population, chiefly engaged in the manufacture of silk and cotton. The imperial palace, standing in the midst of extensive gardens, was adorned with Eastern splendor, and near it were several magnificent temples and many fine residences belonging to the grandees of the court. The first sovereign of the new dynasty of Tsin, however, removed the seat of government to Kai-fung, another large city, standing in the centre of the empire, in the province of Ho-nan, one of the most fertile and beautiful

¹ D'HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, iii., art. "Sin."

² *Travels*, Part I., chap. lvii., etc.

parts of all China—the same where the remarkable Jewish colony was found; and this was the royal residence until the reign of Yuen-ti, the fifth emperor of the line of Tsin, who built a very magnificent palace at Nanking, where the court was held with more splendor than had been exhibited by any of the former sovereigns.

There was an interval of repose which lasted some years, when a new invasion of the Tartars again spread terror and desolation throughout the western provinces. They were led by a barbarian prince, who laid claim to the empire on the ground of being descended from one of those princesses of the race of Han who had married Tartar chieftains; and the fierce invader, having made a captive of the emperor, obliged the unfortunate monarch to wait upon him at table for several days in his tent, and then had him cruelly put to death; soon after which one of his generals captured the son of the murdered sovereign, who was treated with every insult, and, in the habit of a slave, was compelled to attend the barbarian chief on his hunting excursions, and to perform the degrading office of carrying his parasol; for this article of convenience was known from a very early period to the Chinese, Tartars, Hindùs and other Oriental nations as an ensign of dignity, and only used by persons of rank.¹

The unhappy prince was not destined long to endure

¹The umbrella, or parasol, so universal now in China, and probably so ancient, is depicted in the ancient paintings of the Egyptians. In the sculptures of Nineveh it is an emblem of royalty. Sometimes in them it is seen borne by an attendant, and may have a veil suspended from one side, more effectually to shield the royal person from the sun, or it is fastened upon the chariot. The sides are often ornamented with fringe and the top with an appropriate figure. Such coincidences of customs help to illustrate the intercourse of these ancient nations.

these mortifications, for he was beheaded by command of the tyrant in consequence of an attempt made to effect his liberation. Another prince of his family was immediately proclaimed emperor, and the Tartars were soon driven out of the Chinese territories, but not before they had done a vast deal of mischief in the provinces which bordered on their own country. The monarchs of the Tsin dynasty were not so illustrious as those of the race of Han. The country does not appear to have been so well governed; and the people were very much dissatisfied with the heavy taxes levied to support the extravagance of the court, which had never been held with so much magnificence as at this period. Grand feasts and expensive entertainments were constantly given at the palace, where the royal banquets were usually enlivened by dances performed by female slaves, who were splendidly attired in dresses sparkling with gold and jewels. Their movements were accompanied by very noisy music, for the Chinese have always been fond of cymbals, drums, trumpets and those deafening instruments called gongs. They had, however, many softer instruments, such as the lute and guitar, which were often touched by other female fingers and accompanied by other female voices besides those of the young slaves; but dancing was treated merely as an exhibition, and not resorted to for amusement, as in European countries. The excessive luxury of the court, which could be maintained only by burdening the people with taxes, excited much popular discontent, which manifested itself, as usual, by a number of insurrections, which broke out from time to time in different parts of the empire, and at length ended in the overthrow of the

Tsin dynasty—a revolution which was effected in a very remarkable manner, and of which the following are the incidents: A poor boy named Liu-yu, born in the city of Nanking, had been left a destitute orphan at a very early age, and must have perished from want, had not an old woman, who took compassion on him, brought him up as her own. As soon as he was old enough, he learned to make shoes, and sold them in the streets of the city; but he was so idle and careless that those who knew him predicted that he would come to no good. For a long time Liu-yu carried on his shoe trade, by which he earned a scanty livelihood without concerning himself much about his condition, until he happened to attract the notice of a military officer, who had probably stopped him to make a purchase, and who, being pleased with the replies to some questions he had put, proposed to him that he should become a soldier. As fighting was an occupation better suited to his taste than shoe-making, Liu-yu at once accepted the offer, and having been introduced into this new scene of action, he displayed so much courage and ability that he was promoted in his profession by degrees till he became chief commander of the imperial forces, and in that capacity rendered such important services to the emperor during a serious rebellion that he was elevated to the rank of chief minister of state. By this time he had become very ambitious; and taking advantage of the prevailing disaffection toward the reigning family, and having made himself exceedingly popular, he seized a favorable opportunity of aspiring openly to the throne, and, by the aid of a powerful party, compelled the emperor to abdicate in his favor. Such was the remarkable career

of Liu-yu, who was proclaimed emperor under the name of Yung-chu.

Toward the close of the dynasty of Tsin, China had become divided into two kingdoms, each having its own sovereign, which could scarcely fail to occasion many troubles, particularly as one was considered subordinate to the other. The superior prince, who alone bore the title of emperor, resided at Nanking, while the king of the northern part of the country kept his court at Ho-nan; and they were frequently at war with each other. It was fortunate for the people that the Tartars about this time turned their attention toward Europe, and under their renowned king, Attila, invaded the Roman empire. The Chinese were thus relieved from their most formidable enemies; yet there is no period of their history more confused or more disturbed than that which followed the downfall of the Tsin dynasty. For nearly two centuries afterward five successive races rapidly followed each other to the throne, and then to ruin and extinction. The strongest ruled, and the history of the period is a mere record of blood and crime.

The Chinese during this time carried on an extensive trade with the Arabians and Persians, whose caravans made regular journeys to the frontiers, from whence they returned laden with silks, of which a portion was sent to Constantinople for the use of the luxurious inhabitants of that city. The Arabians also maintained an extensive commerce by sea; so that they had formed considerable settlements in Ceylon and in various places on the Malabar coast, had made themselves familiar with the navigation of the Indian ocean, and had sent their

trading-vessels as far as China.¹ We must here remember that after Rome had been taken by the Goths, Constantinople, where the Roman emperors had held their court ever since the time of Constantine the Great, remained, with a large portion of what was termed the Empire of the East, in possession of the Romans. It was then the most wealthy city in the world, and its inhabitants indulged in every rare and costly luxury. Silks were in great demand, and were supplied at immense prices by the merchants of Arabia and Persia, who, however, could afford no information respecting the Chinese; neither did they know that silk was produced by insects. It was about the middle of the sixth century, and during the time when China was in the state of anarchy above described that the secret was discovered and brought into Europe by two Nestorian monks, who went as Christian missionaries into distant lands. They carried the intelligence to the emperor Justinian, and undertook, for a large reward, to procure for him a quantity of silkworms' eggs. The monks were fortunate enough to escape with the stolen eggs, which they carried to Constantinople inside a cane; and as they had made themselves acquainted with the art of rearing the worms, these multiplied very fast in the warm climate of Greece, and were the progenitors of all the silkworms propagated in Europe.

Toward the end of the sixth century the northern and southern kingdoms of China were again united into one, of which the city of Ho-nan was declared the capital;

¹ They introduced the Mohammedan religion into Southern China, where the writer has seen tombs which it is said were erected in the seventh century of the Christian era.

and not long afterward the country was restored to order by another revolution and the accession of a new and illustrious race of sovereigns, called the Tang, who re-established the old system of government which had been so happily pursued by the Han princes. The founder of the Tang dynasty was a chief or general named Li-yuen, who deposed the last prince of the five families which had so long kept the country in confusion, and ascended the throne A.D. 622. The greater part of his reign was spent in subduing rebellions raised by the princes of the late dynasty, and making such regulations as were likely to lead to future prosperity; but as soon as he saw that peace was restored, and that the stream of government was again flowing in its proper channel, he chose to abdicate in favor of his son, the great Tai-tsung, after having occupied the throne about nine years. Tai-tsung is celebrated by the Chinese as one of their most illustrious sovereigns; and he appears to have merited the praises bestowed on him for his clemency, wisdom, justice and general attention to the welfare of the people. Under the auspices of this enlightened prince, learning and the arts flourished as in the ancient times, and all the high offices were again filled by men of letters; while, in order to promote the revival of literature, which had so long been neglected for war, an academy was instituted within the precincts of the palace, where not less than eight thousand students received instruction from the most able professors. Tai-tsung also founded a great school for archery, where he often attended himself for the purpose of practicing that warlike art, in which it was important for the Chinese to excel, as bows and arrows

were their principal weapons. The ministers sometimes remonstrated with the emperor on the imprudence of trusting himself among the archers, but the good prince only replied, "Am I not the father of my people? What, then, should I fear from my children?"

The attention of Tai-tsung was constantly directed toward improving the condition of the lower orders, which he effected in a material degree by lessening the taxes, and sending commissioners into all the provinces to inquire into the conduct of the magistrates and to see that the poor were not oppressed by them; for he often expressed the benevolent wish that every poor man should have enough of the common necessaries of life to make him comfortable in his station; which may remind us of the well-known speech of Henry the Fourth of France, that he should not be satisfied till every peasant in the kingdom could afford to have a fowl in his pot on the Sunday. His strict sentiments with regard to the administration of justice induced him to pass a law for the prevention of bribery, by making it an offence punishable with death for any magistrate to receive a present as a propitiation in the exercise of his power; and, in order to ascertain whether this law had its proper effect, he employed a person to offer a bribe to a certain magistrate of whose integrity he had some suspicion. The bribe was accepted and the guilty magistrate condemned to death; but his life was saved by the interference of one of the ministers, who were always at liberty to speak freely to the emperors on the subject of their conduct. "Great prince," said the monitor, "the magistrate is guilty, and therefore deserves to die, ac-

ording to the law, but are not you, who tempted him to commit the crime, a sharer in his guilt?" The emperor at once admitted that he was so, and pardoned the offender.

During the reign of Tai-tsung, some Christian missionaries of the Nestorian Church first arrived in China, where they were well received by the emperor, who permitted them to build churches and preach Christianity among the people. They were successful in making many converts, one of whom was the famous minister of state, Kwoh Tsz-i. They gave to the Tartar tribes on the north of China their own Syriac alphabet, and great numbers of those people became Christians. When the first Roman priests visited China they found the sign of the cross in use, and other customs which bore evidence of the former influence of the Nestorians. A tablet was discovered at the city of Sin-ngan cut in the Syriac character, which related the success of their early labors. Their missionary zeal deserves great honor. It conferred lasting benefits upon the nations of Eastern Asia.

The emperor Tai-tsung died, after a reign of twenty-three years, universally regretted by his subjects, who looked up to him as a pattern of wisdom and virtue, and preserved many of his excellent maxims, which are frequently repeated with great veneration to this day. The successors of Tai-tsung maintained the peace and prosperity which had been established by that great prince; and under their dominion the country was much improved, and the people enjoyed a considerable share of comfort and tranquillity.

Among the great national works of the seventh century were several extensive canals for the convenience

of inland commerce, with locks of a peculiar construction, or slides placed in embankments, over which their flat-bottomed vessels, without being unloaded, were hauled by ropes attached to large capstans. By means of this inland communication, trade was so much increased that a great number of vessels came every year to the port of Can-fu, which was either Canton, or Kan-pu, near Hang-chau; and about the year 700 A.D. a regular market was opened there for foreign merchandise, and an imperial commissioner was appointed to receive the customs on all goods imported from other countries, which collectively produced a large revenue to the government.

The sixth emperor of the Tang dynasty founded the Han-lin College, the leading literary institution of the Chinese empire, consisting of forty members, from whose number the ministers of state are generally chosen, and from whom all successful candidates for honors receive their degrees. The members of the Han-lin are mentioned in old histories as the learned doctors of the empire, and in fact possessed quite as much knowledge, in those days as they do now; for the members of the present day are all educated according to the ancient system, nor have any new branches of learning, until recently, been introduced into the schools of China; yet, when the Han-lin College was founded, the Chinese were far in the advance of the Europeans, both in knowledge and refinement, for the modern nations of Europe were then only just emerging from the barbarism into which they had been plunged by the conquests of the Gothic tribes. England was divided among the Saxon princes of the Heptarchy, and France

was in that rude state which preceded the reign of Charlemagne. It may be imagined that only a very small proportion of the boys in any school were gifted with such great talents as would entitle them to attain preferment; therefore, of the many who presented themselves as candidates for honors at the hall of their province, where an examination was held once a year, very few perhaps were chosen; and those had to pass other examinations by doctors of a higher degree before they were eligible to be appointed to offices of state. Still, each aspirant had a chance, and as the object was so important, great pains were taken to instill into the minds of youth a due sense of the value of learning; and many little stories, written with that intent, were read to children as soon as they were of an age to comprehend them. These juvenile tales are mostly very simple, but are not uninteresting as illustrations of the character and manners of the people. The following are specimens of their general style: "There was a boy whose father was so poor that he could not afford to send him to school, but was obliged to make him work all day in the fields to help to maintain his family. The lad was so anxious to learn that he proposed giving up a part of the night to study; but as his mother had not the means of supplying him with a lamp for that purpose, he brought home every evening a glowworm, which, being held in a thin piece of gauze and applied to the lines of a book, gave sufficient light to enable him to read; and thus he acquired so much knowledge that in course of time he became a minister of state, and supported his parents with ease and comfort in their old age." Another youth, who was rather dull

of intellect, found it a very laborious task to apply himself to learning, and made such slow progress that he was often rather disheartened; yet he was not idle, and for several years continued to study with unceasing diligence. At length the time arrived for his examination, and he repaired, with many others, to the hall of the province, where he had the mortification, after all his exertions, of being dismissed as unqualified to pass. In returning homeward, very much depressed in spirits, and thinking it would be better to give up literary pursuits altogether and turn his attention to some other employment, he happened to see an old woman busily employed in rubbing an iron pestle on a whetstone. "What are you doing there, good mother?" said he. "I am grinding down this pestle," replied the old dame, "till it becomes sharp enough to use for working embroidery;" and she continued her employment. Li-pi—such was the name of the student—struck with the patience and perseverance of the woman, applied her answer to his own case. "She will no doubt succeed at last," said he; "then why should I despair?" So he returned to his studies, and in a few years, on appearing again before the board, he acquitted himself so well that he passed with honor, and rose in time to one of the highest offices in the state. These short and simple tales, of which the Chinese have whole volumes, serve to show the bias they have endeavored to give to the minds of their children, and account for the studious habits of so large a portion of the community.

The Arabs, during the Tang dynasty, still advanced in prosperity and wealth. They were more civilized than any Western Asiatic nation. Their merchants were rich,



The Stocking Maker

and lived in a style of princely magnificence in their own country'; and at Canton, where many of them went to reside, they were permitted to have a *cadi*, or magistrate, of the Mohammedan religion to preside over them. The existence of an ancient mosque at Canton, which has all the appearance of having been built so long ago as the time here referred to, is an evidence of their freedom to exercise their own form of worship. The Mohammedan faith is now professed by a great number of Chinese subjects in different parts of the empire, but is perhaps chiefly confined to those of Tartar origin, as there must have been many Moslems, or "true believers," as they call themselves, among the followers of the great Tartar chiefs of the race of Zingis Khan, whose conquests commenced an important era in the history of China.

It was during the latter part of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 851-877) that the two celebrated Mohammedan travelers whose accounts have been so often quoted visited China and resided at Canton. These Arab traders, though they frequently complained of the rapacity and venality of the mandarins, give, on the whole, a favorable account of the country. They describe the use of copper money, the light, transparent and elegant Chinese porcelain, their wine made from rice, and other things which were never before mentioned, and which are still found in use in that country. They are the first to describe the use of tea as a common beverage among the Chinese. They say: "The emperor reserves to himself the revenues which arise from the salt-mines, and those which are derived from impositions upon a certain herb called *cha* (tea), which they drink with hot

water, and of which vast quantities are sold in all the cities of China." They mention the relief afforded to the people from the public granaries during famine or scarcity. They likewise mention the bamboo as the great panacea in all matters of police. By connecting various disjointed sentences and paragraphs, we derive a consistent account of a very orderly and methodical government; but the two Arabian voyagers lament that recent revolutions and troubles had greatly affected the prosperity of the country and the administration of justice.

It was about this period that the strange custom was first adopted in China of binding the feet of female children to prevent their growth. The origin of this absurd and unnatural practice is unknown, nor is it easy to imagine what could have induced women in the first instance thus to deform themselves; for, although vanity may be a powerful incitement for the continuance of a custom which distinguishes the higher from the lower classes, it hardly accounts for the first introduction of this practice, as any other distinctive mark, less painful and less inconvenient, might have answered the same purpose. The daughters of all people of rank are obliged to submit, at an early age, to have their feet cramped up and tightly confined with bandages, which are not removed for about three years, when the bones are so far compressed that the feet never assume their natural shape and size. The health of the children generally suffers much from the want of proper exercise during this cruel process, and the enjoyment of after life must be greatly diminished by the difficulty which females find in walking or even standing without support.

Yet they are proud of their very helplessness, and would think it excessively vulgar to be able to walk with a firm and dignified step. The lower classes cannot follow a fashion which would disable them from pursuing their daily labors, yet many parents in a very humble station of life are not free from the vanity of desiring to have one daughter with small feet, the prettiest child being usually selected for that distinction; and such is the force of fashion that the little damsel who is thus tortured and crippled is looked upon as an object of envy rather than of pity.

Like every other dynasty in China, that of Tang rapidly degenerated. Its emperors became mere tools in the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, who ruled them through the women. The third successor of the line was so influenced by one of his wives that at his death he invested her with sovereign power. She reigned absolutely for about twenty years, and then left her son to succeed her, but the son remained a slave to the wretched slaves who had maintained her on the throne. The power of the eunuchs was at length destroyed by the last emperor of this race. Too weak to extirpate them himself, he called in the aid of a powerful chief, who fulfilled his commission to the letter, but subsequently killed the emperor and his heirs, and, after a course of atrocious cruelties, put an end to the dynasty of Tang A. D. 897.

For the space of fifty years after the extinction of the Tang dynasty the government was in much the same state as it had been three centuries before, when the Tsin dynasty was set aside by the usurper Liu-yu; and although the present period of anarchy was of so much shorter duration, it witnessed the accession of five differ-

ent families, numbering in all thirteen emperors, whose reigns were very brief, most of them having died by some kind of violence. Yet it was in these turbulent times that printing began to be practiced in China—an event which occurred about five hundred years before that art was known in Europe.¹ The method first adopted in China was to engrave the characters on stone; consequently, when the impressions were taken off, the ground of the paper was black and the letters were white. But this mode was shortly superseded by the invention of wooden blocks, cut in such a manner that the letters were raised instead of indented, and thus were impressed in black on a white ground. This mode of printing from wood is still practiced in China, and is well adapted to the written language of the Chinese, as its words are not formed of vowels and consonants like those of Western languages; but a single character, of which there are many thousands, expresses a whole word. Yet it is necessarily very slow; and for this reason must yield in the end to the use of divisible metal type and of our swift machinery. The superior beauty of the typography of our books already wins the wonder and praise of the Chinese. Before the invention of printing there must have been a vast number of Chinese constantly employed in writing, as they were always a reading people, and even the poorest peasants were able to obtain books in manuscript, while in Europe a book was a thing unknown among the lower classes, and seldom to be met with except in monasteries or the palaces of princes.

The troubles that followed the fall of the Tang dynasty encouraged the Eastern Tartars to make new irruptions

¹ Paper had been invented during the first century of the Christian era.

into the empire, and one of their chieftains having aided a fresh usurper to mount the imperial throne, received from him in return the grant of a large territory in the province of Pe-che-lee, with an annual tribute of silks; and thus the Tartars gained a footing in the north of China which laid the foundation of those long and terrible wars that ended in the first Tartar conquest. But ere these wars commenced there was an interval of repose, in consequence of the downfall of the last usurping family of the five petty dynasties, and the elevation of a race called the Sung, of which there were eighteen emperors.

The founder of the Sung dynasty was a popular minister, who had also had the command of the armies, and had distinguished himself by his courage no less than by his ability in affairs of state; therefore, as the emperor was dead and his son was but a child, it was decided by all the military leaders and other great men that it would be better to place on the throne a man who was able to defend the country against its enemies. They accordingly fixed on the chief minister, and sent a deputation to his palace to invest him with the yellow robe, and he was proclaimed, by the title of Tai-tsu, in the year 950. The names assumed by the emperors usually had some appropriate meaning; thus Tai-tsu signifies "Great Sire." The conduct of the new monarch justified the high opinion which had been formed of his virtues and abilities, and he holds a place in the history of China as one of the greatest of its sovereigns. His mother, too, is reckoned among the illustrious females of the empire, for the Chinese annals have preserved the names of many women distinguished by their superior

understanding, whose wise sayings and exemplary conduct are recorded as examples for others.

Under the first and second sovereigns of the Sung line the art of printing was improved, and still farther disseminated. Books were greatly multiplied, and to these causes may be attributed the increased fullness of the records of this period, from which the most interesting portion of Chinese history commences: "Our lights now multiply fast, and the Tartars begin to take a great share in the national transactions. In fact, the whole history of this polished but unwarlike race is a series of disgraceful arts of compromise with the Eastern Tartars, called *Kin* (the origin of the Manchus, or present reigning family), until the Mongols, or Western Tartars, took possession of the empire under Kublai Khan."¹ The emperors were even content to purchase temporary cessations from war by the payment of tribute—a plan which was pursued by the Saxon king of England at that very time, in order to keep off the invasion of the Danes; and in both cases it proved equally ineffectual. Yet the commercial intercourse with Arabia and Persia had continued to increase, and great portions of the empire might be said to be in a prosperous condition. The first emperor of this line paid great attention to the improvement of his army, but it was not possible either to give that army a good organization or to revive in it a martial spirit.

In the reign of the third emperor of the Sung dynasty were established the famous porcelain furnaces at King-ti-chin, a large village in the province of Kiang-si, where all the best china is still made. These manufactories

¹ SIR J. F. DAVIS, *The Chinese*, etc.

were erected about the year 1000 A.D., and still afford employment to many thousands of people. At that time porcelain was one of the principal articles of export, to which were added silks and spices; for although the Chinese had no spices in their own country except coarse pepper, still they were able to obtain abundance of the finer sorts of them in their trade with the neighboring islands; and about this time they took possession of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, which they retained above sixty years, when they were dispossessed by the Malays, who were soon obliged to give them up to the Arabs. Tea had not yet become an article of foreign trade, although it was in very general use among the natives of China.

In the reign of Chin-tsung, the third emperor of the line of Sung, the *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, laid siege to a town near Peking; they were obliged to suspend the siege and to enter into negotiations; yet they obtained from their unwarlike foes very advantageous terms, with a large annual donation or tribute of money and silk. Under Jin-tsung, the fourth emperor, the Chinese entered into a still more disgraceful treaty. Ten extensive districts within the Great Wall were claimed by the Eastern Tartars, who received an annual quit-rent of two hundred thousand taels,¹ and an enormous quantity of silk. This emperor even submitted to be styled, and to call himself, in his treaties with the Tartar chiefs, a *tributary*.

Under each succeeding ruler of the Sung family the decline of the empire was more and more accelerated. There was nothing but vice and effeminacy in the

¹ Equal to \$280,000 in specie with us.

palace, and rank cowardice in the field. Large armies took to flight at the first distant appearance of a few squadrons of Tartar horse. Wei-tsung, the eighth emperor of this line, enslaved himself to conjurors and impostors, who promised him longevity and wealth, and to those old pests of the country—the eunuchs of the palace—who were again found in incredible numbers, and in possession of all the keys to honor, promotion or public employment, whether military or civil. Encouraged by the weakness and imbecility of this ruler, and the spiritless, abject attitude of his people, the Eastern Tartars advanced at a rapid pace, took possession of a good part of Northern China, and threatened the whole empire with their iron conquest. In this extremity the Chinese applied for aid to the Mongols, or Western Tartars, who had already conquered India, and who now inhabited the vast elevated plains which extend from the north-west of China to Tibet and Samarkand. These hardy warriors eagerly accepted the invitation, and in brief space of time they subdued both the Eastern Tartars, who were their rivals for dominion, and the enervated Chinese whom they had been invited to protect. It was now found that trade, wealth, literature and refinement cannot defend a state, that pacific habits do not ensure peace or exemption from foreign conquest, and that every country which would preserve its tranquillity, its riches, its independence and its other blessings, must keep alive its martial ardor and be at all times ready to maintain a war.

In the very populous cities of the empire which attempted to stand sieges the slaughter was terrific, and was estimated by the Chinese annalists at millions of

souls. We turn from the revolting details to give the great results.

By the year 1234 the Mongols, or Western Tartars, were absolute masters of the northern half of modern China. The *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, who until then had occupied some of the provinces bordering on the Great Wall, were attacked on one side by the Chinese, and on the other by the Mongols, under the command of the celebrated Pih-yen (*Hundred Eyes*), who is mentioned by Marco Polo. Their principal city, called Kai-fung, and described as being then the largest city in the world, containing a population of more than two millions of souls, was invested twice, and taken at the second siege, after another deplorable sacrifice of human life. The last prince of these Eastern Tartars strangled himself in his despair; all his principal officers and five hundred other persons plunged into the river and perished.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MONGOL DYNASTY.

THE time had come when China should be brought into closer communion with the other members of the great family of nations. In the thirteenth century we begin to trace over the whole world the first throes of the regeneration which became manifest when the Cape of Good Hope was circumnavigated, America discovered, society renovated by a flood of inventions in the useful arts, and the Word and Truth of God again given to the waiting souls of men through the labors of the great Reformers. The conquests of the Mongols in Asia and Europe performed the same office in preparing the way for those events, wherever their influence was felt, which the conquests of Rome had performed in preparing that for the Founder of the Dispensation of grace.

The history of Zingis Khan and his successors is one of the most stirring and romantic on record. It sounds like a fiction to tell that an obscure, nomadic tribe of Tartars was raised up by the hand of Providence to such a height of greatness and power that in three generations its chiefs conquered the world from the coasts of the Pacific ocean on the east to the heart of Europe on the west; that the empires of China, India, Persia and Russia were all subject to them; that they extended

their borders even into Silesia; and that France, Spain, Sweden and Britain gave themselves to fasting and prayer to God as their only hope of protection; and that the fountain and most important centre of this stupendous empire, far more extensive than any that had preceded it on earth, was within the Chinese dominions, in which its great potentate, Kublai Khan, built the new capital, Peking, which is now the seat of another Tartar family, the Manchus. But almost as astonishing as the growth of the Mongol empire was its decay when the ends of the Governor of nations had been subserved by it. Drunk with its sudden and boundless power, its nine emperors followed one after another in short, dissolute and shameful reigns, which only lasted in all for the brief period of eighty-eight years.

The causes which led to the introduction of the Mongol power into the north of China have been mentioned in the preceding chapter.

It was not to be expected that a people so active and warlike as the Mongols would long remain satisfied with the northern and poorer half of the country, and leave the fertile, rich and delightful regions of the south to a people so unwarlike as the Chinese. This was still less likely when a great warrior, statesman and administrator, such as Kublai Khan, the grandson of Zingis, ascended the Mongol throne. Finding himself in undisturbed possession of all the north of China, and with a countless reserve of light cavalry in the regions beyond the Great Wall, Kublai took advantage of the infancy of the reigning Chinese emperor to use an argument convenient to his purpose. "Your family," said he, "owes

its rise to the minority of the last emperor of the preceding dynasty; it is therefore just that you, a child, and the last remnant of the line of Sung, should give place to another family."

The Mongols rapidly approached the imperial city; the whole court fled in the utmost consternation, and went on board some junks which were lying near the mouth of the Canton river. Tartar vessels were sent in pursuit of the wretched fugitives, whose terror at the sight of the hostile fleet seems to have amounted to madness; for one of the grandees, seizing the infant emperor in his arms, jumped with him into the sea, and was instantly followed by the empress and the chief ministers, who thus all perished. This was in the year 1281.

Thus Kublai Khan was left in undisputed possession of the whole empire, but the conquest had not been achieved without much bloodshed and numerous acts of revolting barbarity. But when the great object was accomplished, and the Mongol emperor acknowledged by the Chinese as their sovereign, he endeavored to win their affections by conferring benefits upon them, and sought to establish his power on the firm basis of popular esteem, rather than suffer it to rest on the uncertain foundation of that terror which his name had hitherto inspired.

Never did a more illustrious prince ascend an Eastern throne, and never was there one more revered than Kublai Khan; and, although a conqueror and of a foreign race, he was deservedly called the father of his people, who had no cause to regret, beyond their previous sufferings, the revolution that had placed him at the head of the empire. He wisely abstained from

making any alterations in the political institutions of the Chinese, nor did he interfere with any of their ancient customs; the high functionaries who had submitted to his authority were suffered to retain their employment, and in the distribution of offices of state no unjust partiality was shown toward the Tartars; and thus peace was preserved between the conquerors and the conquered. The Chinese gladly accepted an exemption from military service, so that the sword remained almost exclusively in the hands of the Mongols, whose discipline and subordination to the civil authority appear to have been exemplary throughout the reign of this truly illustrious prince.

The tribute or rent imposed on the natives of the country was a tenth part of all the silk, rice, wool, hemp and other produce of their land, except sugar and spices, on which only a very small duty was levied; but those duties were not levied on the mechanics, who, for their tribute, were obliged to work for the government one day in nine, which amounted to a ninth part of their labor; and on these days they were employed in keeping the public edifices in repair and making clothes and warlike implements for the army.

The new emperor, under the Chinese name of Shi-tsu, fixed the seat of government at Peking, or Kambalu, as it was styled by the Tartars and our early travelers. Kambalu was near the ancient city of Yen-king, a portion of which was destroyed when it was stormed by the Eastern Tartars.

Peking, or Kambalu, in the time of Kublai Khan, was a wealthy and populous city, containing numerous shops well stocked with the rich merchandise of Persia and

Arabia; for as soon as peace was restored a considerable trade was carried on overland with those countries, from which the caravans arrived regularly every year. Their merchants were lodged in hotels or caravan-serais, of which there were many in the suburbs built expressly for the accommodation of foreign traders, each nation having its own particular hotels and storehouses.

The commerce of the empire had now increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to adopt a more convenient kind of money than the small copper coinage that was in general use; therefore Kublai Khan put into circulation paper money, similar to our bank-notes, made of paper manufactured (like most of that now used by the Japanese) out of the inner bark of the mulberry tree, and stamped with his own mark, to counterfeit which was a crime punishable with death. This great prince seems to have paid more attention to the interests of commerce than any of the emperors who had preceded him; and to him the Chinese are indebted for one of the grandest of their national works—the Great Canal—which forms the principal link in the communication by water between the southern part of the empire and Peking.

The want of good roads had always been a check to the internal trade of China, and this disadvantage was at once perceived by the emperor, who projected and carried into execution a design for facilitating the intercourse between the chief cities. This was effected by turning the waters of some of the lakes into artificial channels, which were made to communicate with the rivers; many branches also extending to towns that were not in their course. One hundred and seventy

thousand men were employed for years in the construction of this mighty work, which was completed under the immediate successors of Kublai, and which, for real utility, far surpasses the Great Wall, being at this moment of the utmost benefit to the Chinese, whose inland trade would be very limited without it, as the means of land-carriage are few, and both tedious and expensive. Another great advantage of this canal was, that it answered the purpose of draining large tracts of marshy but fertile land, which had till then been quite useless, but were thus rendered fit for cultivation.

For nearly the length of a thousand English miles this grand canal affords the means of a safe, uninterrupted and commodious inland navigation; and from it are derived the means of irrigating a vast extent of country on either of its banks. On these banks, likewise, are constructed strong and wide terraces, upon which traveling by land is rendered perfectly convenient. "This magnificent work," says our earliest European traveler in the Chinese empire, "is deserving of all admiration; and not so much from the manner in which it is conducted through the country or its vast extent, as from its great utility, and the benefit it produces to those innumerable cities which lie in its course. No man may count the number of bridges by which it is crossed."

By the admirable police organized under Kublai Khan, the Great Canal and its side communications were kept perfectly safe for the traveler. In case of any accident by land or water, or of sickness on the route, houses were erected on the banks, and supplied with proper persons to afford succor and assistance.

Many of these humane establishments have disappeared, but many yet remain, and are still used in case of need. The expenses are wholly borne by the state or from charitable contributions. Some of these *hospices* are described as extensive, commodious and even elegant establishments.

It was in the early part of the reign of Kublai, before he had become master of the whole empire, that China was for the first time visited by the European travelers who have left on record any full and satisfactory narrative of what they saw, and these were fortunate enough to be admitted to the court of the Great Khan and honored by his confidence and friendship.

Matteo and Nicolo Polo were two merchants of Venice, who, having occasion to make a journey into Persia, heard so much there respecting the splendor of the imperial court that they felt a great desire to become acquainted with the distant city of Kambalu, which they found means to visit by accompanying a Persian ambassador who was charged with despatches for the emperor. They were received with the greatest courtesy by Kublai, who was well pleased at meeting with such an opportunity of gaining some correct information respecting the people of Europe, and made many inquiries on the subject of different European countries. He put minute and very sensible questions as to their religion, civil polity, forms of government, modes of administering justice and their system and conduct of warfare. The Polos, who were men of intelligence and wit, satisfied him on these particulars, and gave him ample information concerning the pope, whose influence in pushing the nations of Europe upon Asia in the Crusades had rendered him important in the eyes of Kublai

Khan. The two enterprising brothers made themselves well acquainted with the Mongol language, so that they had no need of interpreters, but spoke directly with the great Tartar ruler—a vast advantage, as all must feel who have had intercourse with any Oriental people through the medium of dragomans. In consequence of the conversations he held with these Venetians, Kublai, who was himself a votary of the Buddhist faith, was, nevertheless, so highly impressed with their representation of the excellence of the Christian religion that he despatched by them a letter to the pope, containing a request that his Holiness would send proper persons to instruct the Chinese in the doctrines of Christianity; and the Venetian travelers departed on this extraordinary mission.

They were furnished with a pass, or golden tablet, displaying the imperial cipher, according to the usage established by his majesty; in virtue of which the persons bearing it, together with their whole suite, are safely conveyed from station to station by the governors of all places within the imperial dominions, and are entitled, during the time of their residing in any city, castle, town or village, to a supply of provisions and everything necessary for their accommodation. In the vulgar dialect gotten up between the Chinese and foreign merchants on the coast this is now termed the emperor's grand *chop*, a word used to express seal, mark, warrant or license or passport. Passports existed in China many centuries before they were introduced into Europe. It must be confessed that a Chinese passport is a much better thing for the bearer than a European one, as it ensures him gratuitous lodging and accommodation, and,

generally, food on the road. A Tartar nobleman was also sent with them, and was to accompany them all the way to the pope of Rome; but he sank under ill-health and the fatigues of the journey, and the Polos were obliged to leave him behind before they had traveled more than twenty days. So far as the vast Mongol dominions extended the golden tablet or passport procured them hospitality, attention, horses and mounted escorts, and whatever assistance they and their numerous suite required. They were as safe and as well treated in the wilds of Tartary as in the regions southward of the Great Wall.

Several years had passed away, during which the khan had been so much engaged in prosecuting the war against the southern provinces of China that he had almost forgotten the Venetians, whose first visit had taken place long before that conquest; nor was the war yet quite ended when they returned, accompanied by Marco Polo, the son of one of them, and the most celebrated of the three, since it was he who wrote, on his return to Italy, an account of the Chinese empire, or kingdom of Cathay, where he had resided no less than seventeen years, during which he had enjoyed, without interruption, the favor of the emperor.

At this period so little was known of China in the Western world that the history of Marco Polo gained but little credit, and failed to enlighten the people of the age with regard to that great country. In fact, there were very few who knew anything about the traveler or the book he had written; for the art of printing being then unknown in Europe, knowledge was but slowly and partially diffused, and those who read the work thought

it so improbable that they treated the whole narrative as a fiction. The extent and wealth of Cathay, the splendor of its court, the number of its cities, the beauty of its manufactures, the order of its government, all faithfully described by the author, were read with a smile of incredulity; nor was it till a much later period, when the country was visited by other Europeans, that justice was done to his veracity. In fact, *full* justice was never rendered to this illustrious traveler until the year 1818, when the learned Mr. William Marsden published his translation and edition, under the title of "The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century; being a Description, by that Early Traveler, of Remarkable Places and Things in the Eastern Part of the World." This quarto volume of 860 pages contains the results of many years of labor devoted to the task of substantiating the authority of the old traveler. The comments, notes and dissertations are hardly to be numbered, and they are as valuable as they are numerous. Other travelers and navigators of all ages and of all nations are quoted wherever they describe the countries or places visited by Marco; and from the mass of evidence thus collected, Mr. Marsden has established, beyond the reach of rational doubt, that the long-calumniated Venetian is in the main most remarkably veracious and correct in his descriptions. Of these descriptions a very large portion relate exclusively to China and its dependencies.

But to resume the subject of our history. When the Polos set out on their return to China, they had with them two preaching friars, deputed as missionaries by Pope Gregory X., who also sent letters to the khan;

but some of the states of Syria, through which the travelers had to pass, were in a state of warfare, and the friars were, from untoward circumstances, prevented from proceeding, while the Polos, after encountering many difficulties and dangers, safely reached their destination. This was about the time when the Crusades were drawing to a close, and the year in which the three Italians arrived at the court of Kublai Khan was A. D. 1274, the same in which Edward I. returned to England from the Holy Land.

They found Kublai Khan at Yen-king, near Kambalu, or Peking, in the midst of his court and great officers of state. They performed the ko-tau or nine prostrations, as they are now practiced in the Chinese court; and Marco's father and uncle, then rising, related in perspicuous language all that they had done since their departure, and all that had happened to them, the khan listening with attentive silence. The letters and presents of the pope were next laid before the tolerant Tartar conqueror, who, it is said, received with peculiar reverence some oil from the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The emperor testified much delight at the return of his former visitors, and was so much pleased with young Marco that he conferred on him a high post at the court, and employed him on missions to various parts of the empire. Marco had therefore sufficient opportunities of observing the state of the country as well as the manners of the court. He tells us himself that he was held in high estimation and respect by all belonging to the court, and that he learned in a short time and adopted the manners of the Tartars, and acquired a proficiency in

four different languages, which he became qualified to read and write.

The cities were, at this period, thronged with industrious artizans, who commonly worked at their own homes, and sold the produce of their labor to the wealthy merchants, who traded principally to India; from which country the manufactures and produce of China were conveyed to Alexandria, and from that port were transported to Venice, where they were all received under the general name of Indian goods; and thus the Chinese were for a long time considered the same people as the Indians, and their country was supposed to be the most remote part of India.

Among the many improvements made by Kublai Khan during his beneficent reign was the establishment of inns or post-houses, commencing from the capital and continued at intervals of about thirty-six miles to all the principal places in the empire, and at these stations relays of horses were always kept in readiness for the emperor's messengers, who were there also furnished with the requisite food and lodging. There were also ferry-boats at convenient stations to carry them across the rivers and lakes without delay, so that in case of need a messenger could travel two hundred miles in the twenty-four hours; and by these means fine fruits and other luxuries for the court and rich citizens were often conveyed from the most distant provinces to Peking—an advantage which that city would not so readily have enjoyed otherwise, since it stands in a cold and barren plain, and depends for its supplies on the more fertile districts of the south.

These supplies were, as now, obtained by the generality

of the inhabitants by means of the Great Canal, which was constantly covered with barges laden chiefly with grain. A great number of these barges were employed between the different provinces and the capital in conveying the tribute, out of which, when the harvest was abundant, the emperor laid up in his granaries stores of rice and corn, which in years of scarcity he sold to the poor at a cheap rate. Although, therefore, the taxes were heavy, the people derived benefit from them when they stood most in need of assistance, and they were always remitted, or at least much lightened, in a season of public calamity. Everything, indeed, appears to have been done by this beneficent prince that could tend to increase the prosperity and happiness of his subjects, who seem to have enjoyed, under his paternal government, the blessings of peace in their fullest extent.

Among the first things which struck Marco Polo were the orderly air of the people, the strictness of the police, the populousness of the superior cities, the extent and usefulness of the Grand Canal, and the immense number of bridges in all parts of the empire where rivers ran or canals were dug. In describing "the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai," then the capital of Southern China, which is traversed by a river and many canals, he says: "It is commonly reported here that the number of bridges of all sizes amounts to twelve thousand." He adds: "Those which are thrown over the principal canals, and are connected with the main streets, have arches so high, and built with so much skill, that the vessels of the country can pass under them without lowering their masts, whilst at the same time carts and horses are passing over their heads, so well is the slope

from the street adapted to the height of the arch. In fact, as the river or the canals run everywhere, if the bridges were not so numerous there would be no convenience of crossing from one place to another."

In all the cities good order was preserved, and no one was allowed to be abroad after dark, except on urgent business, when he was required to carry a lantern—a regulation which prevented robberies or disturbances in the streets at night. In the centre of the capital there was an enormous bell, suspended in a lofty building, so placed that it could be heard all over the city; and this was tolled every evening at a certain hour, as a signal for all persons to retire to their homes; as the curfew, in olden times, was rung at eve, to warn the people of England that it was time to extinguish the cheerful blaze and betake themselves to repose.

As soon as Kublai had completed the conquest of China, he sent an ambassador to the sovereign of the Japan islands, who was an independent prince, ruling over a numerous and not uncivilized people. The object of this embassy was to demand submission and tribute of the Japanese monarch as a vassal of the Chinese empire; and when the indignant chief refused to comply with so unjust a requisition, the emperor declared war against him, and sent out a large fleet in the hope of making another important conquest.

The Japanese, however, made a successful resistance; and by the help of a storm, which destroyed the greater part of the Tartar fleet, they were fortunate enough to preserve that independence which they have maintained to this day.

The Tartar conquest produced no alteration in the

manners and customs of the native Chinese, which, indeed, as before observed, appear not to have been affected by any of the revolutions that have taken place in the country—all the national festivals being observed as in former times, and the same laws remaining in force that have so direct and powerful an influence on the character and social habits of the people of China.

The garments worn by the mass of the population were at this time still made of silk, for although cotton was then cultivated for the purpose of being manufactured, it was not so plentiful as silk, consequently it was much more expensive, and only used by persons of high rank; but the case is now entirely reversed, since at the present day the rich alone wear silks, while the poor are commonly clothed in cotton.

One of the great festivals described by Marco Polo as having been observed in China during the reign of Kublai Khan was the birth-day of that great prince, which was a universal holiday, and celebrated throughout the empire with all kinds of public rejoicings. Sacrifices were made in the temples, the cities were illuminated, and people of all classes spent the day in feasting and amusements. Among the latter were dramatic pieces performed by companies of strolling players, either in temporary theatres set up in the streets for the delight of the commonalty, or in the houses of the principal magistrates, who usually hired actors on grand occasions, as they do still, for the entertainment of their guests.

The emperor appeared on this festive day arrayed in a robe of cloth of gold, his whole dress glittering with jewels, and was attended by all the chief officers of his court in their magnificent state dresses, who stood around

the throne while he received the homage of the tributary princes who came to offer their congratulations. The banquet given at the palace on this occasion was extremely sumptuous, and graced with the presence of the empress and ladies of the court, for the Tartar ladies were less secluded in their habits than the Chinese, and when they first arrived in the country were frequently seen on public occasions, but they have since adopted in a great measure the more reserved manners of the ladies of China.

The banquet took place in a large hall, where the guests were seated according to their rank. The emperor's table stood on a dais at the upper end, and the ladies were ranged according to their rank at tables by themselves. The meats were served on silver, and the drinking-cups were of gold. A band of music was in attendance the whole time, and at the lower end of the hall a temporary stage was erected for the performances of the players and the feats of jugglers and tumblers. But it must be observed that the mirth of the guests was never indulged to an extent that might have been deemed disrespectful to the emperor. There was no noisy laughter; and whenever the imperial host raised the cup to his lips, a signal was given and all present knelt down and bowed their heads until he had finished his draught.

On the occasion of the birth-day presents of great value were sent to the emperor from all the provinces; but as they were too numerous, and some of them too bulky, to be laid at his feet, they were merely passed in review before him, borne by a train of camels. This was a very general custom in the East; and the presents made to Eastern princes by their subjects must have

very materially contributed toward keeping up the extraordinary splendor for which their courts were so remarkable.

Marco Polo has left us a splendid description of the imperial place at Xanadu, or Kambalu—

“Where twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round.”

The picture is, indeed, dazzling and marvelous, yet it does not appear in any essential particular to have exceeded the truth. Counting the enclosing park and gardens, the palace of Kublai Khan occupied considerably more than ten English miles of ground. The English gentlemen who attended Lord Macartney on his embassy to China in 1793, and those who have visited that capital within the past few years, have been astonished at the extent and magnificence of the imperial palace at Peking, and their descriptions of it correspond with those given by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. They have found the river, the artificial lakes, the lofty hills raised by the hands of man, and planted to the top with shrubs and trees, surrounding summer-houses and cabinets contrived for retreat and pleasure. The whole, at the first glance, has almost the appearance of enchantment. In point of structure, materials and style of embellishment there has existed an exact resemblance between the buildings of Kublai Khan, as described by Marco, and those of the emperors of later centuries.

Since the Tartars had occupied the throne, hunting had been the grand amusement of the court, the sports of the chase being regarded by that people as emblematic.



The Tiger Guard.

ical of warfare, and the fearless hunter being respected as a brave warrior. The annual hunting expedition into Tartary was conducted with all the solemnity of a campaign, the emperor taking the head of a numerous train, which had the appearance of a vast army marching to the field of battle. The three winter months were entirely occupied with this pursuit, which, during the season, was deemed the chief business of the state; so that the holding of these hunts is among the principal duties of a Tartar sovereign, and he who neglects them excites discontent.

When the sporting season was over, it was customary for the whole court to repair to a city of Tartary, where the emperor had a palace, with an extensive park and pleasure-grounds; and to this summer residence he was accompanied by the empress and all his other wives, for he had many, although only one of them enjoyed the dignity and title of empress. This favored lady was surrounded with as much state as her lordly husband, having three hundred female slaves to attend upon and amuse her, for which purpose many of them had been taught music and dancing, according to the custom of the East; and besides these damsels there were elderly females, whose occupation it was to relate entertaining stories to the empress and ladies of the court, amongst whom reading was then an art comparatively unknown.

It was by resorting to the cool, bracing, upland plains, or steppes, of Tartary, and by the exercise of hunting and hawking, that the first princes of the Tartar line escaped the enervating effects of the hot climate of China and the easy, luxurious mode of living in the south. "It is worthy of remark," says Sir John F.

Davis, "that of the scores of dynasties which have followed each other, all established themselves on the vices, luxuries or indolence of their immediate forerunners. The present Manchu race has already shown no unequivocal symptoms of degeneracy. The two greatest princes by whom it has been distinguished, Kang-hi and Kien-lung, sedulously maintained the ancient habits of their Tartar subjects by frequent hunting excursions beyond the Wall, in which they individually bore no small share of the fatigue and danger. The emperor Kia-king, and his successors during the present century, have, on the other hand, been remarkable for their comparative indolence; and their reigns have exhibited a mere succession of revolts and troubles."

Kublai Khan lived to the advanced age of eighty-three, and had ruled over the whole of China about eighteen years when he died, A. D. 1294, and was succeeded by his grandson, Timur.

The empire of the Mongols had now attained its utmost magnitude. It extended from the Chinese sea and the Indies to the northern extremity of Siberia, and from the eastern shores of Asia to the frontiers of Poland in Europe; and all this vast portion of the globe was governed by princes of the family of Zingis, who were all vassals of the Great Khan, or emperor of China. The chief of these were the khans of Persia, Zagatai and Kipzac, who were tributary to Kublai, but after his death they became independent sovereigns.

The Chinese empire continued under the dominion of the Mongols about seventy-three years from the death of Kublai, and in that time eight princes of his family reigned in succession; not one of whom equaled his

great predecessor in ability, although most of them were mild and beneficent rulers. Kublai had, with the wisdom of a superior mind, accommodated himself to the habits and prejudices of the conquered nation; but his successors, less politic, made innovations on the ancient form of government, and lost by degrees the confidence and affection of the Chinese, who are extremely jealous of the slightest interference with their established customs, and whose dissatisfaction at length began to exhibit itself by frequent insurrections.

During the whole of the Yuen (or Mongol) dynasty, Buddhism was the religion favored by the state; and so many of the priests of that sect came into China that the people found them very burdensome, as they were a mendicant race, who went from house to house asking alms. Many Buddhist temples were built in the reign of Kublai Khan, who was himself a devout professor of Buddhism—a faith which never possessed so much influence in China as during the sway of the Mongol emperors.

Shun-tsung, the ninth and last sovereign of this race, ascended the throne in 1331, and reigned thirty-five years, or rather he suffered his ministers to reign, for he himself was too indolent and fond of pleasure to take much share in state affairs. When the Tartars first arrived from their own wild deserts, they were a bold, energetic race of barbarians; but the ease and luxury in which they were enabled to indulge in the genial climate of China had softened their manners, and had thus destroyed the warlike character by which their ancestors had gained possession of the country, and by which alone they could hope to retain it. Shun-tsung

neglected the annual hunts and the practice of every manly exercise and every manly virtue. He was stained with all the vices which usually adhere to the representative of a worn-out, decaying dynasty: he was voluptuous, effeminate, indolent to excess, a coward, and yet a sanguinary tyrant. After several insurrections against him had failed, a revolution was commenced, which was attended with full success, and which placed the empire of China once more under the dominion of native princes.

There was a poor laborer in the province of Nanking who had a son named Chu, a lad whose constitution was so delicate that he was quite unfit for hard work; his father therefore placed him in one of the monasteries, to be brought up by the priests, with a view to his becoming a member of that order. The boy, however, had no taste for so inactive a life, and growing stronger as his years increased, he enlisted as a common soldier in the imperial army, in which capacity he distinguished himself so highly on two or three different occasions that he was promoted, step by step, till he had attained to a high rank, when he married a widow of fortune and influence, whose family was among those who were disaffected toward the Tartar government. Chu soon imbibed similar principles, and took the lead in a formidable insurrection that broke out in the province in which the old capital, Nanking, is situated. As soon as it was known that this famous general was at the head of the insurgents, the whole province was speedily in arms, the capital having already declared for the rebel chief, who met and defeated the imperial forces. The numbers of the rebel army increased daily; the most considerable cities

opened their gates to them, and at length Peking itself was taken, and Shun-ti with his family fled into Tartary, leaving his capital in the undisputed possession of the victor, who was proclaimed emperor by the title of Tai-tsu in the year 1366. This was the commencement of the Ming dynasty, which was displaced nearly three hundred years afterward by the present reigning family.

China had reached a very high point of grandeur, order and civilization under Kublai Khan at the close of the thirteenth century. There has been no remarkable progress since that period, until the recent wars with foreign nations instituted a new order of things; in general, there has been an evident deterioration, decline and decay. The pictures of Marco Polo, collectively, do certainly present a vast, most populous, prosperous and well-governed nation, highly refined and civilized as compared with the very best countries in Europe at that period, and far exceeding them all in extent, unity and consolidation. We have insisted on the authority of Marco Polo, and not without reason. So high did he rise in the estimation and favor of the liberal-minded Kublai—who, unlike most of the sovereigns who preceded and followed him on the throne of China, readily employed Arabians, Persians and other foreigners—that when a member of one of the high tribunals was unable to proceed to the government of a city to which he had been nominated, the emperor sent the young Venetian in his stead. Marco mentions this honorable event of his life in the most modest manner, and only incidentally while describing the city, which was Yang-chau-fu, in the province of Kiang-nan, a place then of

great importance, and celebrated for its manufacture of arms and all kinds of military accoutrements.

In another chapter the Venetian says, "Marco, on his part, perceiving that the Grand Khan took a pleasure in hearing accounts of whatever was new to him respecting the customs and manners of people, and the peculiar circumstances of distant countries, endeavored, wherever he went, to obtain correct information on these subjects, and made notes of all he saw and heard, in order to gratify the curiosity of his master. In short, during seventeen years that he continued in his service, he rendered himself so useful that he was employed in confidential missions to every part of the empire and its dependencies; and sometimes also he traveled on his own private account, but always with the consent and sanctioned by the authority of the Great Khan. Under such circumstances it was that Marco Polo had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge, either by his own observation or by what he collected from others, of so many things, until his time unknown, respecting the eastern parts of the world, and which he diligently and regularly committed to writing, as in the sequel will appear."

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST NATIVE DYNASTY—THE MING.

AS soon as Tai-tsu was firmly seated on the throne, ambassadors were sent by the kings of Corea and other tributary princes to congratulate him on his elevation, and express their satisfaction that the country was once more under the dominion of a native ruler. The success of Tai-tsu and his excellent government are attributed in great measure to the prudent counsels of his wife. The new emperor chose Nanking for his capital, and erected Peking into a principality, which he bestowed on one of his sons, Yung-lo, who, when he became emperor, again removed the court from Nanking to Peking, the latter city being better situated for keeping in check the Tartars, who were constantly at war with the Chinese after the fall of the Mongol dynasty. Tai-tsu began his reign by restoring those institutions which had been disregarded since the time of Kublai Khan, whose successors had broken in upon one of the most important usages of the Chinese government, by placing military men in all the chief offices of state, which under Kublai had been filled by the learned. This was one of the innovations which had led to the revolution, and was among the first grievances redressed by the new emperor, who restored the literary mandarins to

their former rank and influence, and granted great privileges to the Han-lin College. He made several new regulations intended to promote the happiness of the people, and, among others, that women should not devote themselves as priestesses to the religion of Buddha, and that no man should enter a monastery till he was forty years of age; for Tai-tsu knew by experience that young people sometimes were induced to adopt this life of seclusion before they were old enough to judge whether it was exactly suited to their dispositions, and were thereby doomed to many years of misery and regret.

Tai-tsu reigned thirty-one years, and, having lost his favorite son, appointed his grandson, a boy of thirteen, under the imperial name of Kien-wan, to succeed him, which gave great offence to one of his sons, Yung-lo, who raised an army at Peking, and placing himself at its head, marched toward Nanking to demand from his nephew the surrender of the throne. He was opposed by the imperial troops, and a battle ensued, in which many were killed on both sides, but the cause was still undecided when the gates of the city were opened by a traitor. The assailants instantly rushed into the town, put many of the inhabitants to the sword and set the palace on fire. The youthful emperor perished in the flames, and Yung-lo took possession of the vacant throne. Some of the ministers were condemned to death, others killed themselves, while many of the mandarins, who expected to be punished for their adherence to the cause of the late unfortunate prince, shaved their heads and assumed the sackcloth habit of the bonzes, and, thus disguised, were not recognized.

Although the new emperor had obtained the throne

by cruelty and violence, he was not a bad sovereign, but on the contrary exhibited great moderation and justice in many acts of his government. He removed the court to Peking, as has been before remarked, which has been the imperial residence ever since; but he established separate tribunals at Nanking, which city was occupied and governed by his eldest son.

It was in this reign that the great Tartar chief Timour, or Tamerlane, as he is more generally called, whose conquests almost equaled those of Zingis Khan, being ambitious of adding China to the vast dominions he had already acquired by a long and successful course of warfare, set out with the intention of invading that empire; but, happily for the Chinese, he died on the way (A.D. 1405), and the expedition was abandoned. From time to time, however, the Tartars renewed their invasions in the hope of recovering the empire, and were a terrible scourge to those provinces which bordered on Tartary. When there happened to be a powerful prince at the head of the state, they were kept in check, but whenever the government was weak, they did not fail to turn that advantage to account; so that the Chinese were never entirely at peace during the whole period of the Ming dynasty, which lasted three centuries.

It was in the reign of this race that the rapid progress of navigation which followed the discovery of America first brought the ships of Europe to the shores of China.¹ The Portuguese, who were the great naviga-

¹ Those who love to trace the simultaneous tread of the great events which mark the eras of the advance of our race will observe that this new link was formed between the most distant West and the most distant East, between the most immobile and the most progressive parts of the world, at the hour when

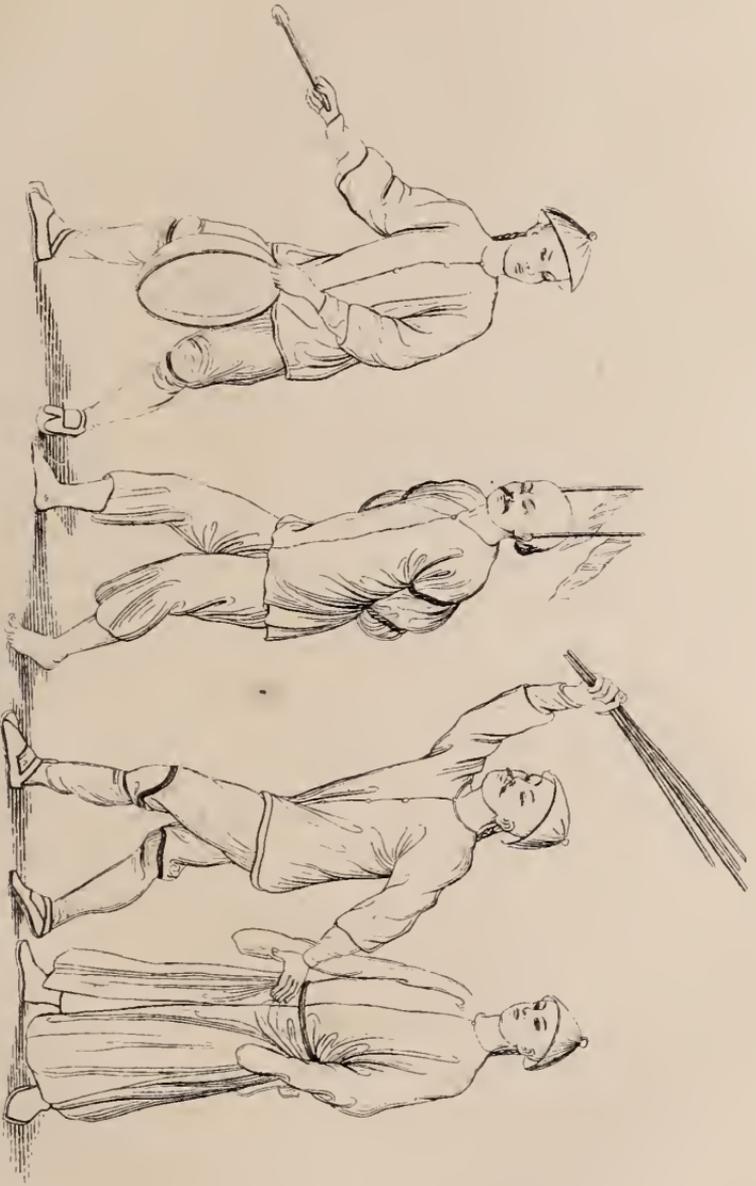
tors of the age, having made several voyages to India by the newly-discovered passage round the Cape of Good Hope, ventured still farther eastward in the year 1516, and were the first Europeans who reached the Canton river. Their vessels, despatched by Alfonso Albuquerque, the captain-general of Malacca, were under the command of a bold and adventurous Portuguese named Perestrello, who, however, did not pass the islands at the mouth of the river. His name will be memorable as that of the first person who ever conducted a ship to China under a European flag. On his return to Malacca, Perestrello reported favorably of the country and its commerce. The very next year he was followed by a squadron of eight vessels, under the command of Perez de Andrade, who passed the islands and sailed up the river. Some alarm was experienced at Canton on the appearance of strange vessels, of a form altogether new to the Chinese, who very naturally supposed an invasion was intended; consequently, the squadron was presently surrounded by war-junks, and it was with difficulty that Perez de Andrade obtained permission to proceed up the river to Canton with two of his ships. The viceroy granted an audience; but while successfully negotiating for a trade, the Portuguese captain received accounts that the rest of his squadron, left near the mouth of the river, had been attacked by pirates. Some of his vessels returned with cargoes to Malacca; the remainder sailed, in company with some junks belonging to the Loo-Choo islands, for the east coast of China, and succeeded in

Martin Luther was preparing the ninety-five theses, the nailing of which on the door of the cathedral at Wittenberg waked up the slumbering conscience of Europe, and was one of the first public acts of the Great Reformation.

establishing a colony at Ningpo. Shortly after this the Portuguese brought their families to that port, and established a profitable trade, not only with various parts of the Chinese coasts, but also with the islands which compose the empire of Japan—an empire then abounding with the precious metals and other valuable productions. But in the course of a few years the provincial government, provoked by their rapacity, piracy and general ill-conduct, expelled them from Ningpo; and thus the Portuguese for ever lost an establishment on the continent of China in one of the provinces of the empire best adapted to the ends of European trade. It must honestly be admitted that the conduct of their first visitors from the West was not calculated to give the Chinese a favorable opinion of Europeans, and that these Portuguese, with the subjects of some other nations of the West, who very soon followed them, were little better than buccaneers.

As the hostility of the Chinese to foreign intercourse is a favorite subject of reproach against them in the writings of men of our kith and creed, we may perhaps obtain some useful light as to the grounds of it by looking into its records. The truth is, that the specimens of Christian civilization who first went to that coast—and, it must be added, some of later days—have been scoundrels with whom the common knaves of Christendom would shrink from associating. Among the early desperate adventurers from Portugal was Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who has been made memorable by the ill names bestowed upon him by Cervantes and the dramatist Congreve, but the bulk of whose descriptions and adventures were indisputably true. Having been plundered

by native pirates, he and his comrades turned pirates themselves. These freebooters finally reached Ningpo, which was as yet in the hands of their countrymen, and which Mendez Pinto describes as a strongly-fortified settlement. They were received with "great affection and Christian charity;" prayers were put up for them in the church; they were visited and feasted by the richest and noblest of the settlers, who assured them that the Chinese empire was in so unsettled a state that they might plunder and burn even the great city of Canton without danger or difficulty. Thirteen different princes were contending for the imperial crown, war was waging in all parts of the empire, and the Manchu Tartars were coming. Before quitting Ningpo, Mendez Pinto's commodore, Antonio de Faria, furnished himself with a Portuguese priest or friar for each of his ships, in order that mass might be regularly performed at sea. The very devout Portuguese settled at Ningpo had learned from some Chinese that to the north-east there was an island containing the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, all made of gold and surrounded by many idols cast in the same precious metal. For a long time this island seemed to evade the search of the Portuguese captain. At last, when his crew was in despair and mutinous, he hit upon the island and upon some of the royal tombs. But, alas! the gold turned out to be only burnished brass or gilded copper. The marauders, however, burst open the graves, and there, among the dry bones of the dead, they found a great quantity of silver. A tempest followed them, as if in vengeance, and they were all shipwrecked in the bay of Nanking. Of the total number, only fourteen saved their lives by swim-



Street Punishment.

ming. The people on the solitary coast were kind and hospitable, giving them rice to eat, and pointing out the way to a pagoda and hospital where pilgrims could always find food and lodging. When questioned by the bonzes or priests at the hospitium who they were and whence they came, the Portuguese said that they were natives of the kingdom of Siam, poor honest fishermen, who had been cast away; and hereupon they met with a most humane reception. When these bonzes, who were very poor, had entertained them two or three days, they sent them on to another hospitium, three leagues off, which was very rich. These places of refuge for pilgrims and for the poor of all classes were then very numerous in China, and they had been faithfully described by Marco Polo. Two months the shipwrecked pirates wandered through that immense province, begging in the villages and avoiding as much as possible the great towns, for fear of being detected as Portuguese mariners. At last, in an evil hour, they entered the town of Taypor. There they were seen, as they were begging from door to door, by a sharp magistrate, who caused them to be arrested, loaded with chains and iron collars, and cast into a frightful prison, where one of them died. At the end of twenty-six days they were embarked on a canal for the city of Nanking, together with twenty or thirty Chinese criminals and cut-throats. Almost as soon as they arrived at Nanking, which Ferdinand Mendez correctly describes as an immense and populous city, the second in rank in the empire, they were examined by a very rigorous mandarin, who ordered them a terrible flogging on the bare back, which caused the death of two of them. Two more had been previously

drowned in crossing an inlet of the sea. Some charitable Buddhist priests attended the nine survivors, healed their wounds, and then procured that they should be sent on to the grand imperial court of appeal at Peking. The unhappy Portuguese ascended the grand canals, which struck them with astonishment. They were also charmed with the number of the bridges and the magnificence of the pagodas, tombs, fountains and arches of triumph. Ferdinand had also occasion to admire the tranquil manners of the Chinese and the good order and industry that prevailed among them. Shortly after their arrival at Peking they were acquitted, or rather pardoned, by the supreme court, and liberated with a free permission to go again a-begging. For two months and a half they enjoyed this liberty in Peking, and among that countless population they found many charitable people. They were then sent to the city of Kin-sai, where they were taken into the service of the governor as part of his body-guard. They were kindly and even liberally treated, until (strange illustration of the kind of honor that often exists in the bosom of thieves!) there happened a quarrel among themselves about a question of precedence, genealogy and nobility, and a commotion and a scuffle, accompanied with bloodshed, which the Chinese laws have at all times held in great abhorrence. They were again well flogged or beaten with bamboos and thrown into prison, a method of settling such nice points in which the Chinese certainly set the nations of the West a good lesson. After eight more weeks of captivity the governor took pity on them, and they were released, though only to be slaves in perpetuity, and under the doom that if they ever again quarreled and

fought among themselves, whether about the antiquity of their families or aught else, they would all be instantly scourged to death. Although their taskmasters made them work very hard, they were still obliged to beg from door to door for their daily bread or rice. Luckily one of them, Gaspar de Moreyles by name, was a very good musician, "playing the guitar and singing to it with a voice which was not a bad one; and this music was very agreeable to the richer sort of Chinamen, who pass their lives in banquets and the delights of the flesh, and so they called Gaspar in very frequently for their pastime, and never sent him away empty-handed." The minstrel generously shared the proceeds with his comrades. They were released from their present thralldom by the Manchu Tartars, who captured Kin-sai, carried them away with them, and very soon gave them good military employment, finding that they were brave and well skilled in the art of war. Beyond this point the adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto are but little connected with China.¹

The first Portuguese embassy to Peking took place as early as the year 1520. It was headed by one Perez, who found the imperial court in a fury at the depredations committed at sea by his countrymen. He was sent back under custody to Canton, the provincial government of which place was no doubt instructed to arrest further attempts on the part of strangers to communicate with the court. At Canton, Perez was robbed of his property, thrown into prison, and ultimately, it is supposed, put to death. "The various embassies," adds Sir J. F. Davis, "which followed in three successive centuries to

¹C. MACFARLANE, *Romance of Travel*, vol. ii. chap. 5.

Peking, met with different kinds of treatment; but, in whatever spirit conducted, they were (previous to the Opium War) equally unsuccessful in the attainment of any important points of negotiation."

The year after that in which Perez started on his mission, his countryman, Alfonso de Melo, with six vessels, and in ignorance of what had taken place, arrived in China. He became immediately involved in fierce conflicts with the indignant Chinese, who put to death more than twenty Portuguese prisoners who fell into their hands, and forced Melo's squadron to retire.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, however, succeeded in establishing themselves at Macao, on a small peninsula near the mouth of the Canton river; the only European colony—and it with very limited success—that was planted on the coast of China until our own days and the recent war with the Celestial Empire. It seems that the Portuguese had a temporary refuge on shore as early as 1537, being allowed to erect sheds for drying goods, which were introduced under the name of tribute. By degrees the foreigners were permitted to build some warehouses, for which privilege they paid an annual tribute and rent. They erected there, by degrees, a number of good houses, and the merchants who went to reside took with them their wives and families, which was contrary to the laws of the empire, but connived at by the mandarins, who probably derived some advantage from granting this indulgence. Macao was honored by being the place of banishment of the great Portuguese poet Camoens, parts of whose beautiful poem of the "Lusiad" are said

to have been here written in a grotto which still bears his name.

The new Portuguese town of Macao being situated at the extremity of a small peninsula, joined by a narrow isthmus to the island of Heang-shan, the Chinese government caused a wall to be built across the slip of land as a barrier; for although the Chinese were not insensible to the advantages of foreign commerce, they adhered to their system of exclusion, and while they strictly prohibited the strangers from entering their cities, or even passing the bounds of their own settlement, they jealously watched all their proceedings. An officer was appointed at Macao, who governed the town in the name of the emperor, and whose duty it was to give information to his superiors of the conduct of the inhabitants.

The attempts of the Roman Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had left little discernible fruit. John III., the enterprising king of Portugal, determined to send the Christian religion to the heathen lands which God had opened to his commerce. The devoted Francis Xavier was the first missionary who went forth under his care. He embarked at Lisbon, April 8, 1541, arrived at Goa in India the following year, labored there and in the neighboring countries for six years, and then determined to carry the gospel to Japan and China. After great success in Japan, he died upon the threshold of his work in China, December 2, 1552. His remains were carried to Goa for interment, but the little island of Shang-chuen, on which he died, is a place of resort for pilgrims till the present day.

Not long after the Portuguese had opened a trade

with China, the Spaniards, rivaling their example, began to send out ships to the Indian ocean, and in the reign of Philip II. established a colony at Manila (A. D. 1543), in the Philippine Islands, where they entered into commercial dealings with the Chinese merchants, who carried silks and porcelain thither for sale. But, although they still possess the privilege of trading at Canton, as well as at Macao and at Amoy, the Spaniards have derived less advantage from an intercourse with the "Middle Kingdom" than most other nations, notwithstanding the vast advantage they have in the locality of Manila, which is within a few days' sail of China, and approached with equal facility in either monsoon. But if these ultra-devout people did not grasp the commercial advantages within their reach, they paid every attention to the propagation of their faith. Manila, in a little time, was well stocked with churches and religious houses, and with monks; and of these last two were sent over to convert the Chinese about the year 1570.

The appearance of foreigners in a Chinese city was so rare a sight that the house in which the monks lodged was constantly surrounded by the populace, who mounted the walls and the housetops to obtain a glimpse of the men from an unknown land. When they went out sedan-chairs were provided for their accommodation, but they could scarcely make their way along the streets in consequence of the crowds that were assembled to see them. They found the country through which they traveled extremely fertile and well cultivated, and the people, who were then generally employed in harrowing and seed-sowing, appeared to be in comfortable circumstances; but the strangers were so closely watched that

they had little opportunity of gaining much information respecting the real condition of the natives or of visiting the interior of their abodes.

At length the Spaniards were politely but decidedly informed that their visit had been sufficiently prolonged; and without having received a direct reply with regard to the object of their mission, they were escorted to Canton, where a bark was in readiness to convey them back to Manila; and thus ended their hopes of propagating Christianity among the Chinese. Other attempts were made with as little success until the following century, when the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans undertook missions to China. As they were in general more politic men than monks of other orders, and in the habit of mixing more with the world, they succeeded better than those who had gone before them. They commenced the great work they had in view in a very cautious manner, giving out that they were holy men from the West, who, having heard of the wonders of the Celestial Empire, had come to finish their days in that celebrated land; and one of them gained the reputation of being a great astrologer by constructing a sun-dial and an armillary sphere, which excited much admiration.

Having conciliated the good-will of the natives, they were permitted to remain, and when they had gained sufficient influence to make the attempt, they obtained leave to build a Christian church, and succeeded in making many converts.

Such was the state of affairs when Wan-lieh, the thirteenth emperor of the Ming dynasty, ascended the throne of his ancestors in the year 1571. Wan-lieh

is highly spoken of in Chinese history as being just, wise and benevolent, and altogether as a prince of an excellent disposition. He caused to be published every three months, for the convenience of the public, a book containing the name, rank and native city of every officer of the empire—a custom which has been continued ever since. It is called the Red Book, from the color; red being much used in connection with the ceremonial matters of both religion and the state: it may be mentioned, for instance, that there are before the portals of every official mansion two high poles which are uniformly painted red. There are nine degrees of rank among the officers of government, and alterations are continually made in their body by the advancement of some, and by the appointment of new magistrates to the offices of each province, and the admission of fresh candidates after every examination. The nobility is therefore, in fact, a constantly fluctuating body, and the Red Book is a court calendar corrected regularly according to the changes that have occurred.

The long reign of Wan-lieh was disturbed from its commencement by the irruptions of the Manchus, whose power was fast increasing, while that of the Ming princes was as rapidly declining; and at length the Manchu prince Tien-ming, provoked by the oppressive conduct of some Chinese officers on the frontiers, formally declared war against the empire, and published a manifesto stating his reasons for so doing.

Just at this juncture Wan-lieh died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Hi-tsung, who reigned only seven years, during which the war was continued with varied success, and it was still undecided when the last of

the Chinese sovereigns, Hwai-tsung, ascended the throne in the year 1627.

The late emperor, Hi-tsung, and the Tartar king, Tien-ming, died within a few months of each other, the latter being succeeded by his son Tien-tsung, who prosecuted the war against Hwai-tsung with a view to the conquest of the empire. The whole country was now in a most dreadful state of anarchy, for the regular troops being all engaged in the contest with the Tartars, there were none to stop the progress of rebellion, which began to show itself in all the provinces. Several daring chiefs raised revolts, and collected large armed bands, with which they ravaged the country and plundered the cities with impunity; nor had the magistrates any power to prevent such outrages by enforcing the laws, which they could only do by military aid.

The way was prepared for the revolution which placed on the throne the Manchu Tartars, who have held it until the present time. We will dwell a little in our history upon the events which lifted to a position of so vast power a race which has given to China some of the ablest of its long line of rulers, and one which at present seems to be the appointed agency of Providence to introduce the civilization of the West, and with it the knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity.

The boldest of the insurgent leaders, whose name was Li-kung, even aspired to the imperial dignity, and having raised an immense army, he made himself master of the provinces of Ho-nan and Shen-si, where he secured his authority by putting to death the principal officers of the cities, and freeing the people from all taxes and contributions. The support of the

commonalty being thus gained, he marched toward Peking, the capital, sending several of his party before him disguised as merchants, who went into the city, where they hired shops and carried on trade till an opportunity offered for executing their project, which was to gain over some of the soldiers of the guard and by their assistance to open the gates to the rebel army. All happened according to their wishes; and the night on which the treacherous soldiers were to keep guard was fixed for the entrance of Li-kung and his troops, who on the gates being opened rushed into the town and commenced a furious attack on the palace. The officers fled in dismay; the guards of the palace went over to the enemy; when the unfortunate emperor, seeing no other means of escaping from the foe, stabbed his daughter with his own hand, and then put an end to his own existence. The young lady was carried off by a faithful slave, and having survived the effects of the blow, was afterward married to a Chinese grandee; but the empress and many ladies of the court, dreading nothing so much as falling into the hands of the rebels, killed themselves in despair.

The triumphant chief caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and taking possession of the palace, proceeded to exercise the sovereign authority, to which the people of Peking and the northern provinces universally submitted; but one of the loyal generals, Wu San-kwei, who still had an army under his command, held out with determined bravery, and fortified himself in a city on the confines of Tartary, which was speedily besieged by the usurper, whose cruelties had already made him hateful to all except his own soldiers. Enraged at the

opposition of Wu San-kwei, the tyrant caused the aged father of that general to be brought, loaded with chains, under the walls of the city, and sent word to the general that if he did not surrender the old man would be instantly put to death; on which the unhappy son appeared on the wall, and on his knees, while the tears streamed down his face, received the commands of his venerable parent never to acknowledge the base usurper as his sovereign. Scarcely had the father uttered the words, when his head was severed from his body: a sad sight for the eyes of a son, whose filial affection was of that deep character so frequently met with among the Chinese.

Wu San-kwei had now a double cause for vengeance—the death of his prince and the murder of his father. He therefore made terms with the Manchu Tartars, and, aided by them, soon expelled the usurper from the capital. The Tartar prince determined to keep to himself the throne which he had won; and he was so well received at Peking, where the Chinese hailed him as a deliverer, and he conducted matters with so much dexterity and prudence, that he found scarcely any difficulty in assuming the sovereignty and being proclaimed emperor. Scarcely, however, had he been invested with this high dignity than he was seized with a fatal disorder, of which he died in a few days, having named as his successor his son—Shun-chi—a child only six years of age, whose uncle was appointed to govern as regent during his minority.

Such was the revolution (A.D. 1644) which placed the present imperial family of the Manchu Tartar race on the throne of China; but some years elapsed before the

whole country was brought under submission to a foreign ruler; for although the provinces of the north, which had been disgusted by the tyranny of the usurping chief, had not hesitated to bestow the title of emperor on a Tartar, some of the southern cities supported the claims of the native princes, and a long civil war ensued, during which the loyalists kept possession of the south, and two or three princes of the Ming family were successively proclaimed emperors of Nanking, and held their courts in that city.

The Chinese general Wu San-kwei was raised to a very high rank, and a principality was bestowed on him, with the government of one of the principal cities of Shen-si. The fate of the usurper Li-kung was never known, but it was generally supposed he was killed in some engagement with the Manchus.

It was during the reign of the last emperor of the native Chinese dynasty of Ming, and the troubles which ended in the overthrow of that ancient family, and contemporaneous with the new order of things established in the supremacy of a foreign power, that the Dutch and the English from Europe were first led by Providence to put in their claims for a share of the productions and trade of China.

The Dutch, who had recently emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke, were at this time at war both with the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The fierce conflicts between these three nations, who waged war by land as well as by sea, who almost invariably fought wherever they met, and who paid very little respect to the neutrality of the bays and harbors of China, were certainly well calculated still farther to estrange so

peace-loving and timid a people as the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, and to fill them with horror of the foreigners of the West. And worse followed. Having defeated several Portuguese armaments, the Dutch captured Malacca, the Spice Islands and other places, and in the year 1622 they attacked the Portuguese settlement at Macao on the Canton river, with a squadron of seventeen ships. Being repulsed, with the loss of their admiral and about three hundred men, the Dutch retired and established themselves on the Pang-hu or Pescadore Islands. Their occupation of this position was a source of great annoyance to the Chinese authorities and to the Portuguese and Spaniards. According to the custom of those days, the Dutch began to build a fort, and obliged the native Chinese to do their work, treating them all the while with great harshness and severity. Most of these unfortunate Chinese had been kidnapped or made prisoners by the Dutch in the course of their attacks on the coasts of the continent. The Chinese authorities offered the invaders a liberty to trade if they would only move farther off to Formosa, an island lying in the track of our commerce, which has of late years attracted public attention, partly on account of the occasional massacres of the crews of foreign vessels wrecked on some portions of its shores inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes, which have compelled our government to inflict severe punishment on some of their towns, and partly as a field of Christian missions. The beginning of foreign intercourse was characteristic. In this rich and beautiful island the Dutch made a settlement in the year 1625, erecting Fort Zeeland on its western shore. They interfered with the ancient laws and municipal institutions

of the islanders, and otherwise acted precipitately and unwisely, thereby losing the good-will of the people. They, however, did not neglect the moral and spiritual interests of the natives. In 1626 a devoted and able Dutch Protestant minister, George Candidius, was the first appointed to labor among the people, and it is said that in sixteen months more than a hundred of the principal men were converted to the truths of Christianity. The work is reported to have been advancing rapidly, with an extending foundation of churches and schools, when the Dutch governors in India, fearful of offending the Japanese, among whom they had obtained a settlement, and who were then persecuting and exterminating the Portuguese Roman Catholics in Japan, restricted these benevolent labors and discouraged the further conversion of the inhabitants of Formosa. These restrictions arose entirely out of the dread of losing the then profitable trade with Japan; and it must be admitted that in many parts of the East, if the merchant has often paved the way for the missionary, the passion of trade and love of lucre have not unfrequently thwarted the best efforts made for religious conversion. During the struggles which ensued after the overthrow of the Chinese Ming dynasty many thousands of families emigrated from the continent to Formosa, but so long as the Dutch remained on that island their trade with the Chinese was very limited.

The English, who were destined to have in after years so very large a portion of the Chinese trade, scarcely had a glimpse of success until the reign of Charles I. A very unfortunate attempt was made by Queen Elizabeth in 1596, when some English vessels under the

command of Benjamin Wood, who bore letters from the queen to the emperor, made sail for Canton; but the ships were lost on their way out, and thus a damper was cast on such English enterprises for the space of forty years. Under the reign of Charles I. another attempt was made to open a trade; and on the 28th of May, 1637, a small squadron of English ships, under the command of Captain Weddell, passed the mouths of the Canton river and anchored off Macao, being the first vessels of that nation seen at the place. The jealous Portuguese intrigued against them, and so did the Jesuit missionaries. As for the Celestials, the acquaintance of the English with them, as usual, commenced with a collision and a fight. The Chinese were induced by the Portuguese, who represented the English to be a wicked and cruel nation with whom they should have no intercourse, to fire upon the ships in the hope of driving them away. The result was, that Weddell attacked and captured the fort, burned and destroyed some public buildings of the neighborhood, killed and wounded a good many of the people, and then took as lawful prizes several of their trading-junks. Weddell thus compelled them to open trade with him. So far as relates to the English, there was, as may be supposed, after this inauspicious opening, a lull in ultra-Eastern enterprise, which lasted twenty-seven years. It was prolonged by the great civil wars, and by the wars the English were waging with the Dutch, whose naval force in the Eastern seas was at that time far superior to theirs.

The French, though at times very active in the neighboring countries of Cochin-China and Siam, never sent a formal mission to Peking or made any strenuous

efforts to obtain trade until the close of the Opium War, when a treaty was negotiated in behalf of his nation by Mons. de Lagrené. Yet it is worthy of notice that the missionaries of that nation have made Europeans better acquainted with China, and given the Chinese more knowledge of Europe, than those of any other country ; and that their treaty, above mentioned, was the first, of those made at a time when the Chinese were in a position which compelled them to accede to the demands of the Western powers, which made mention of Christianity and endeavored to remove the barriers to its promulgation.

CHAPTER X.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY.—FIRST EMPERORS.

THE family of the youthful emperor Shun-chi with great wisdom engaged excellent tutors, who not only instructed him in the literature of the country, but instilled into his mind such principles as were likely to fit him for the government of the conquered nation. Under the care of these able monitors he learned to be just and moderate toward the people over whom the fortune of war had placed him; and being naturally well inclined, he attained to manhood with just such principles as were best calculated to reconcile the Chinese to foreign dominion.

While Shun-chi was pursuing his studies the regent and his generals were engaged in reducing the southern part of the country to subjection, and all the finest provinces were devastated by the long and fearful contest. Many of the great cities were laid in ruins; for wherever the Tartars met with resistance they set fire to the houses, and demolished all the public buildings except the Buddhist temples.

The traces of this war are still visible in China, where many an empty space is bounded by a dilapidated wall which once surrounded a populous town, but now encloses only a few market-gardens; and some of the chief cities

are not much more than half their original size, as may be seen by the extent of their walls, which at present encompass large spaces of ground where no houses are remaining, and which are usually devoted to the culture of vegetables for food. A great part of Nanking, with the imperial palace, was destroyed at this time, and there are now within its walls orchards, fields, garden-grounds and scattered farm-houses, not above one-third of the area being occupied by the present city.

One of the most formidable opponents of the Tartars was a maritime chief, whom history, inasmuch as his cause failed, styles a pirate, known by the name of Koshinga, a noted character in the history of the period, not only for his loyalty to the Chinese royal race, but for his exploits against the Dutch, who had by this time considerably increased their Indian trade, and had strengthened their settlement in the island of Formosa.

Ching Chilung, the father of Koshinga, one of the richest merchants in China, had, in the early part of the war, fitted out a fleet at his own expense to support the native princes; but after the accession of Shun-chi he accepted the offer of a high post at court, leaving the command of his fleet to his son, Koshinga, who, instead of following the example of his father, remained faithful to the cause of the legitimate princes. This chief was the terror of the Indian seas, where no foreign vessels dared to appear during the wars, so that all trade was for a long time suspended. At length, the Tartars, having taken Nanking, laid siege to Canton, which by the aid of Koshinga's fleet was enabled to hold out for eight months, but was at the end of that time obliged to surrender, and the last prince of the Ming family fled

to the court of the king of Pegu, where he was received with the greatest hospitality.

Every place of importance having now submitted to the conquerors, the new government was acknowledged throughout the empire; and shortly afterward, on the death of the regent, in 1652, Shun-chi, although only fourteen years of age, took the government into his own hands. The young sovereign, who no doubt acted by the advice of prudent and experienced ministers, suffered the Chinese to retain all the rights and immunities they had enjoyed under their native rulers; but, as he found it necessary to satisfy his Tartar subjects also, by admitting them to a share of the honors and emoluments of the empire, he doubled the number of officers of state and members of councils, making one half Chinese and the other half Tartars—a regulation which continues to this day.

The Chinese, however, were required to submit to one mark of subjection which was far more obnoxious and spread more general discontent among them than any changes that could have been introduced into the form of government. This was, that they should divest themselves of the thick raven locks which they had been accustomed to cherish with peculiar care, and adopt in their stead the Tartar fashion of having the head shaven, except sufficient to form a long plaited queue behind. A haughty and civilized people would naturally feel deeply humiliated by such a badge of subjection to a tribe of foreign barbarians. They resisted it with indignation; and it is asserted that many chose to submit their heads to the executioner rather than to the barber, for that was the cruel alternative, as it was

found impossible to enforce the decree by any gentler means than treating disobedience as rebellion, and punishing the offender accordingly. The queues were thus fully established, and have been worn ever since. However in one locality an alleviation was granted to this indignity. The last province to submit was that on the southern coast, next eastward of Canton, to which, in commemoration of the final success of their arms, the new dynasty gave the name Fuh-kien—"happily established." Its bold and energetic people received permission to retain the black turban to cover the shaved head, which they hated as the badge of submission to the Tartars; and this turban they proudly continue to wear. It is a strange phenomenon that, much as the Chinese hate the queue, they dread the loss of it, as their acute conquerors made cutting off the queue a punishment to mark the more ignominious crimes, and the want of it, like cropped ears in the Middle Ages in Europe, to be a proclamation of a rogue.

There were some few alterations made also in the national costume, but they were not very striking, nor would it be very easy to describe them. With regard to the laws, the religion and the system of government, the conquest produced no change, for the Tartar sovereigns governed, like their Chinese predecessors, according to the rules laid down in the ancient books; so that, although the emperor of China is absolute lord of the lands and the people, he is in some degree restrained by the laws as well as his subjects. He has first the *nui-koh*, or private cabinet, composed of four chief ministers—two Tartars and two Chinese—who, together with certain high officers of state, form the *kiun-ki-chu*, or



Man and Wife

general council ; but the ordinary business of the government is conducted by the *luh-pu*, or six boards or departments.

These boards, or their elements, were among the earliest institutions of this wonderful empire. The business of the first, or Board of Civil Office, is to take care that all offices under the government are properly filled, and that those to whom authority is entrusted shall use it with moderation and discharge their several duties with punctuality. The members of this board are responsible for the conduct of all the viceroys, magistrates and civil officers of every description, and are obliged at stated periods to send in an account of their proceedings to the emperor ; so that if any of them are guilty of misconduct, it is almost sure to be made known, and they are punished according to their misdemeanors. Each governor of a province or city is obliged to send a report to the board once in three years as to the conduct of all magistrates under his jurisdiction, and also of any injuries done by himself to his poorer brethren when seated on the magisterial bench to dispense justice ; and this statement is compared with that of others, who have perhaps been secretly keeping a watchful eye upon him ; so that it is a dangerous experiment for a magistrate to attempt to conceal his own delinquencies, since they are almost certain to come to the knowledge of the board ; and he is then punished not only for the offence, but also for the concealment. These regulations are intended to protect the people from oppression, and must certainly act as a check to an undue exertion of power on the part of the authorities, although they may frequently be evaded.

The second, or Board of Finance, has the charge of the government revenues, and its duty is to superintend all taxes and duties paid into the imperial treasury and storehouses; some being collected in money and others in kind. They regulate salaries and pensions, distribute the proper quantities of rice, silks and money which are allowed to princes and officers of state, and keep general accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the government, the various monopolies, the mines, the public mint and other sources of revenue. The third is the Board of Rites, to which belongs the direction of the state ceremonials observed among the Chinese. This board appoints the days for holding festivals and royal hunts, and for the performance of sacrifices and other religious rites. It regulates the costume to be worn by the different orders of the people, the etiquette of the court as well as, to some extent, of private society, the reception of ambassadors, the entertainments given by the emperor; and, in short, it has the superintendence of those outward forms and usages which in China are considered of so much importance. It superintends also education, the competitive examinations, and correspondence with foreign nations. The fourth is the Board of War, which has the control of the army and navy; the appointment of their officers, systems of discipline, commissary matters, postal arrangement by means of couriers, etc., and forts and garrisons. The fifth is judiciary in its character, the Board of Punishments, which superintends the execution of the penal laws, appeals, pardons, fines and cases of capital punishment. It is a fact which exhibits the great moderation and equity of the government that, among those hundreds

of millions of subjects, capital punishment can in no case be administered without the final reference of it to this board and the imperial consent. The laws generally are just and wise beyond those of other Asiatic countries; indeed, they compare favorably with those of the best monarchies of Europe. Great corruptions have, however, of late years especially, crept into the administration of them. The sixth court is the Board of Public Works, which is charged with the care of the roads, the canals, bridges, temples, palaces and all public edifices.

During the Ming dynasty these boards were located both at Nanking and Peking; but Shun-chi suppressed those at Nanking, and united the members with those at Peking, where all the business has since been transacted, each of the six boards having its own separate buildings.

As soon as the Tartar prince was firmly seated on the throne, the Russian emperor Alexius, the father of Peter the Great, sent an embassy to China, with a view to establish a commercial treaty between the two empires; but the attempt failed from a curious circumstance, and one that has since been a cause of dispute with the British government. It was a custom of the Tartar sovereigns to exact from all those over whom they claimed supremacy an act of submission called the *ko-tau*, which consists in making nine prostrations to the ground. This ceremony is equivalent to an acknowledgment of vassalage; therefore the Russian ambassador very properly refused to perform it, as it would not have become him thus to commit the dignity of his master, who was an independent as well as a powerful prince. The refusal of the envoy gave great offence to

Shun-chi, who, in consequence, declined receiving the embassy. But this was not the only point of disagreement between the two monarchs, for the Russians had taken possession of some territories in Siberia which were considered as a part of Manchu Tartary; and as they would not give them up, but, on the contrary, erected a fort there for the purpose of defending them, the Chinese government commenced a war for their recovery, which was continued for a long time, the Russians still approaching nearer and nearer to China by new conquests, until at length the dominions of the emperor of Russia actually joined to the territories of China.

Not long after the failure of the Russian embassy, in 1655, the Dutch, who were very anxious to open trade with Canton and establish a factory there, sent ambassadors to the emperor with a petition to that effect. They were very courteously received by the viceroy of Canton, who accepted the presents they carried to him.

The governor of Canton was a handsome young Tartar of prepossessing manners, who invited the Dutch envoys to dine with him, and entertained them in a very sumptuous style. They were received in the great hall of the palace by his mother, who had just arrived from Tartary, and, according to the habits of the Tartar ladies, made no scruple of appearing before strangers of the opposite sex. The dinner was served in the Chinese fashion, on a number of small tables, not covered with cloths, but ornamented with painting and gilding, at each of which two guests were seated. The meats were served in silver dishes and the wine in golden cups, and during the banquet a party of actors,

splendidly habited in the ancient costume of the country, performed a play at one end of the hall for the amusement of the company.

The Dutch were not a little surprised at the magnificence displayed by the Tartar governor, and departed highly gratified with the reception they had met with, and from which they augured favorably for their mission; but in this they were mistaken, for soon after, when they arrived at Peking, they were scarcely treated with common civility by the authorities there, who provided them with a miserable lodging and very scanty entertainment until the time was appointed for their audience.

The sovereigns of the East usually hold their levées at break of day; consequently the ambassadors, to their great annoyance, were conducted to the palace over night and obliged to sit up in their state dresses, that they might be ready at the moment their attendance was required. Seated on the floor in an outer apartment, which was quite destitute of furniture, they had leisure to contemplate by the light of a few lamps a motley group of beings in the same uncomfortable situation as themselves, all waiting also for the honor of being admitted to the presence of the emperor. In one corner of the room was a barbarian envoy from a prince of the Southern Tartars, dressed in a long coat of sheepskin, dyed crimson, with large boots, bare arms and a horse's tail dangling from his cap. Contrasted with this rough-looking personage, was the ambassador of a Mongol khan, who wore a blue silk dress, so richly embroidered that it looked like beaten gold; and very different from either of these was the representative of the Grand Lama, who was attired in a yellow robe, with a broad hat, like that

worn by a cardinal, and a string of large beads round his neck. There were many other figures, all equally novel to the eyes of the Europeans, who were no less objects of curiosity to the strangers.

At length the welcome dawn appeared, when, on a given signal, all started up, and shaking off the weariness that had oppressed them, followed the officials whose business it was to conduct them to the hall of audience. This hall is of white marble, the entrance to which is by five flights of steps; the middle flight being reserved exclusively for the emperor, and never profaned by the foot of any other person. Here a scene of extraordinary pomp and splendor exhibited itself to the astonished eyes of the Dutch. The glittering dresses of the attendants; the gorgeous banners displayed by the soldiers ranged on each side of the hall; the superb throne, around which were displayed figures of the sun made of gold, and silver circles representing the moon, with the crowd of officers and attendants in their state robes, produced altogether a most imposing effect.

The emperor had not yet made his appearance, but all the ambassadors were directed to prostrate themselves three times before the empty throne, and at each time of kneeling to bow down their heads to the ground three times till their foreheads touched the marble flooring. This was the very ceremony the Russian envoy had refused to perform; but as the Hollanders were extremely anxious for the success of their embassy, they did not think it prudent to make any scruple about the matter, and went through the *ko-tau* with a good grace. The sound of bells soon announced the approach of *Shun-chi*; all present fell on their knees as he ascended the

steps, every eye being bent toward the earth, as if none were worthy to look upon him. He walked up the hall with a stately air and seated himself on the throne, when the whole assembly arose, and the different envoys were led forward to do him homage by a repetition of the nine prostrations; but not a single word nor even the slightest mark of notice did the haughty Tartar vouchsafe to the disappointed Europeans, who withdrew with no very kind feelings toward a prince before whom they had humbled themselves to so little purpose. Both the Tartars and Chinese had, in fact, some contempt for the Dutch people, in consequence of having learned that there was no emperor or king in Holland; for they did not understand the nature of a republic, but thought the Dutch must be a very poor and mean nation, that could not afford to maintain a king. However, before the ambassadors quitted Peking, they were officially informed that they might come to China once in eight years to bring presents, but not to trade. The presents brought by ambassadors were received as a kind of tribute and acknowledgment of vassalage; and thus the Chinese imbibed the absurd notion that all the countries of Europe from which embassies have been sent to the emperor of China were subjects to him. The bloody wars of the last three reigns have compelled them to see their mistake.

It is one of the remarkable facts in the history of Romanism, which reveals how much of power, how much of worldly policy, and how much of the elements of final defeat of its own ambitious ends it embodies, that this first haughty Manchu ruler of the empire of China placed himself under the tuition of a German Jesuit, named

Adam Schaal, whom he at length raised to the dignity of chief minister of state, and consulted on every affair of importance; so that, however strange it may appear, the empire of China was for a time governed in reality by a Christian missionary. The emperor would often spend the whole day with him at his own house, in order to profit by his learning and knowledge of public and of scientific matters; and although he himself never became a convert to Christianity, he did not prohibit others from embracing that faith, and allowed two churches to be built at Peking, where several missionaries came to reside.

In the mean time, the thousands of families who still preserved their attachment to the late dynasty and had emigrated to the island of Formosa, remained there with the Dutch, who were in possession of a great part of the country. But they soon had cause to repent of having admitted the Chinese loyalists into the island, for their numbers rapidly increased to an alarming extent, and it was discovered that they were holding a secret correspondence with the maritime chief Koshinga, who persisted in his opposition to the new Tartar government of China. This discovery excited some apprehension on the part of the Dutch, whose fears were not without foundation; for Koshinga, who had formed the bold project of conquering the island and setting himself up as an independent sovereign, landed with a force of twenty thousand men, and, being joined by the Chinese emigrants, demanded the surrender of the Dutch forts. A desperate conflict took place, in which the Dutch suffered very severely and were obliged to retire within the forts, from which they sent a deputation to the camp of

the invader to propose terms of accommodation; but Koshinga refused to make any terms, saying that Formosa had always belonged to the Chinese, although they had allowed strangers to reside there, but that as they now required it for their own occupation, the foreigners must immediately depart, as it was no longer convenient to let them remain. A regular warfare was then commenced for possession of the island, which lasted many months, when the Dutch were obliged to give up the contest and betake themselves to their settlements in Java, on which Koshinga assumed the sovereignty in 1662, and was called by the Europeans "king of Formosa." Great parties of Chinese loyalists from time to time left their country to place themselves under his protection, so that the number of his subjects was constantly increasing, and he made frequent descents on the maritime provinces of China guarded by the Tartars, who were much harassed by his attacks.

About the time that Koshinga achieved this conquest the emperor Shun-chi died, at the early age of twenty-four, and was succeeded by his son Kang-hi, who was then only eight years old.

The new emperor became one of the greatest monarchs that ever ruled over the Chinese territories. Being so young when his father died, four of the ministers were appointed to conduct the government during his minority; but as they were all rather advanced in years, and strongly prejudiced in favor of the ancient usages of the country, they employed the authority with which they were entrusted to abolish the innovations made by the late emperor and restore all things to their former state. One cause of dissatisfaction was the toleration which had

been granted to the Christians, which they feared might in time, if it were continued, be prejudicial to the ancient forms of manners, customs and usages which had endured for so many ages; and as this was in their eyes the greatest evil that could possibly befall the country, they used their best endeavors to prevent it by putting in prison Adam Schaal and another German Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest, who had also stood high in the favor of Shunchi, and had been employed to assist Schaal in the affairs of the state. The two churches were then destroyed, and all who had professed the Christian faith were persecuted with the utmost severity by fines, imprisonment, exile, and some even with death. Another cause, as influential, was that the disputes which had arisen very shortly after their settlement in the country between the Jesuits and the Dominicans and other Romanist monks had degenerated by this time into a most violent and unseemly quarrel, and that these teachers of Christianity had begun to set a woeful example of uncharitableness, malice and contention. Precisely the same thing had happened a few years before in Japan, and had ended in causing the massacre of more than a hundred thousand Japanese. The two Jesuits were after a time liberated, but the general persecution of the Christians was continued till the young emperor was of an age to take the government into his own hands. One of his first acts was to put a stop to the cruelties to which the Christian converts had been subjected, and he made amends to Verbiest for the sufferings he had endured by raising him to the same rank which his father had bestowed on Adam Schaal, who had lately died of old age.

In the year 1692, Kang-hi issued a decree permitting

the free exercise of the Christian religion, and putting it, with regard to privileges and immunities, on the same footing with Buddhism, which may be called the dominant or most prevalent faith of the country; for the doctrines of Confucius, which were followed only by the most refined, were properly not so much a religion as a code of morals and manners.

During the regency Koshinga had died, but his son had taken upon himself the government of Formosa, and as he inherited his father's hatred toward the Tartars, and was equally powerful at sea, he constantly ravaged the whole line of the south-eastern coast of China. The naval force of the empire not being sufficiently strong to contend with that of the pirate king, the government issued an order that all its subjects dwelling near the sea-shore should withdraw ten miles into the interior, so as to leave only a barren tract of country to the invaders. The inhabitants of the Portuguese settlement of Macao were the only persons exempted from the general order; probably because the government was indifferent about the safety of a foreign colony, particularly as the country beyond was defended by the barrier-wall that confined the Portuguese within certain limits. A great number of villages near the coast were entirely destroyed, and thousands of families who had lived by fishing were reduced to great distress by being obliged to remove from the vicinity of the sea. The fishermen, however, converted their boats into smaller ones, in which, with the assistance of their families, they could continue their occupation in more shallow waters. The expulsion of the inhabitants from the sea-coast produced the desired effect; for the Formosan

chief, whose principal resources had been derived from plundering the maritime towns and villages, found his power decline with his means of acquiring wealth; and although he contrived, with some difficulty, to support his authority till his death, his son, about twenty years after the accession of Kang-hi, gave up his island in consideration of a title and a pension for life.

Formosa was thus united to the Chinese empire, and has proved a valuable acquisition, as it is extremely fertile, producing in abundance fruits, corn and rice, of which large quantities are sent annually to China. The loyalists who had taken refuge there, having lost their leader, made submission to the Tartar emperor, and received a full pardon, but were obliged to shave their heads, like the rest of the nation.

Such of the poor islanders as did not flee to the mountains in the interior, where they rapidly degenerated into an almost savage condition, were compelled to adopt the dress and manners of the people of the continent. They were cruelly treated by the Chinese because they had submitted to the Dutch and had adopted many European customs and notions. With more prudent management and a few hundred more troops the Hollanders might certainly have kept possession of Formosa.

But brief and, in some respects, unwise as was their dominion, the Dutch left behind them deep traces of their civilization and religion. The Jesuit Du Halde, who wrote seventy years after their expulsion, and who was not likely to judge too favorably of them, says of the Chinese on the island, "There are many who yet understand the Dutch language, who can read the books

of the Dutch, and who in writing use their letters; many fragments of pious Dutch books are found amongst them." The same Romanist writer takes pains to misrepresent the Protestant religion by saying that while they adored no idols, and abominated every approach to them, they themselves performed no act of worship whatsoever, and recited no prayers. The entire population of the island is at this day estimated at about three millions, which is as much as the population of Scotland, and more than that of several independent kingdoms on the European continent. Formosa has long been familiarly known as the granary of the Chinese maritime provinces, to which she stands in the same relation as Sicily did to ancient Rome. If wars intervene or violent storms prevent the shipment of rice to the coast, a scarcity presently ensues, and extensive distress, with another certain result, multiplied piracies by the destitute Chinese. In addition to the rice, which annually employs in the coast trade alone more than two hundred large junks, Formosa exports an immense quantity of sugar. Much of the camphor sold in the Canton market is also supplied by Formosa. Among the merchants of the island are men with very large capital and abundant commercial enterprise. The position of Formosa is admirable as affording facilities for trade; within thirty leagues of China, and a hundred and fifty leagues of Japan, its situation and resources make it a desirable station for the commerce which is now opening, and yet to be opened, in those long-forbidden lands. But, unfortunately, except Ke-lung, there is no good harbor for large vessels on the whole coast. That portion of *Ilha Formosa*, or "Beautiful Island,"

which is possessed by the Chinese colonists well deserves its name; the scenery is charming, the air wholesome and the soil very fertile. The numerous rivulets from the mountains fertilize the extensive plains which spread below. All the trees are so nicely ranged that when the rice is planted, as usual, in rows or in square plats, the vast plain of the southern part of the island resembles a garden. Almost all grains and fruits may be produced on one part of the island or another, but rice, sugar, camphor and tobacco are the chief exports. It is curious to remark that, though lying opposite to the Chinese coast, and within one day's sail of the port of Amoy, Formosa does not appear to have attracted the notice of the Chinese government till a modern date. According to their history, they had no knowledge of it till the year 1430, when an officer of the imperial court was driven upon the island by a storm. A century after this date it is described as being uncultivated and inhabited only by savages. According to recent accounts, some of these aborigines remain in a very rude condition; they occupy regions difficult of access, and are wholly independent of the Chinese. They have no king or common head, but are ruled by petty chiefs and councils of elders, and in many other respects resemble the tribes of North American Indians. They have no books, no written language. In their marriages, which are made by mutual choice, it is not the bridegroom that takes home the bride, but the bride that takes home the bridegroom, who lives in her parents' house and returns no more to the house of his father; and therefore, it is said, they think it no happiness to have male children. They are of a slender shape and olive com-

plexion; they wear long hair, blacken their teeth and tattoo their skins; they are said to be honest and frank among themselves, but excessively vindictive when outraged. In the mountains they go clad in deer skins. Some of them are more civilized, but these live in towns and villages in the plains or open country, and are completely in subjection to the Chinese. Hence there have been, and still are, frequent insurrections and internal wars. The capital of the whole island of Formosa is called Tai-wan, and is described as ranking amongst cities of the first class in China in the variety and richness of its merchandise and in population.

Kang-hi was a prince to make himself very popular, for he was a great hunter, and thus acquired a high military reputation among the Tartars, who regarded hunting and war as pursuits equally honorable and important; and he gained the good-will of the Chinese by honoring and rewarding literary merit, and by attending in person to the welfare of his subjects. Every year he made a progress through some of the provinces, to see that the magistrates performed their duties and that the people were not oppressed by them. On these occasions the people of the cities usually made a grand display; as, for instance, on his visit to Nanking in 1689, triumphal arches were erected in all the principal streets, at the distance of about twenty paces from each other, gayly adorned with ribbons, silks and fringes; and when he made his entry on horseback, with a numerous train of guards and gentlemen, he was met by a deputation from the citizens, bearing silken banners, canopies, parasols and other ornamental ensigns used by the Chinese on great occasions. The streets were crowded

with people as he passed along ; but, although so many thousands were assembled, such was their habitual awe of majesty that not even a whisper disturbed the solemn silence which prevailed.

From Nanking the emperor proceeded to the wealthy city of Su-chau, which, from the beauty of its situation, the luxury of its inhabitants, and the circumstance of many of the streets being intersected with canals, on which pleasure-boats are continually gliding, has been called the Venice of China. Here the people laid down rich silks and carpets along the streets through which the royal train was to pass—a mark of respect that was highly pleasing to the emperor, who, instead of riding over them, as was expected, dismounted at the gate of the city, and desiring his whole suite to do the same, proceeded on foot to the palace ; an act of consideration which probably did more toward raising the monarch in the public estimation than many of his greater deeds. Another incident is said to have occurred during this progress, which may serve to show the summary mode in which justice was executed upon those mandarins who were found to have abused their authority.

Kang-hi, who was a little apart from his attendants, saw an old man sitting on the ground weeping bitterly. Riding up to him, he inquired the cause of his grief. “ My lord,” said the old man, who was ignorant of the rank of his interrogator, “ I have cause enough for sorrow. My only son, who was the joy of my life and the support of my declining years, has been taken from me by force to serve the governor of the province, and I have no one to comfort me in my old age or to mourn over my tomb.” The emperor asked if he had endeav-

ored to obtain some redress. "Alas!" replied he, "how is it possible for me, a poor weak old man, to force a great magistrate to do me justice?" "We will presently see that," said the monarch; "get up behind me, and show me the way to this governor's house; perhaps it will not be so difficult to obtain justice as you may imagine." The poor man mounted as he was desired, and they forthwith rode to the magistrate's palace, where the imperial guards and a large party of grandees, who had missed the emperor, arrived just at the same time in great consternation. Kang-hi, entering the palace, charged the governor with his violent conduct. The offender, not being able to deny the accusation, was condemned to lose his head, and the sentence was executed on the spot; when the emperor, turning to the old man, said, "To make you amends for the injury you have sustained, I appoint you governor of this province, in the room of him who has proved himself so unworthy of that office. Let his crime and punishment be a warning to you to use your power more justly."

It was during this reign that the Chinese learned the art of casting cannon, in which they were instructed by the Jesuit Verbiest, under whose inspection about four hundred and fifty pieces of artillery were founded, to the great satisfaction of the emperor, who made a solemn feast under tents in the fields on the occasion of their being tried; his majesty and the court being lodged in an immense, splendid tent or temporary palace, containing a grand hall of audience and other apartments, all lined with embroidered silks. Gunpowder had been known and made in China from a very early period, but it had been used chiefly in the composition of fireworks,

of which the Chinese always made a great display at their festivals; and it is stated by the Jesuits that it was not till the early part of the seventeenth century that they became acquainted with its application as an agent in warfare, when the Portuguese, during the war with the Manchus, lent them three cannon for the defence of the city of Nanking, with men to manage them. The fame of Verbiest was considerably raised by the important service he had rendered to the state in furnishing it with artillery, and a title of honor was bestowed on him in consequence. He also gained much credit and influence by reforming the calendar, which had been suffered to fall into such confusion that it was found necessary to leave out a whole month of one year to bring it into regular order. Yet the composition of the almanacs is considered an affair of so much importance that it is the chief business of an assembly of learned officers, who compose what is called the Astronomical Bureau; and when the error in their calculations was discovered, the president was banished to Tartary for his incompetency for the duties of his office, and Verbiest was placed at the head of that department in his stead; according to that singular feature of the Chinese government which punishes inability in office as a crime on the ground that no man ought to undertake that which he is not able to perform, the same principle on which a military commander is sometimes disgraced in consequence of the loss of a battle or the failure of an enterprise in which he may have done his best to succeed.

As the astronomy of the nations of the East is a very interesting subject, some remarks upon its practical as-

pects may be interesting here. The appointments which relate to religious times and seasons or those of the state are considered of sufficient importance to require their regulation by a special bureau, which is subordinate to the Board of Rites. A principal employment of its members is to make the almanacs; they have also to calculate the eclipses, and to present to the emperor at the end of every forty-five days an exact statement of the position of the heavenly bodies, together with the observations which have been made during that time. An eclipse is considered a great event in China. Some time before it takes place notices are sent to the governors of every province and city throughout the empire, that they may prepare for the performance of the accustomed solemnities that are always observed on the occasion. Large printed bills are immediately posted on the public buildings, and orders are sent to the magistrates to assemble in the large halls appointed for that purpose, whither they repair on the morning of the given day in their robes of ceremony and take their seats at tables, on some of which are said to be delineated all the eclipses which have occurred for more than four thousand years.

The ceremonies observed on the occasion of an eclipse have somewhat of a religious character, and originated in ignorance of the causes of the phenomenon, which was anciently believed to be the forerunner of some dreadful calamity; and although the more intelligent classes of the Chinese are now aware that the effect is produced by natural causes, they are too much attached to their old customs to discontinue them. The magistrates being assembled in the Hall of Astronomy, place themselves at the tables before mentioned, waiting for

the commencement of the eclipse. The moment the sun or moon, whichever it may be, begins to be darkened, drums and gongs are sounded in the town, and the people all prostrate themselves, bowing their heads till their foreheads touch the earth, and in this position they continue as long as the orb remains shadowed; while some of the members of the Astronomical Board are at the observatory watching the progress of the eclipse and noting down their observations, which are afterward examined and compared with the computations made by the chief tribunal, and a report is transmitted to the emperor.

The distribution of the almanacs at the beginning of every year is also attended with many solemnities. There is no work in the world of which so many copies are printed as the Chinese calendar, the number being estimated at several millions, which is not improbable, considering the amount of population and that almost every family uses an almanac as an oracle; since, besides the usual information, it not only predicts the weather, but notes the days that are reckoned lucky or unlucky for commencing any undertaking, for applying remedies in diseases, for marrying or for burying; and, in short, it is consulted by the people in many cases where their own reason would be a better guide. The calendar is an imperial monopoly, and no other than that prepared by the Astronomical Board is allowed to be published, the law on this point being so strict that a violation of it would be punished with death. The almanacs are all printed at Peking, and according to the Roman Catholic missionaries, they formerly were, and it is possible now are, distributed through the empire in the following manner:

On a certain day appointed for the ceremonial in the capital, the principal officials repair early in the morning to the palace, while the members of the board, arrayed in their state dresses, proceed to their hall to escort the books, which are carried in procession to the imperial residence. Those which are intended for the emperor, the empress and the queens, are bound in yellow satin, and enclosed in bags of cloth of gold, which are placed on a large gilded litter borne by forty footmen clothed in yellow. Then follow ten or twelve smaller litters, enclosed with red silk curtains, and containing the books to be given to the princes, which are bound in red satin and enclosed in bags of silver cloth. These are followed by men bearing on their shoulders other conveyances, on which are piled the calendars intended for the grandees of the court and the generals of the army; the cavalcade is completed by the president and members of the bureau in sedans, followed by their usual attendants. On arriving at the palace, the golden bags are laid on two tables covered with yellow damask, when the members of the bureau, having first prostrated themselves, deliver them to the proper officers, who receive them kneeling, and carry them with great ceremony to the foot of the throne. The silver bags are sent in a similar manner to all the princes of the royal family, after which the ministers and other great officers of state present themselves in turn and kneel with reverence to receive their almanacs, which are regarded as gifts from the emperor. The ceremonies of distribution at the court being concluded, the books intended for the use of the people are sent by the bureau into every province of the empire, where the forms observed at the imperial palace are re-

peated at the offices of the chief officers, after which the people are allowed to purchase their almanacs; and as this is a privilege of which few omit to avail themselves, the sale must be immense and must largely add to the revenue.

The Jesuits availed themselves of the superstitious interest of the Chinese in astronomy to obtain the favor of the government and to propagate their religion. The Chinese had many astronomical instruments at a very early period of their history; but these were greatly improved and some new ones introduced by the Jesuits, who acquired extraordinary influence by their inculcation of the arts and sciences. The first clocks of our kind and the first watches seen in China were presented to Kang-hi by one of the Jesuit fathers; and another member of the fraternity, to gratify the ladies of that emperor's court, constructed for them a camera-obscura, an instrument with which they were much delighted, as it enabled them to see what was passing outside the palace gates. In consequence of the encouragement received by the Jesuits, Christianity made greater progress in China during the reign of Kang-hi than at any period either before or since. Many persons of rank, both male and female, openly professed the Christian faith, and a church was built for their accommodation near the palace; besides which, several places of worship for Christians were erected in different parts of Peking, as well as in other large cities. Some of the arts of China were bestowed upon the people of Europe through these missionaries. Among the edifices referred to was a church built by a French Jesuit named D'Entrecolles, at the famous village or town of King-tsz-ching,

where a great porcelain manufacture was then carried on; and there he made himself acquainted with the whole process of that beautiful art, which was first brought into Europe by him, when, on the death of Kang-hi, the Christian missionaries were obliged to quit the country. Among the Jesuits resident at this time in Peking was Gerbillon, a native of France, who was employed by the emperor on a mission into Tartary, the object of which was to negotiate a peace with the Russians, who had been at war with the Chinese ever since the rejection of their embassy by the late emperor Shun-chi, who refused to acknowledge their right to the territories they had occupied in Manchu Tartary.

The negotiations were successful; peace was concluded, and a trade established between Russia and China by a treaty signed by the two emperors, Alexius and Kang-hi, in the year 1689. The boundaries of the Russian empire, which had been the ground of dispute, were precisely defined, and it was agreed that caravans should be sent at stated periods to Peking, and be allowed to remain there until they had disposed of their goods. A caravanserai in the suburbs was allotted for the residence of the merchants, and their expenses while they remained were to be defrayed by the emperor of China. The trade thus conducted was a monopoly of the Russian government; but there were private merchants also who traveled to China, and transacted business on their own account with the Chinese merchants at an annual fair held on the frontiers; but they were not permitted to proceed to Peking like the government agents, nor even to enter the strictly Chinese territories.

The principal wars of Kang-hi, after the submission of Formosa, were with the Eleuth and Songares Tartars, which had been very large and powerful tribes. The former were completely subdued in the course of three years' warfare by the victorious arms of the Chinese emperor, who by this conquest greatly extended his dominions in Tartary. Before proceeding to extremities with the Eleuths, who had long given great trouble to the government, Kang-hi (in the year 1713) sent an embassy to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then settled on the north bank of the Caspian sea. The Chinese wrote a curious account of the whole mission, which has been handsomely translated by Sir George Staunton from the original language. The details of the journey, with the emperor's own instruction for the conduct of his ambassador, are especially curious and interesting. To commemorate the glory of the war against the Eleuths, a French missionary made a series of clever drawings, and these were sent by the desire of the emperor to Paris and there engraved on copper plates. In the year 1721, Kang-hi, then far advanced in years, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne, and as he was the first sovereign of China whose reign had been lengthened to this term, a grand jubilee took place on the occasion throughout the whole empire. Sixty is a number held in especial veneration among the Chinese, and the sixtieth birth-day of any private individual is always celebrated with great festivities by the family; but the event of a monarch having arrived at that epoch of his reign, particularly one who was so much beloved and respected, was an especial cause of rejoicing, which was testified in the usual way

by sacrifices to the gods, illuminations, feastings, fireworks and a variety of amusements.

On all festive occasions in China the sacrifices constitute an important part of the ceremonials, and as there are no priests of the Confucian or state religion, the emperor officiates as high priest in the capital, whilst in all the other cities the governor or chief official acts in that capacity. The greatest annual festival on which the sovereign appears in his sacerdotal character is that of the celebration of the season of spring, which takes place about the middle of February, and is one of those ancient observances that help to preserve the primitive character of the nation. It is then that the emperor performs the part of the husbandman by ploughing and sowing seed in an enclosure set apart for that purpose near the palace—a ceremony never omitted by Kang-hi, who was very attentive to all observances that were held in reverence among the people. The day for the royal ploughing was fixed by the Board of Rites, and this ceremony was accompanied by many solemnities on the part of the emperor and those who were to assist at the sacrifices; such as fasting for three days until the evening of each, and abstaining from all kinds of amusements during that period. Several princes were also deputed on the eve of the festival to visit the Hall of Ancestors—a temple dedicated to the memory of the imperial relatives who had departed this life—where many rites and ceremonies were performed before the tablets on which their names were engraven.

Early on the morning of the festival the emperor, attended by the great officers of state, repairs to the Temple of the Earth, where he makes sacrifices and im-

plores a blessing on the labors of the spring, that they may produce a plentiful harvest; and when these rites are ended he descends from the temple into the field, where all the requisite preparations have been made by forty or fifty husbandman, who are in attendance. The emperor ploughs a few furrows with his own hand, and sows five sorts of grain; after which twelve grandees of the first rank plough and sow in turn, and then the work is completed by the professional husbandmen, each of whom receives a present of a piece of cotton cloth. The produce of this field is held sacred, and carefully preserved in a granary by itself, to be used for the most solemn sacrifices. The ploughing by the imperial husbandman takes place only in the capital, but in every large city a corresponding ceremony is performed, called "meeting the spring," when the governor assumes the character of high priest, and goes out in state, carried in a finely-ornamented sedan-chair, preceded by banners, lighted torches and music. He is followed by several high officers in their sedans, and by a number of litters, in which are placed children, who are fancifully dressed and crowned with flowers, representing various deities connected with the labors of the field. But the most prominent figure among the *dramatis personæ* is a huge earthen buffalo, the representative of the spring, which is borne in procession to meet the high priest, who delivers a lecture on the benefits of husbandry, which is one of sixteen discourses read annually to the people. At the conclusion of the lecture he strikes the buffalo three times with a staff, when it is immediately broken in pieces by the populace, and a number of little porcelain cows with which it was filled furnish materials for a

scramble. The rest of the day is devoted to amusements, among which the most popular are plays performed by companies of strolling actors, who set up temporary theatres in the streets; the expenses being paid, on this occasion, by the government.

It is thus, according to the Jesuits, that the rulers of China, both by precept and example, stimulate their subjects to the pursuits of agriculture, so essential to the support of the empire. The intention of these ceremonies is obviously to countenance that superiority in point of rank which the farmers and producers have invariably held over those engaged in mercantile pursuits; for the rulers of China, from the earliest period to the present, have always deemed it better policy to make the empire entirely dependent on its own resources for food and clothing, than to obtain those necessaries or add to its wealth by foreign trade, which has hitherto been only tolerated and never encouraged by the government.

But we are describing things which, if their forms remain, do not receive the respect they once enjoyed. From numerous recent authorities, and more particularly from that excellent publication, the *Chinese Repository*, formerly issued by the American missionaries at Canton, we learn that this great agricultural celebration has in many parts of the empire dwindled into an empty show; that only the most puerile parts of the ceremony are performed; that the emperor is often represented by proxy; and that even the magistrates, instead of putting their own hands to the plough, are frequently represented by inferior substitutes, who help to turn the whole thing into a mere mockery. In very few in-

stances are the pictures drawn by the Jesuits and other old writers to be taken as faithful representations of China, its government and people as they now are; in still fewer are we to expect that the ancient laws, rescripts and regulations are, to the very letter, carried out in practice.

The emperor Kang-hi rendered inestimable service to the nation by several literary productions. Two great dictionaries of the language—one for the learned, on which seventy-six profound scholars spent eight years of labor, and another for general use, less comprehensive—were prepared under his careful supervision, and are monuments, which will never decay, of his intelligence and wisdom. The production which, however, has made his name best known to all his people, and his influence most profoundly and beneficially felt, is the celebrated book to which we once before briefly referred, called the Shing-yu, or “Sacred Edict;” or, sometimes styled, more properly, the “Sacred Instructions.” It is a collection of discourses upon practical subjects, each headed by a suitable proverb or text. They are sixteen in number, each a few pages in length, and are written in a pleasing and intelligible style. They have exercised an important effect upon the moral character of the Chinese people. He inculcates industry in the following style :

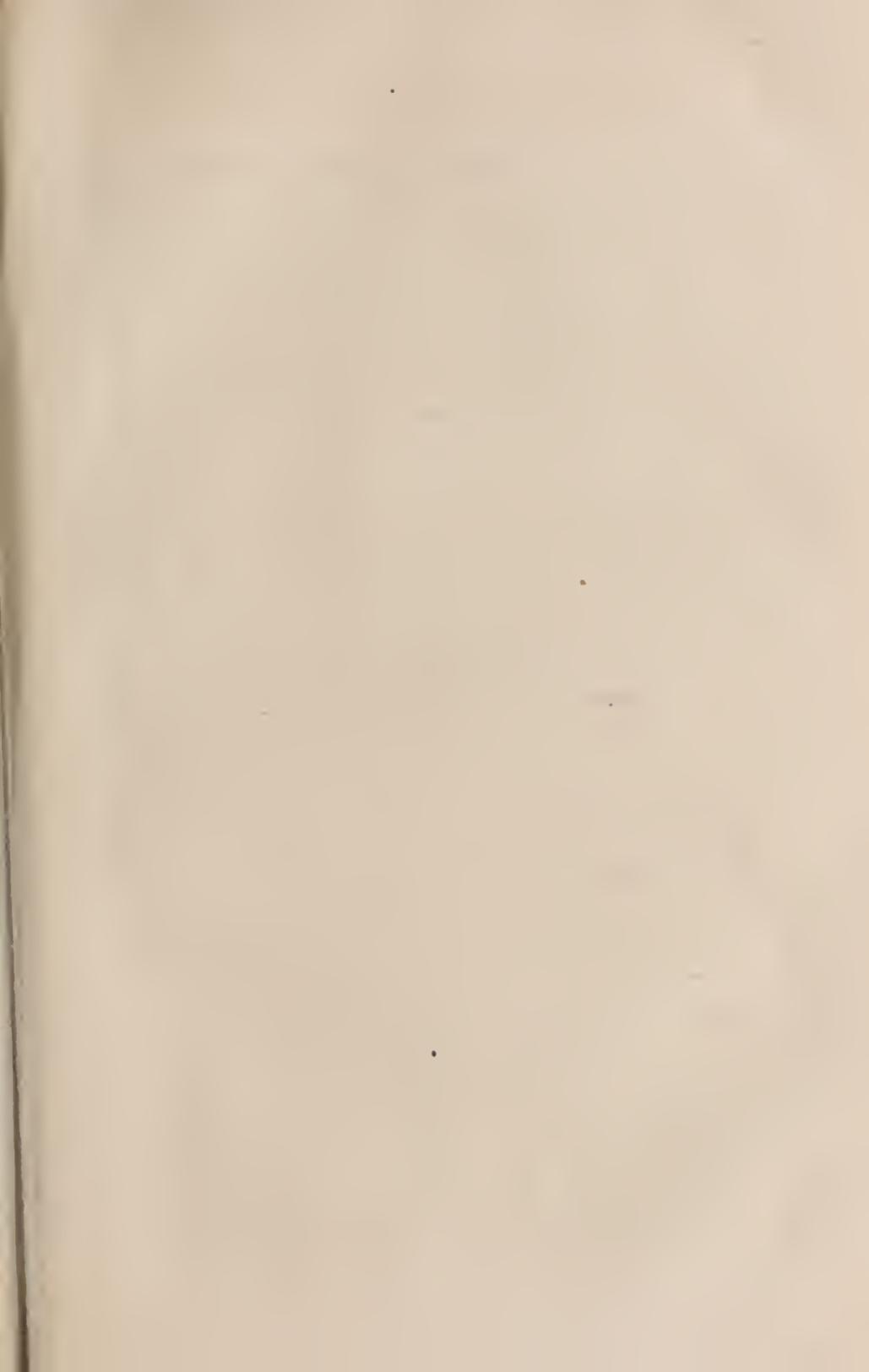
“Give,” said he, “the chief place to husbandry and the culture of the mulberry tree, in order to procure adequate supplies of food and raiment. Of old time the emperors themselves ploughed, and their empresses cultivated the mulberry-tree; though supremely honorable, they disdained not to labor; and they did this, in

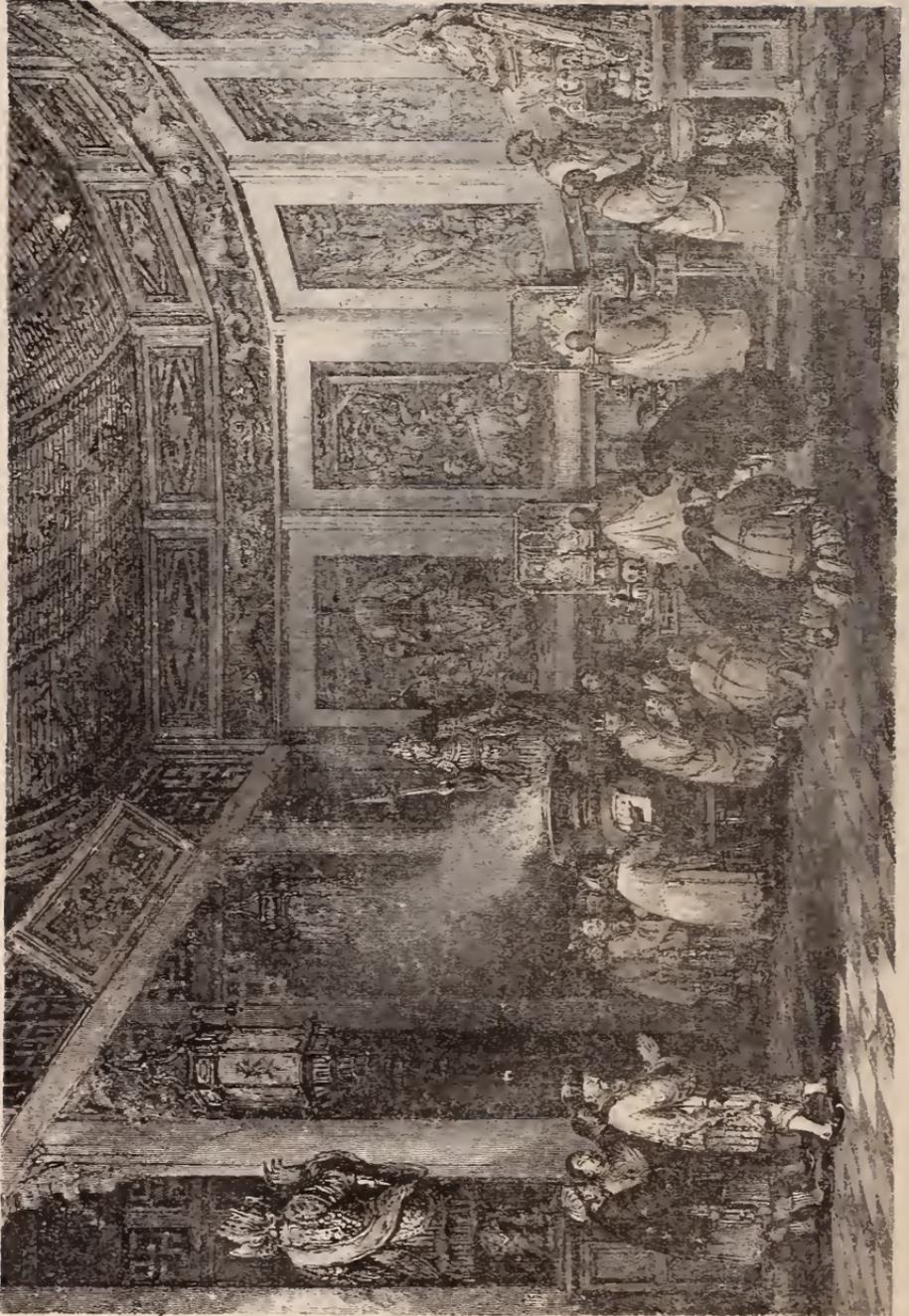
order to excite by their example the millions of the people. Suffer not a barren spot to remain a wilderness, or a lazy person to abide in the cities. Then the farmer will not lay aside his plough and his hoe, or the housewife put away her silkworms and her weaving. Even the productions of the mountains and marshes, and the propagation of the breed of poultry, swine and dogs, will all be regularly cherished, in order that food may be supplied in their season to make up for any deficiency of agriculture." Kang-hi, among his sixteen maxims, also insists on the necessity of magnifying academical learning, and of providing amply for district colleges, academies and schools for the common people. No one was to be left uninstructed—no school was to be left in poverty and neglect. Such was his desire and effort also. Yet the end has never been attained. At present, though the schools, both public and private, are rather numerous, they are generally poor. The emperor, in the strongest terms, denounced idolatries, and called the god Buddha an avaricious, unfilial scoundrel. But if he hated all manner of idol-worshipings, or what he called "new religions," Kang-hi himself did not adopt the Roman Catholic religion taught by the European missionaries. "Even this sect," said he, "who talk about heaven and prate about earth and of things without shadow and without substance—their religion, also, is unsound and corrupt. But because the teachers of this sect understand astronomy and are skilled in mathematics, the government employs them to correct the calendar. This, however, by no means implies that their religion is a good one. You should not on any account believe them. The law is very rigorous against these

left-hand-road and side-door sects. Their punishment is determined in the same way as that of the masters and mistresses of your dancing gods or your male and female conjurors." He founded all religion on the duties of children to their parents. According to the emperor's system, every family had two living divinities—father and mother—and therefore it was unnecessary to go in quest of other gods or to worship on the hills, or to travel far to burn incense, or to pray to idols or to gods for happiness. In his wisdom he decreed that robbery and theft should be for ever extirpated; yet theft, robbery, piracy and murder appear to have multiplied in each successive reign.

The Sacred Instructions were amplified by Kang-hi's son and successor, Yung-ching, who by statute enjoined that they should be proclaimed with great form and ceremony throughout the empire on the first and fifteenth of every month. Before the commencement of the reading all present performed the ko-tau.

Kang-hi endeavored, with the assistance of the Jesuits, to make some improvements in the arts and sciences of China, especially in that of medicine, which has always been in a most deficient state. But the prejudices of the Chinese with regard to the dissection of human bodies is so strong that although several books on the subject of anatomy were published under the patronage of that enlightened emperor, the study was never prosecuted to any advantage; and so little is yet understood of the medical art that the greater portion of the Chinese people put more faith in spells and charms than in any remedies derived from professional science, and place very little reliance on the efficacy of a medicine unless it





Budaka Temple

be taken on a lucky day. Kang-hi died in the year 1722, having ruled over the Chinese empire sixty-one years—the longest reign recorded in the history of China since the patriarchal times.

The sovereign power had never been greater or more absolute than during this period, nor had it ever been equaled except while the sceptre was swayed by the powerful hand of Kublai Khan. Besides extending his dominions by his conquests over the Eleuths, Kang-hi obliged the Mongols to remove three hundred miles beyond the Great Wall, where he gave them lands and pastures, while he settled his own subjects of the Manchu race in the provinces they had vacated, thus uniting to China a large extent of territory without the intervention of a foreign nation. The Mongols, however, are still a constant source of uneasiness to the Chinese government, and are watched with the utmost jealousy by the Manchus, whom it is well known they heartily detest as the usurpers of that empire once so gloriously ruled by their own princes. These tribes until the present time range over the vast territories to the north-west of China Proper. They have no cities, but dwell in tents, some of which are as richly furnished as the halls of a palace, the floors being covered with Turkey or Persian carpets, the sides adorned with silken hangings, and every other article for domestic use being of a costly and luxurious description, and obtained in exchange for valuable furs from the Chinese. The Mongols are great hunters, and thus procure the skins of various animals that are highly prized. They are all trained to arms, and are also addicted to horse-racing, wrestling and other athletic sports. Their ordinary costume is a long dark-

blue robe, fastened round the waist with a leather belt; under-garments of cotton, leather boots and a cap of cloth or fur, according to the season. Their princes attend as vassals at the imperial court, and very often marry the daughters of the emperor, who is not unwilling to promote such alliances as a means of securing their fidelity. With the same view he sends rich presents to them every year, except when any signs of rebellion appear, in which case the gifts are withheld until submission has been made and the disaffected have returned to their allegiance. Their lands are held in fief and descend to the eldest son, who cannot take possession until he has received his investiture from the emperor—another means of keeping them in subjection.

It was during the long reign of Kang-hi that the English really obtained a footing in the empire. In the year 1664, in the time of Charles II., a single English ship had been sent to Macao, but such were the exactions imposed by the Chinese, and such was the effect of the malicious misrepresentations of the Portuguese, that the vessel was obliged to return without effecting sale or purchasing cargo. It is at this period that we first find mention made of *tea* as a commodity abounding in China, and very proper to be imported into England. English ships were again sent out in 1668, which opened a little trade at Formosa (then independent of the Manchus) and at Amoy. The fact of this brief traffic at Amoy is stamped upon our language in the permanent use of the word *tea* to designate the shrub, which is its name in the dialect of that vicinity; the proper name, in the court, the Canton and other more important dialects, is *chá* (or *chah*). In 1681 the East India Company ordered their

small establishments at Formosa and Amoy to be withdrawn, and that, if found possible, a trade should be established at Canton. They found the Manchu Tartars far more disinclined to trade and to any intercourse with them than the Chinese had been just before their conquest. These Tartars, in fact, appear to have been beset by the apprehension that the daring English mariners and adventurers would join the Chinese and help them to throw off the Manchu yoke. In 1689 the crew of an English ship, named the *Defence*, became involved in a quarrel with the natives, killed a Chinese and wounded two or three others. The Chinese, far outnumbering them, killed the surgeon of the ship and several seamen. But this was not admitted in extenuation by the authorities, and the vessel was obliged to go away without any cargo. By this time, however, tea was in so great a demand in England that it must be procured at any cost. The efforts of the East India Company were therefore renewed, and finally, in the year 1699, in the time of William III., they were allowed to have a factory at Canton, and a royal consul's commission was sent out to the chief of the company's council there. In spite of obstructions, interruptions and many serious grievances suffered at Canton, the Chinese trade has increased from this date, or from the commencement of the eighteenth century. But for *tea* it may be doubted whether England would ever have opened the trade at all.

Two hundred years ago the use of tea was unknown in England, but since that period it has been imported to an extent that has changed the habits and worked a domestic revolution, not only in that country, but in many parts of continental Europe. The gratification

of the taste thus acquired, the absolute indispensableness of

“The cup which cheers and not inebriates,”

has made that nation and our own dependent on China for much of the comfort of a large portion of every class of society. Perhaps the poorest of all are those who most of all are benefited and comforted by the introduction and extended use of tea. But it has become, in a manner, an article of necessity to the entire population. Queen Elizabeth and her maids of honor drank strong ale at their breakfast—the poorest washerwoman now-a-days would not take such a beverage when she can obtain her refreshing cup of tea. That the use of the fragrant herb, besides being a source of riches to individuals and of immense revenue to the state, has been highly beneficial in improving the moral character and promoting the domestic comfort of the people themselves cannot for one moment be called in question.

Under the same great emperor, Kang-hi, the Dutch sent another embassy to Peking, which was headed by Van Hoorn, a phlegmatic man, who had made up his mind to submit to any indignity that the Tartars might be pleased to put upon him. He and his suite performed the ko-tau over and over again, not in the emperor's presence, but before an empty throne; and having, by their performance of these prostrations, caused their nation to be enrolled among the tributaries of the empire, they were dismissed as loyal subjects, but without any benefit to their commerce or any favor or consideration whatsoever. This precedent was highly injurious to the character and dignity of the nations of the West, and to the cause of European intercourse and connec-

tion. For a hundred and thirty years the Dutch sent no more embassies to Peking, but they were allowed to carry on a trade at Canton on the same footing as the English.

The Russians watched with jealousy the advances of Western powers toward intimacy with an empire in so close proximity to their own, and upon whose colonial possessions they already began to cast a covetous eye. Peter the Great of Russia sent overland two more missions to China at this period. Ysbrandt Ides started from Moscow to Peking in 1698. His journey across the wilds and wastes of Central Asia took up more time than a voyage by sea, for it was not till a year and eight months had passed that "he could return thanks to the great God who had conducted them all safe and well to their destined place." Ides found it very awkward to eat, not with knives and forks, but with little ivory sticks (chopsticks); but his palate was particularly gratified by the soups, of which the chief ingredient was a green glutinous substance, said to be an herb found at a distance on rocks in the sea; in fact, it was the edible birds' nests, which form one of the favorite luxuries in China, though not produced in that country. At his first Chinese entertainment, while they were yet at table, a person came in, and on his knees presented to the principal officer a list of plays, out of which he selected one, the performance of which was immediately commenced. The prologue was spoken by a lady, who, in the eyes of our Russian envoy, appeared to be very beautiful and most magnificently attired in cloth of gold adorned with jewels. The acting then began, and Ides thought it very entertaining and equal to anything he

had seen in Europe. It has been remarked that the czar's envoy had probably never witnessed at Moscow any high displays of the dramatic art; but it appears that Ides had been a traveler before he came to the Great Wall, and that he had seen dramatic entertainments in Germany, if not in France. His own account of his mission contains but slight notices regarding its object, though it gives considerable information concerning the parts of China through which they traveled. He particularly mentions the interest of the mass of the people in the Buddhist idolatry; the astonishing populousness, order and tranquillity of the country, and the spacious road, bordered by magnificent seats and gardens, which leads to Peking. At court, Gerbillon, a French missionary, and Thomas, a Portuguese missionary, who spoke Italian, acted as his interpreters. Business or talk being over, Ides was amused by more plays, and by dances and juggling tricks. What amused him most was a company of elephants, which had been trained to assume every imaginable posture and to imitate every sound, from the blast of the trumpet, the roar of the tiger and the low of the ox, down to the clear, shrill note of the canary bird. The Jesuits, then in high favor, showed their spacious cloisters enclosed with high walls, their church elegantly built, richly adorned with altars and images, and capable of containing two or three thousand persons. They had also two globes, six feet in diameter, and a museum of European curiosities, in which their Chinese visitors seemed to take great interest. It is understood that Ides made arrangements by which Russian caravans, under the superintendence of the Chinese government, were to visit

Peking at regular intervals. But the subjects of the czar were found to be much addicted to strong potations, and to be very quarrelsome when in their cups; and this induced Kang-hi to threaten the entire discontinuance of the intercourse. To avert the evil, Peter the Great, in 1719 (during the last years of the long reign of Kang-hi), despatched an embassy under Leoff Vassilovich Ismayloff, "a gentleman of a family very well known and much respected in Russia, and a captain of the guards." This deserving Muscovite had in his suite a Scotchman, "honest John Bell of Antermony," who wrote a most interesting and truthful, as well as minute, account of the overland journeys and the doings of the mission. These gentlemen, on the 5th of December, arrived at the famous Great Wall, which filled them with astonishment. "The Chinese commonly call it, for its length, the Endless Wall. The appearance of it, running from one high rock to another, with square towers at certain intervals, even at a distance is most magnificent."¹ They entered at a great gate, which was closed every night, and always guarded by a thousand men under the command of two officers of rank, one a Chinese and the other a Manchu Tartar; "for it is an established custom in China, and has prevailed ever since the conquest of the Tartars, that in all places of public trust there must be a Chinese and a Tartar invested with equal power; this rule is observed both in civil and military affairs, the Chinese pretending that two in an office are a sort of spies upon one another's actions, and that thereby many fraudulent practices are either prevented or detected."

¹ BELL's *Travels from Petersburg, in Russia, to divers parts of Asia.*

From the Great Wall they proceeded to Peking by nearly the same route as the former mission under Ides. Their unhappiness began with their arrival at the capital. They wanted to escape the humiliation of the *ko-tau*, but on this point the court was inexorable. Ismayloff, however, refused to prostrate himself until it was agreed that a Chinese ambassador, whenever sent to Petersburg, should conform to the usages of the Russians. This, as it has been observed, was certainly a safe stipulation to be made by a court which, till very recently, never condescended to send missions to any countries of the West. For their audience the Russians were conducted to a country palace, six miles westward of Peking. There, at the end of a noble avenue of trees, they found the hall of audience. After having kept them waiting a quarter of an hour, the emperor came in at a back door, and seated himself upon a throne, whereat all the company stood up. Then the master of the ceremonies desired the ambassador to advance, and conducted him by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having ascended a few steps, the letter was laid on a table placed for that purpose, but the emperor beckoned to the ambassador, inviting him to draw nearer. Ismayloff took up the credentials, and, attended by a Chinese officer, walked up to the throne, and kneeling, laid them before the emperor, who touched them with his hand and inquired after his majesty the czar's health. Honest John Bell continues: "During this part of the ceremony, which was not long, the retinue continued standing without the hall; and we imagined, the letter being delivered, all was over. But the master of the ceremonies brought

back the ambassador, and then ordered all the company to kneel and make obeisance nine times to the emperor. At every third time we stood up, and kneeled on the ground again. Great pains were taken to avoid this painful piece of homage, but without success. The master of the ceremonies stood by, and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* (down) and *boss* (up); two words which I cannot soon forget." In the afternoon, after the audience, they were feasted in the palace and entertained with music, dancing, tumbling and wrestling. Here the emperor was condescending and familiar, asking the ambassador many questions. Ismayloff had a good many more audiences, which were conducted with very little form or ceremony. The evident desirableness of keeping on good terms with the Russians, whose power was rapidly increasing and whose advanced frontier already pressed on the borders of their own empire, led the Chinese to treat their envoys with unusual respect, and to attend to the business they came to settle. The Russian trade, however, was restricted to the frontier stations of Kiakhta and Mai-mai-chin, and commissioners were appointed by the two powers to manage its details. The Russian caravans were no longer to be allowed to proceed to Peking, nor were any subjects of the czar to approach that capital. In 1727-8 a third mission was sent across the desert, under Count Vladislavitch, to obtain more favorable terms. The great Kang-hi was by this time in his grave, but his son and successor gave the ambassador a favorable reception. It was agreed that a sort of Russian college, consisting of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, should remain at Peking to study the

Chinese and Manchu languages, in order that good interpreters might be prepared and communications carried on more satisfactorily. The college, which still exists at Peking, was to be maintained at the joint expense of the Chinese and Russian governments. The members of the college were to be changed every ten years, but it is said that the czar often neglects to relieve them at the proper time, and that the members have occasionally been left there fifteen or even twenty years. The narrative of George Timkowski, who conducted the relief party sent in 1821, gives an account of his trip from Kiakhta across the desert, together with considerable information relating to the Kalkas and other Mongol tribes subject to China. His observations, illustrated by the learned notes and comments of Klaproth, have added considerably to our knowledge of this remarkable empire. The archimandrite, Batchourin, has written a description of Peking; but such works as the members of the Russian college have produced are, for the most part, still in their difficult language. Hitherto, the Russians have been much less given to authorship or to publication than travelers of other European nations; but there can be little doubt that the archives of the public offices at Moscow and Petersburg contain a vast deal of information respecting the Celestial Empire and its dependencies.

It has frequently been remarked by travelers that the tea brought overland by the Russians is superior in quality to the article which we receive by sea. Some say that the tea of the Russians is produced by better districts than those which supply us, while others attribute the difference to its being carried by land, and not

exposed to the deteriorating effects of a sea voyage. Erman, however, gives a very different account of this famous tea. He says: "This article is a mixture of the spoiled leaves and stalks of the tea-plant, with the leaves of some wild plant and bullock's blood dried in the oven. In Irkutsk, where an imitation of it has been attempted, elm leaves, sloe leaves and some others, have been substituted with tolerable success for those of the wild plants of China."

Some time before his death Kang-hi had nominated as his successor his fourth son, Yung-ching, who was installed (in the year 1722) with great pomp.

The ceremony of the installation, which is equivalent to a coronation, takes place in the great hall of the palace, which is decorated with the splendor always displayed by the Chinese on state occasions. This ceremony consists in the act of homage performed by the princes and grandees of the empire there assembled, who acknowledge with certain forms the right of the new monarch to ascend the throne, and make the nine prostrations before him. In former times, if the successor were the son of the deceased sovereign, the government was left during the period of mourning to the care of the ministers, while the prince remained in the deepest seclusion, even shutting himself up within the tomb, or causing a hut to be erected near it, where he would spend months in the indulgence of his sorrow. But this custom has not been followed by the Tartar rulers, who appear to be fully aware of the impolicy of leaving the management of the state to others, and therefore profess to respect the ancient practice, while at the same time they evade its performance, by pretending that their own inclinations have been

overruled by a consideration for the welfare of the people. The enthronement of an empress is worthy of notice as an illustration of the greater respect accorded in China to woman compared with what she receives in most other heathen countries. Yet as polygamy is tolerated, one or more of the secondary wives often receives high marks of imperial favor, particularly the mother of a prince who may be selected (for the succession is not governed by primogeniture) to be the heir to the throne. And the proper empress, or wife of the emperor, must defer to his mother if living. The mother holds the first rank among the females of the empire.

The name of Yung-ching signifies "First in concord," but the title does not seem very appropriate to the prince who assumed it. His reign was remarkable for little else than for his severe persecution of the Roman priests, whose proselytes had greatly increased, and who had certainly rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious by their political intrigues and imprudent conduct. The Jesuits were banished from the court, the churches either destroyed or converted into heathen temples, and all Christian missionaries ordered to leave the country as persons dangerous to the government. Even his own relatives, those princes who, in the time of Kang-hi, had embraced Christianity and been allowed by that liberal-minded monarch to have a church for the exercise of their worship, were involved in the general fate of the converts, and sent as exiles, with their wives and families, to the dreary deserts of Tartary. The banishment of the Jesuits put a full stop to the progress of their religion and also of Western science; and in China the succeeding emperors have neither tolerated the

Christian religion nor given any encouragement to the introduction of our improvements.

In every respect, except his enmity to the Christian religion, Yung-ching is spoken of as a mild and beneficent sovereign, anxious to do good and extremely charitable in seasons of public calamity, such as failure of the crops or earthquakes, which latter are not unfrequent in China. The province of Chih-li (or Pe-che-lee) is particularly liable to these awful visitations, which were severely felt at Peking twice during the reign of Kang-hi, who is much and deservedly praised for his humanity to the sufferers; nor was Yung-ching less benevolent on the occasion of a similar calamity which occurred in 1730, when many houses and temples were thrown down in the capital and a great number of lives lost. Large sums of money were distributed, by order of the emperor, to repair the damage; and those families who were reduced by the destruction of their shops and goods to temporary distress were relieved and supported at the expense of the government until their houses had been rebuilt and their trade had recommenced. In 1725 a terrible famine afflicted the land, when the public granaries in every province were opened for the purpose of supplying the people with corn and rice at a small price; and the emperor, according to established custom, made solemn sacrifices in the Temple of the Earth, released numbers of prisoners who were confined in the dungeons of the capital, and performed other acts of propitiation of the gods, hoping thereby to avert the calamity.

The care that is taken to make a provision for the poor in time of need, by laying up stores of grain in every province, constitutes a main feature of the Chinese

policy ; and, according to the ancient laws, is one of the chief duties of the sovereign, who is enjoined by Confucius, the revered instructor both of the prince and his people, to take care that the lands are cultivated so as to produce the necessaries of life for all ; to attend to the fisheries and planting of trees ; to be moderate in imposing taxes ; to see that the means of instruction are furnished for every class ; but, above all, to assist the people in times of scarcity, as a father would provide for the wants of his children. Yung-ching revived an old custom that had fallen into disuse, of inviting to a feast all persons eminent for their virtues. In his reign also many officers who had conducted themselves well in an inferior station were promoted to a higher rank. He encouraged agriculture by bestowing rewards on the most diligent laborers, and he brought under cultivation new lands at the extremity of the hilly province of Yun-nan, where he settled colonies and conferred honors on those who had exerted themselves to improve the country. He modified the restrictive laws with regard to emigration, allowing the inhabitants of the maritime provinces to repair to Siam, Malacca and the neighboring islands ; on condition, however, that they should return to their native country—a stipulation that was perfectly in unison with their own feelings, which would lead them, even without such an injunction, to end their days in the place of their birth, that they might be entombed among their ancestors. During this reign the Russians fully established their trading-station on the banks of a small stream in Tartary, called the Kiakhta, which is about a thousand miles from Peking and more than three times that distance from Moscow. On each

side of this stream was erected a small town, or rather village, with a fort garrisoned by a few soldiers—that of the Russians being called *Kiakhta*, that of the Chinese *Mai-mai-chin*, which means the “depôt of commerce.” The Chinese residents in *Mai-mai-chin* were agents employed by the merchants of great manufacturing cities to carry thither such goods as were likely to be marketable, as silks, both raw and manufactured, tea, porcelain, japanned ware, tobacco, rice, pearls, precious stones, spices, and those elegant toys of carved ivory for which the Chinese are so famous. They exchanged these articles with the Russians for rich furs, woolen cloth, linen, leather, tallow, glass and cutlery. The Chinese were not permitted to take their wives with them, nor could the Russians take theirs, on account of the length and difficulties of the journey; so that there were no women in the place, which must have been dull enough for those who were obliged to remain there a whole year, the term specified for the residence of the Chinese traders, who at the end of that time returned to their homes, when others were sent out to replace them with a fresh assortment of goods.

During the whole of this reign the British merchants of the East India Company trading to China were so much oppressed by the heavy duties imposed by the government, and the extortions privately practiced by its officers, that, although the commerce was never entirely stopped, it was very often interrupted.

Yung-ching died in 1735, having reigned about fourteen years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the warlike and highly talented *Kien-lung*.

The paternal character of the government of China

is illustrated by the ceremonies following the death of an emperor. A public mourning is then observed with the deepest solemnities throughout the whole country; for it is not, as in Europe, optional to put on the outward symbols of sorrow, but the whole nation is bound, both by law and custom, to exhibit the same tokens of grief for the loss of him who is in a figurative sense the parent of every individual as each would display on the death of his own father or mother. On the death of the sovereign despatches announcing the event, written in blue ink, which is emblematic of a royal demise, are immediately forwarded to all the provinces. The Board of Rites then issues directions for the mourning, when the many millions of human beings that constitute the population of China clothe themselves in coarse sack-cloth or white serge, lay aside every kind of ornament, and refrain from all festivities, either in public or private. During the first hundred days the men are obliged to leave their heads and beards unshaven. Marriages are not celebrated, nor are any sacrifices performed in the temples. Similar ceremonies are observed at the death of an empress-mother, but do not continue for so long a period, fifty days being the usual time of mourning on such an occasion; but the wives of the emperor are not thus publicly honored at their deaths, although in some instances the officers of the court have been ordered to take the balls which designate their rank from the tops of their caps, and not to partake of any amusements for a certain time.

Kang-hi had raised successively three princesses to the dignity of empress, and on the death of the last, to whom he had been exceedingly attached, he commanded

that all the great officers of state should go in turn to weep and prostrate themselves before the coffin, while he shut himself up alone to indulge his grief. Being afterward informed that four of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber had been seen eating and laughing together when they ought to have been sunk in sadness, he banished them from the court and deprived their fathers also of their employments. "Is it to be suffered," said he, "that my servants, whom I treat with indulgence and honor, should be so little touched with my affliction as to make merry whilst I am overwhelmed with sorrow?"

The funeral processions of the royal family are very magnificent. When a favorite brother of the emperor Kang-hi was carried to the place of interment, no less than sixteen thousand persons attended, most of whom bore ensigns denoting the rank of the deceased, or offerings to be burnt at his tomb. Trumpeters and mace-bearers, umbrellas and canopies of cloth-of-gold, standards, camels and horses laden with sacrifices, the coffin under a large yellow canopy, borne by eighty men, princes, princesses, officers and priests, made up the great and imposing spectacle.

The reigning family have some very magnificent places of sepulture, one of which is in Eastern Tartary, near the city of Shin-yang, four or five hundred miles to the north-east of Peking. It is there that the bodies of Shun-chi and his father, the great conqueror of the Chinese, are entombed; and several officers of the Manchu race reside there to take care that the tombs are kept in order and to pay the customary honors and make the sepulchral sacrifices at the proper seasons.

The tombs are built of white marble, in the Chinese style of architecture, and the large space of ground on which they stand is surrounded by a thick wall with battlements, as though the builders had feared that the sacred spot would have need of defence. The Chinese generally, whatever their rank, make as much display as they can possibly afford in their funeral rites. The procession is usually extended to a great length and preceded by solemn music; the melancholy tones of a sort of clarionet being accompanied at intervals by three strokes of the drum. White standards inscribed with the name and age of the deceased and a vast number of white lanterns are carried in the train. The coffin is surmounted by a canopy and followed by the chief mourner, dressed in a garment of sackcloth, fastened round his waist with a cord, and a cap of the same material with a white bandage. He is supported by his brothers or two nearest relatives; after whom succeed, in a numerous procession, the friends and relatives, all habited in coarse white cloth, some on foot, others in sedan-chairs covered with white serge, these being mostly the females of the family, who utter loud lamentations the whole way. One of the principal objects in the procession is the tablet, which is sometimes carried in a gilded chair, and is taken back, after the interment, to be placed in the hall of ancestors. At the side of the tomb are erected temporary buildings of mat or bamboo, where refreshments are laid out on tables by the attendants while the friends are making the sacrifices and burning incense at the tomb. If the deceased has been a gentleman of high rank, it is not uncommon for his sons to remain several weeks on the spot, living in

bamboo huts, that they may renew their expressions of grief and make new offerings each day to the manes of the departed, and, in obedience to the injunctions of the ancient sages, “sleep upon straw with a sod of earth for a pillow.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT KIEN-LUNG.

THE two great emperors of later ages in China were Kang-hi and Kien-lung. Their reigns are extraordinary in history for having covered each the term of sixty years—that of the former indeed was extended to sixty-one—and, including Yung-ching, who came between them, the father, son and grandson occupied the throne of China one hundred and forty-six years! And the reigns of the former and latter were as prosperous as they were long. Kang-hi was the ablest of the two and the more accomplished. His eminent literary character, and his solicitude for the intellectual and moral improvement of his people, have added a special lustre to his memory. But the name of his grandson will ever be connected with his, as worthy of the epithet “great,” in the history of this dynasty.

Kien-lung succeeded his father Yung-ching in the year 1735. On the day of his installation, while performing the customary rites in the hall of imperial ancestors, the young monarch made a vow that, “should he, like his illustrious grandfather Kang-hi, be permitted to complete the sixtieth year of his reign, he would show his gratitude to heaven by resigning the crown to his heir, as an acknowledgment that he had

been favored to the full extent of his wishes." The vow was made in all sincerity, and the noble prince was spared to fulfill it. Not only in longevity, but also in the qualities which constitute a great ruler, he resembled his grandfather Kang-hi. He encouraged Chinese learning by cultivating it himself, and some of his poetical compositions are considered to possess intrinsic merit, independently of their being the productions of an emperor. The first public act of his reign was to recall from exile all who were still living of those unhappy members of the royal race who had been banished by his predecessor in consequence of their attachment to the Christian religion. The exiles returned in a very destitute condition, for all their property had been confiscated to the state, and as no portion of it had been restored, they had no means of subsistence but small pensions, to which they were entitled as princes of the blood, and which were wholly inadequate to the maintenance of a family.

It is a custom of long standing in China to provide for all the relatives of the emperor by granting them pensions in money, silks and rice; which allowances are larger or smaller according to the degree of affinity in which the pensioners stand to the throne; those who are more than five degrees removed being allowed only a bare subsistence. These princes, who are very numerous, occupy a most unfortunate position in society; for, with the exception of a few of the highest rank, who may happen to be honored with the emperor's especial favor, they are of necessity an idle, useless class of beings, treated as mere appendages to the court, and debarred from those opportunities of distinguishing themselves which

are freely accorded to all other members of the state. A prince of the blood is excluded from holding public employments or from the pursuit of any occupation with a view to emolument. He has therefore no inducement to give much of his attention to study, since learning does not procure for him the same advantages that are derived from literary attainments by men of humbler birth. As a body, therefore, the princes of the empire are said to be illiterate men.

There are two branches of these idlers—the first being descended in a direct line from the famous Manchu conqueror, Tien-ming; the second, from the uncles and brothers of that great hero. The former take precedence in rank, and are distinguished by a yellow girdle; while the latter, being more distantly allied to the emperor, are only permitted to wear a red girdle. They are all obliged to live within the precincts of the court, to attend all the levées, to follow in the train of the emperor whenever he appears abroad; and in fact they are mere puppets, who seem to exist for no other purpose than to increase the pomp of the imperial retinue.

The recall of the exiles gave hopes to those who were interested in the diffusion of Christianity that the emperor was inclined to countenance, or at least to tolerate, the preaching of the missionaries; which he did for some time. At length, however, the higher officers of the court presented a memorial on the subject to the emperor, who suffered himself to be persuaded, against his better judgment, not to afford any further protection or encouragement to the teachers of Christianity.

The powerful order of Jesuits, which had attained to great ascendancy in the East, had awakened the jealousies and odium of the rival monastic orders and of nearly every king or government in Europe that remained within the pale of the Romish Church. About the middle of the reign of Kien-lung, or more toward its close, it was pursued, as one which was decided to be irreconcilable with the peace of the nation, with unremitting hostility, until it was considered to be entirely rooted from the soil of China. The Jesuits had become rich by trade as well as by the contributions of their followers. Their extensive property was seized and confiscated. This put an end to the exertions of the Jesuits for the conversion of the Chinese.

The ambition of Kien-lung was gratified by some important conquests in Western Tartary, where several Tartar tribes were rendered tributary and the rich city of Kashgar was brought under his dominion. But a later attempt which he made to subjugate the Burman empire was less fortunate. The invading army commenced hostilities by plundering a town and mart, which the Chinese had long been in the habit of frequenting with goods for sale. The Burmese monarch took immediate steps to repel the invasion by dividing his forces into two separate bodies, one of which marched direct toward the enemy, while the other, by a circuitous route, came behind them, and thus cut off their retreat. A terrible conflict took place, which lasted three days, and was most disastrous to the Chinese, who were hemmed in on all sides; so that, of all the army which entered the Burmese territories, not one man returned to tell the miserable tale of their defeat, for those who

escaped the sword were conducted in fetters to the Burmese capital, where they were made government slaves, according to the custom of that country. Those who understood any trade were obliged to practice it; those who did not, were employed as gardeners and field-laborers, and compelled to work hard, without recompense beyond a scanty supply of the coarsest food.

But, notwithstanding the unfortunate result of this expedition, the emperor made some important acquisitions to his dominions, amongst which was the kingdom of Tibet—an extensive country which is still little known, and chiefly remarkable as being the high seat of the Buddhist religion and the residence of Grand Lama or pontiff of that faith. Tibet is an advantageous possession to the Chinese empire, on account of its situation between the north-western frontier of China and the countries of various Indian and Tartar tribes, who might possibly be very troublesome neighbors but that their veneration for the Grand Lama keeps them from disturbing his dominions; so that Tibet forms a sort of neutral ground, which prevents the approach of an enemy on that side of the empire of which it now constitutes a part.

But of all the wars of Kien-lung none has so much interest as the contest with the Miau-tsz—a singular people who have existed in China from a most remote period of its history, yet have preserved their original freedom, and remain to this day independent tribes, though less numerous and powerful perhaps than before the armies of Kien-lung appeared among their mountains spreading death and desolation on every side.



Military Officer.

We have mentioned in a previous chapter the mountainous districts inhabited by many different portions of this race, who are quite distinct from the Chinese, whose government they scarcely acknowledge, and whose civilization they do not share. The southern part of China was in a state of barbarism long after the north had been comparatively civilized; but how it happens that they have been permitted to remain unsubdued and independent has not been accounted for. Perhaps the mountainous nature of the region which they inhabit, and which gives them advantages over an enemy, may, with other causes, have tended to discourage attempts to subject them. They are governed by their own laws and have their own chiefs. Their independence of the Tartar government was shown by the retention of their hair, which was allowed to grow over the whole head, and, being of great length, was tied up in the ancient Chinese fashion. The Chinese consider them as a people totally different from themselves, insomuch that in their maps they even mark off that part of the country occupied by them, as though it were inhabited by a foreign race.

The intercourse of the Chinese with the Miao-tsz was sometimes of a friendly, sometimes of a hostile nature; for, like most barbarians who dwell in the vicinity of a fertile country, the Miao-tsz were addicted to plunder, and would occasionally make incursions into the plains, and carry off such spoils as fell in their way; while at other times they pursued a peaceful traffic with the Chinese, who purchased their forest timber, which abounds on the mountains, but is scarce in the level country, where all the ancient forests have long since

been cleared away, in order to afford space for the cultivation of rice and cotton to feed and clothe the overflowing population.

Although the Miao-tsz are not subjects of the emperor, yet every hostile incursion which they make against the Chinese is regarded by the latter as an act of rebellion. In the year 1770 one of the tribes made several marauding expeditions into the plains, and committed such extensive depredations that a military force was sent to invade their mountain territory, the emperor being resolved to subjugate or destroy their whole race. The imperial army entered the hills, which soon presented frightful scenes of bloodshed, for the people fought desperately in defence of their liberty; and so great was their dread of being brought under the authority of the Chinese government that even the women were seen fighting by the sides of their husbands. At length the Chinese general gained possession of their principal town, when the chief took refuge in a strong fortress at some distance, from whence he sent a deputation to the general, offering to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, provided he might be permitted to retain his territories and rule over his people as before. But the mighty monarch, bent upon crushing the liberties of the mountaineers, sent forth his imperial mandate that the whole population should remove from their native hills to some distant part of the empire, where they might be kept in subjection, which they scarcely could be so long as they maintained the strong position they had hitherto occupied. The chief of the unfortunate tribe, to whom this sentence of expatriation was worse than death, collected his warriors around him, determined to resist

to the last, declaring that he would rather perish on his native soil than rule as a sovereign in a foreign land; but a still more melancholy fate than either awaited the brave barbarian, for, being at length made prisoner, he was conveyed with many other captives to Peking, where he was condemned to suffer an ignominious death, together with nineteen individuals of his family, who were beheaded at the same time with him; while some of his people, men, women and children, were dragged from their homes and distributed as slaves through various parts of the empire.

Still the Miao-tsz were not conquered; for although that one particular tribe was exterminated, there were others in different parts of the mountains, who soon afterward appeared in great numbers. "The emperor," says Sir J. F. Davis, "boasted that they were subdued, but there is reason to believe that this hardy people, entrenched in the natural fortifications of their rude and precipitous mountains, lost little of the real independence which they had enjoyed for ages. They have never yet submitted to the Tartar tonsure, the most conclusive mark of conquest, and their renewed acts of hostility have given serious alarm and trouble to the Peking government."

The latter part of the reign of Kien-lung is remarkable for the first direct intercourse ever held between the courts of Great Britain and China. An embassy was sent by his Britannic Majesty to the sovereign of the Chinese empire under the following circumstances. Soon after his accession to the throne, in 1720, Kien-lung had established a company called the Hong Merchants, consisting of the principals of a number of *hongs*,

or mercantile houses, who were invested with the exclusive privilege of transacting all business with Europeans; and these were prohibited from dealing with any other Chinese traders, and were obliged to purchase their tea, silks and other commodities of importance from the hong merchants, who fixed the price of all goods, either exported or imported, and regulated the terms on which foreigners were to conduct their trade with China. They were responsible to the government for the customs and duties on all goods brought into or sent out of the country; and they were also answerable to the foreign merchants for the value of their cargoes after they were landed; so that any losses sustained on either side were to be made up by them; yet their profits were so enormous that they grew in general very rich and lived in great splendor.

In the year 1771, however, the co-hong was dissolved, and then there was no restriction to prevent other Chinese merchants from trading with the Europeans; yet the hong merchants contrived to maintain their monopoly by making handsome presents frequently to the magistrates at Canton, who, in return, suffered no one to interfere with their trade. This led to very unfair dealings on the part of the latter, who, to indemnify themselves for the large presents they were obliged to make for the protection of their monopoly, charged most exorbitant prices for their goods and practiced all kinds of imposition on the European traders. The British merchants, who were the greatest sufferers by their extortions, endeavored to get a memorial presented to the emperor; but their petitions were never allowed to reach the court, and they had no alternative but to submit to imposition

or to give up the trade altogether. Some of the hong merchants had contracted very heavy debts with the English, which they refused to pay; and serious disputes arising on that point, as well as on many others, the British government at length determined to send an embassy to the court of Peking, to lay all these complaints before the emperor and solicit redress. Lord Macartney, former governor of Madras, was appointed ambassador on this extraordinary occasion, and being furnished with many valuable presents for the great Eastern autocrat, he set sail from Portsmouth, in September, 1792, and arrived at Canton in June, the following year. As the first British embassy to the Celestial Empire its history will continue to be interesting. The ambassador and his train were received with the highest marks of distinction, for the emperor had been apprised of their coming, and had sent orders to the governors of the different cities and provinces where they would stop in their way to Peking that every attention should be paid to them, and all things provided for their accommodation—a command which was most scrupulously obeyed, so that they were not only well entertained when they went on shore, but ample stores of provisions, with wine, tea and baskets of porcelain, were sent to their ships by the magistrates of several places where they cast anchor on the voyage from Canton toward the capital; for, as the empire is not open to the admission of strangers except by favor, those who visit it on state affairs are considered and treated as guests of the sovereigns or persons in his service for the time being, and not as travelers who are free to go where they please and to have what they choose to order in return for payment;

consequently, the accommodation they meet with depends very much on whether the mission be agreeable or not to his majesty. This fact was duly exemplified by the following circumstances which occurred at Chusan.

The British ships having to sail round the coast to the gulf of Pe-che-lee, required experienced pilots to conduct them along the shore, with which the English sailors were totally unacquainted. The governor was solicited to furnish proper persons for the purpose; on which he sent into the town of Ting-hai, the capital, to order all who had ever performed that voyage to repair immediately to the hall of audience. A great many men presented themselves, and among others, two tradesmen who had been to Tien-tsin, a city on the Pei-ho river, on their own affairs, and these were the individuals selected to perform the office of pilots to the British embassy. It was in vain they desired to be excused, on the plea that their business would be ruined by their absence, and their families reduced to great distress; the governor only replied that the emperor's commands were explicit and must be obeyed. The poor men, therefore, were obliged to go, inconvenient as it was to them.

The Pei-ho passes near Peking in its course to the gulf of Pe-che-lee, and has many populous towns and villages on its banks. The number of barges and junks continually passing up and down this busy stream is a proof of the wealth and populousness of the country, many of them being engaged in commerce, while many are government boats, employed chiefly in conveying to the capital grain and other produce of the land, collected from the people of the neighboring provinces, who pay their taxes, or rather rents, chiefly in kind. The junks

are strongly built and curved upward at each extremity, the stern being much higher than the bow. The sails are of matting or cotton, made to fold up like a fan, with bamboo yards or stretchers. Great labor is required in setting them, as the Chinese have no proper machinery for that purpose, so that all their manœuvres in working a ship are performed by actual strength. Most of the sailors, with their families, live constantly on board the junks, having no home on shore; and there are many companies of actors also who have no other dwelling-place than a covered boat on the river.

The government yachts which conveyed the embassy up the Pei-ho were extremely handsome and commodious; but as the Chinese officers had no idea that an ambassador could come for any other purpose than to bring tribute and do homage to the emperor on the part of his master, they had caused flags to be attached to the yachts, displaying these words in large Chinese characters, "Ambassadors bearing tribute from the country of England;" nor would they believe that the presents brought for the emperor were to be viewed in any other light. The viceroy of the province of Chih-li, a venerable old man about eighty years of age, had traveled nearly one hundred miles in obedience to the commands of his imperial master, to be in readiness at Tien-tsin to receive the English ambassador, who went on shore, accompanied by several gentlemen of his suite, to pay a visit to that high functionary.

While ascending the Pei-ho, a gentleman of the mission remarks, "The approach of the embassy was an event of which the report spread rapidly among the neighboring towns and villages. Several of these were

visible from the barges upon the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass; while the females, as shy as they were curious, looked through gates or peeped over walls to enjoy the sight. A few, indeed, of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river in order to get a nearer peep, but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the background. The strangers, on their part, were continually amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented in almost every instance something different from what is offered to the view elsewhere. And a general sentiment prevailed that it was well worth while to have traveled to such a distance to behold a country which promised to be interesting in every respect.”¹

Tien-tsin is the great emporium for the north of China, as Canton is for the south. It extends for several miles along both sides of the river, on the banks of which are many quays and dockyards, with large public buildings, the chief of which are the custom-houses, warehouses and temples. The shops are handsome and well furnished, but the private houses are no ornaments to the streets, being built, as in all large Chinese cities, within a court enclosed by a brick wall.

The Chinese are never at a loss for a hall of reception, as they can construct, at a few hours' notice, a temporary building or pavilion of bamboo, covered with thatch above and matting on the sides, which, being carpeted

¹ Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, Bart., in his *Authentic Account of the Embassy, etc.*, taken chiefly from the Papers of his Excellency the Earl of Macartney. London, 1793.

and adorned with silken hangings and other tasteful ornaments, answers all the purposes of a palace for occasions of ceremony. It was in such a hall that the gentlemen of the embassy were received by the viceroy of Chih-li, with all the attention due to their rank and the well-bred politeness which generally characterizes the manners of a Chinese gentleman.

It is remarked by Lord Macartney that men of rank in China appear to treat their domestics with a degree of kindness and condescension seldom met with in Europe; and yet it is most probable that the servants alluded to were slaves, for domestic slavery is common among the Chinese, and does not seem to be a very hard lot. In the higher walks of life the customs of society were found not to be devoid of the elegance and refinement of the most polished circles of Europe. The viceroy of Chih-li, whose advanced age made it extremely inconvenient for him to go on board the yachts, returned the ambassador's visit by being carried down to the shore in a chair, and sending an officer to the boat to present his visiting-card. The Chinese visiting-cards, however, are sheets of crimson paper, ten inches in length and four in width, the name and titles of the visitor being written down the right side of them.

From Tien-tsin the embassy proceeded to Tung-chau, a city distant from Peking about twelve miles, where the whole party landed; and as it was necessary to remain there a few days, a Buddhist temple was prepared for their accommodation, the priests being obliged to remove for the time to another monastery in the neighborhood, with the exception of one, who was left to watch over the lamps of the shrine. These temples are

always used as hotels on all occasions connected with the government; but the priests are not required to furnish the guests with entertainment as well as lodging, their table being supplied, free of cost, by the governor of the city, wherever they may be. The only thing difficult to be procured was milk, which is never used by the Chinese; neither do they make cheese or butter; but when it was understood that the strangers were in the habit of mixing milk with their tea, and that it was not pleasant to them without this ingredient, much trouble was taken to procure two cows, which formed a part of their train during the remainder of their sojourn in China.

The whole way, from the landing-place at which the yachts were stationed, to the temple where the ambassador and his suite were lodged, was like a fair. A great number of petty tradesmen, such as pastry-cooks, dealers in spirituous liquors and persons who keep eating-houses, had their booths for the sale of various refreshments, among which were tea and rice prepared for eating, which may always be had in the streets of every town in China, where a working-man may dine very well at any time for one or two cents of our money.

The English travelers went by land from Tung-chau to Peking, some in palanquins, others on horseback, and the rest in small rude carts with two wheels, which is the only kind of carriage used in that part of the country, and, having no springs, is a very uneasy conveyance. The road is usually broad, bordered on each side by willow trees of immense size, and paved with large flat stones. The pavement is in the middle of the road, instead of at the sides as with us, which is easily accounted

for by the rarity of wheel carriages, which are less common, even for long journeys, than sedans and horses. The party was escorted by a guard of soldiers, whose chief employment the whole way was to keep off the crowd with their whips, of which they did not scruple to make very free use; but curiosity was stronger than fear, and no sooner did the whips cease to play than the mob again pressed forward, while every wall, house-top and tree was thronged with spectators.

It was now the middle of August, and the emperor had not yet returned to the capital from his palace at Jeh-ho (called by Macartney Zehol) in Tartary, one of his numerous residences, where it was customary for the court to reside during the summer months. Jeh-ho is about fifty miles to the north of the Great Wall, and about five thousand feet above the level of the Yellow sea; consequently it is much cooler than in China, and on that account is pleasant as a summer retreat. The country beyond the wall is wild and mountainous, and bears in its principal features a great resemblance to Savoy and Switzerland. There is a good road for general traffic all the way from Peking to Jeh-ho, parallel to which there is a private road, kept in the highest order by the soldiers, expressly for the use of the emperor and court. Traveling palaces or imperial hotels are erected at certain distances all the way from the capital, as the emperor never on any occasion condescends to take refreshment or pass the night at the house of a subject, although the palaces of some of the viceroys are little inferior to his own. The name Jeh-ho signifies Hot Streams, and was doubtless derived from some thermal and medicinal springs in the neighborhood.

The palace and gardens are situated in a romantic valley on the banks of a fine river overhung by rugged mountains. The park, which is very extensive, presents the most magnificent specimen of the Chinese style to be found in the whole empire, as the objects that are usually crowded together in too small a space to produce a pleasing effect are at Jeh-ho distributed over a vast area, the imperial park being not less than eighteen miles in circumference, including the palace and gardens of the ladies, which are enclosed within a separate wall. The western side of the park is occupied by thick woods of oak, pine and chestnut trees, covering the sides of the steep mountains, where a great number of deer are kept for the chase; the rest is laid out in ornamental pleasure-grounds, adorned with as many as fifty handsome pavilions magnificently furnished, each containing a state-room with a throne in it, and some of them having a large banqueting-hall, where entertainments are given on special occasions to the great gentlemen of the court.

Among the ornaments of these beautiful pleasure-grounds are small transparent lakes, filled with gold and silver fishes; and a broad canal, on which are several islands, adorned with pagodas and summer-houses of various forms, sheltered by groves of trees and fragrant shrubs. All Chinese buildings of this description are highly decorated, and generally bear some resemblance to a tent, which is evidently the model from which the architecture of China was originally designed.

Near the palace of Jeh-ho, on the side of a steep hill, stands the magnificent temple of Pu-ta-la, the largest and richest in the whole empire, covering above twenty

acres of ground, and built at an immense cost by Kien-lung, for whose service this splendid pile was erected. It consists of one large temple or monastery, with a number of smaller buildings and pagodas attached to it. The great temple is an immense square, eleven stories in height, these stories being distinguished by galleries running round the four sides of the building, containing the apartments of the lamas or priests, of whom there were not less than eight hundred at the time of which we are now speaking, so munificently was the establishment endowed by its founder. In the centre of the great temple is the golden chapel, where the priests perform their devotions. It derives its name from its gilded roof; and in the middle is a small space railed off, in which, elevated by steps, stand three altars richly adorned, each supporting a colossal statue, said to be of solid gold, but of course only gilded. The priests, who wear yellow robes, chaunt their service in a kind of recitative, striking drums at intervals; but there is no congregation; and although people sometimes go into this and other Buddhist temples from curiosity to observe the rites, none join in them.

It was at Jeh-ho that the emperor chose to receive the English embassy. The custom of Eastern sovereigns has always been to hold levees soon after daybreak;¹ and such was the practice of the emperor Kien-lung, although he had arrived at the advanced age of eighty-three. At the first appearance of dawn, on the day appointed for the reception of the embassy, were assem-

¹ This will remind the reader of the hour of the meeting of the Jewish Sanhedrim to try Jesus, "when the morning was come" (Matt. xxvii. 1); "as soon as it was day" (Luke xxii. 66).

bled all the princes of the imperial family, the principal officers of state, with a great number of lower officers and several Mongol chiefs, who had come, as was customary, to be present at the celebration of the emperor's birthday, which was drawing near, and was always kept with much ceremony. The hall of audience, on this occasion, was a magnificent tent in the park, supported by gilded pillars, at the upper end of which was placed a throne under a canopy, raised several steps from the ground, which last was covered with rich carpets and furnished with embroidered cushions of exquisite workmanship. From the top of the tent hung several of those elegant painted lanterns so conspicuous among Chinese decorations and unequalled for beauty in any part of the world. The emperor's approach was announced by the sound of gongs and trumpets. He was carried in a palanquin by sixteen bearers, a number that is not permitted to any other individual in the empire; and was surrounded by the usual appendages of Chinese dignity—flags, standards, fans and parasols. He was plainly dressed, as suited his venerable years, in a robe of yellow silk, with no ornaments about his person except a large pearl in the front of his black velvet cap.

The British ambassador, who was presented by the president of the Board of Rites, was most graciously received, although he did not pay that homage to which the great autocrat was accustomed, but merely bent one knee in presenting his credentials. This omission of the ko-tau by Lord Macartney excited many criticisms and comments. It may be reasonably supposed that the reigning emperor, at the close of a very long and prosperous reign, felt sufficiently assured of his own power

and greatness to dispense with such a ceremony; and that the authority of his son and successor, Kia-king, who was on the throne when the next British ambassador (Lord Amherst) appeared at court, having been shaken by frequent insurrections, and even by some attempts against his life, this circumstance rendered him—or, at least, his courtiers—more tenacious of external forms. Some compliments were exchanged, and several presents also; for the etiquette of the court of China requires that every envoy who approaches the throne shall be provided with a suitable offering, for which he usually receives a gift in return; but it should be observed that the former is accepted as a humble tribute due from an inferior, while the latter is conferred as a mark of extreme condescension. When the ceremonies were ended, a sumptuous breakfast was served up in the tent in the Chinese fashion; and while all present partook of the repast, a band of music played on the lawn, where tumblers and rope-dancers exhibited various feats of agility, and a play was performed on a raised stage. Such plays are largely historical; the acting, however, is unnatural.

They have no scenery, but very fine dresses; and, as no women are allowed to appear on the stage, the female characters are always performed by boys. At Jeh-ho the ladies of the court had a theatre for their own especial amusement, where plays were acted every day, which were sometimes attended by the emperor and his ministers, but more frequently by the ladies only. One of their greatest enjoyments was to form parties of pleasure on the canal, for which purpose there were yachts always in readiness, fitted up in the most elegant manner, but

so contrived that the fair occupants were entirely screened from observation.

There was no empress at this period, for the princess who had enjoyed that dignity was dead, and Kien-lung had not thought proper to raise another to the throne. The laws of China admit of only one proper wife; hence the Tartar sovereigns give to one a rank above the rest, and she alone is called empress, while the others have the title of queen. There were eight queens at this time—two of the first and six of the second rank; and these had each a certain number of ladies in her train, making altogether upward of one hundred females belonging to the court. So long as the emperor lives these ladies usually lead pleasant lives, but their subsequent lot is not very enviable, as they are then removed to a building near the palace, which may be termed a nunnery, since they are obliged, by the customs of the country, to pass the remainder of their lives within its walls in utter seclusion.

The English visitors stayed a week at Jeh-ho, and were present at the anniversary of the emperor's birthday, which is a holiday throughout the empire. The ceremonies of the court consisted principally in the grand birth-day ode, sung in chorus by voices innumerable, accompanied by deep-toned bells and solemn music. The emperor was present, but not visible, being seated behind a screen in a large hall, where all the courtiers were assembled in their state dresses to pay the customary homage, which was done by falling prostrate at the conclusion of every stanza of the ode, which has been thus translated: "Bow down your heads, all ye dwellers on the earth; bow down your heads before the

great Kien-lung!" an exhortation that was literally obeyed.

The two or three days which succeeded the birth-day were entirely devoted to shows, sports and festivities, in which all classes participated.

When the gayeties were over, it was intimated to the British ambassador that it would be proper to take his leave of Jeh-ho, and return without delay to Canton, whither the emperor's answer on the subject of the embassy would be forwarded. Instead of returning by sea, as they came, the strangers passed by the Canal and rivers through the provinces of Shan-tung, Kiang-nan, Chikiang, Kiang-si and Kwang-tung, or Canton, a journey which occupied about ten weeks. The highly-cultivated state of the country, the number, wealth and greatness of its cities, its abundant resources and myriads of inhabitants, were subjects of wonder and admiration to our travelers. The emperor wrote a very friendly letter to King George III., but did not accede to the request that he would allow the subjects of the latter to trade to Ning-po, Amoy and other maritime cities besides Canton, as they used to do before they were restricted to that one port. The mission, however, was in some degree successful, as the viceroy of Canton, who had encouraged the frauds practiced on British merchants, was removed from his office, while the governor appointed in his room received peremptory orders to put a stop to the grievances complained of; so that for a short time the trade was conducted on a fairer footing, when the abdication and subsequent death of Kien-lung afforded an opportunity for the renewal of all the former oppressions.

It was in the next year but one following Lord Ma-

cartney's embassy that the aged emperor of China completed the sixtieth year of his felicitous reign, and, in accordance with the vow he had made at its commencement, prepared to resign the throne he had filled with so much ability. He had had twenty-one sons, of whom only four were then living. The youngest was his favorite, and to that prince, who assumed the name of Kia-king, he determined to resign his empire. The sixtieth anniversary of his accession was celebrated by a grand jubilee throughout China, when many acts of munificence were performed by the emperor;¹ and among others, he desired that all the old men who had passed the age of seventy should be invited to a feast, prepared for them at his expense, in every district over the whole empire.

He reserved to himself the title of the *supreme emperor*, but he retired altogether from state affairs, and died soon afterward, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. He was highly distinguished as a patron of literature, to which, as we have stated, he was himself a valuable contributor. He was indefatigable in his attention to business, and his extensive charities in seasons of public distress do honor to his name. and give him a true right to that title which it is the aim of every good ruler of China to obtain—that of the Father of his People.

Kien-lung had not only kept together the vast empire, but had greatly extended its limits. Two events disturbed the equanimity of the imperial court and interfered with the British negotiations: the rajah of Nepaul had been waging war on Tibet, and the great French

¹ Sixty years complete a revolution of the Chinese cycle, which corresponds in their divisions of time with our century.

Revolution had sent the echoes of its astounding deeds as far as Peking.

On their return toward Canton the embassy and servants were conveyed a great distance on the Grand Canal. This great work is about six hundred and fifty miles in length. It is called by the Chinese the Chah-ho, or Gated river (*i. e.*, river with locks, or gates.) It extends from the Pei-ho river, near Peking, to Hang-chau, a great city south of Shanghai. It was commenced in the seventh century, and additions and improvements added until the last century. Its masonry in some places is solid and well built. The passage of boats from one level to another is ingeniously effected by drawing them by windlasses over embankments lubricated and protected by wet clay. The value of this channel for the internal commerce of the empire is beyond calculation. On the canal the travelers often saw the fishing-cormorants at their work. In some places there were thousands of small boats and rafts, built entirely for this curious species of fishery. On each boat or raft were ten or a dozen birds, which, at a signal from the owner, plunged into the water to catch the fish with their bills. It was astonishing to see the enormous size of some of the fish with which they returned to the boat.

The interval between the reign of Kien-lung and the important one of Tau-kwang was occupied by that of a man of inferior character, some notice of whom may be most fitly introduced at the close of this chapter.

It was in the year 1795 that Kia-king ascended the throne. The late emperor had chosen him to succeed

him, because he entertained a very high opinion of his disposition and talents for government. But the conduct of the new monarch soon proved that both his virtues and abilities had been very much overrated by the partiality of his fond father; for as soon as he was his own master he began to indulge in pleasures that would have been extremely unbecoming in a prince of less pretensions.

Kia-king seems to have imbibed no great taste for the restraints and etiquette of the Chinese court, which are doubtless excessively fatiguing, as every word and movement of the emperor ought to be in accordance with that dignified and even sacred character with which he is invested, and which most of the imperial rulers of China have made it their study to maintain. The Manchu emperors had all been eminently distinguished by the stately air and grave deportment naturally looked for in those who are venerated as beings partaking of a superior nature; but Kia-king was utterly destitute of these lofty attributes, and not only indulged in an immoderate love of wine, but selected his favorite associates from amongst the actors, who, in China, are considered the very lowest class of the community. It is even said that, when heated with wine, he sometimes degraded himself so far as to take a part in the dramatic performances of his chosen companions. An Italian Catholic missionary, named Serra, who was for many years employed at Peking, has given a very particular account of the extremely profligate habits of this very unworthy son of the great Kien-lung. After the early morning audience, from which no emperor can excuse himself, and a hurried despatch of the business submitted to

him, he generally retired to the company of his players, buffoons and tumblers, and afterward drank to excess. He would frequently proceed with players to the apartments of his women, in the interior of the palace; and it was remarked that his two younger sons bore no resemblance to himself or to each other. He even carried the comedians with him when he went to offer sacrifices at the temples of Heaven and Earth. The ministers openly remonstrated with him respecting these disgraceful propensities, but their admonitions were in vain; and one of them, the noble and faithful Sung Tajin, a man of very high talent, who was exceedingly useful to the state, was banished for presuming to speak freely on the subject of his faults. When summoned by the emperor and asked what punishment he deserved, he answered, "A slow and ignominious death." When told to choose another, he said, "Beheading." When asked a third time, he chose "Strangling." [These are the three gradations of capital punishment.] He was ordered to retire, and on the following day the court appointed him governor of Chinese Siberia, the region to which criminals are exiled. Thus, as Serra observes, the emperor, though unable to bear his censure, acknowledged his rectitude. The people soon became dissatisfied with a monarch whom they could not respect, and insurrections broke out in many parts of the country; incited in some cases by the elder princes, who felt themselves aggrieved at the preference that had been given by their father to their youngest brother.

Kia-king was as unpopular among the Tartars as among the Chinese; for, while the latter were shocked at his indifference to ancient customs, the former were

discontented at his neglect of the annual hunting excursions, esteemed as the grand business of life by all the Tartar soldiers, as well as by the tributary nations dwelling beyond the Wall. One of the consequences resulting from this state of affairs was the formation of secret associations, called Triad Societies, which are known still to exist to a vast extent. The Triads know each other by secret signs, like the Freemasons; their object is to overthrow the present government and to restore the native princes to the throne.

Kia-king severely persecuted the Roman Catholics in China. Some of the Roman missionaries had concealed themselves in remote parts of the country, where they appear to have been cherished by the rural population. Eighteen of them were discovered, dragged to prison and brutally beaten; six died in confinement; three were taken into the emperor's service, and nine were driven out of the empire. We have no data to show the number of native priests and converts who suffered death, torture, imprisonment and banishment in these sudden storms of persecution; but the total number was probably to be counted by hundreds. Political reasons were those which chiefly influenced the Chinese government. Between the years 1580 and 1724 there had been about five hundred missionaries sent out from Europe, and we know that they traversed the empire, and that some were very successful in propagating their faith.

In consequence of the disturbed state of the empire, numerous bands of robbers infested the interior of the country, while the pirates of the Ladrone Islands renewed their depredations on the coast. Among these

was a noted corsair, named Ching-yih, who was no less renowned and feared than the famous Koshinga had been in the time of the first emperor of the Manchu race. This formidable chief was in the habit of levying contributions on all the merchant vessels that appeared in the Chinese seas; he plundered the villages on the coast, and did not hesitate to engage in battle with the imperial fleet. It was strongly suspected that he received secret assistance from many Chinese merchants of Amoy and Canton, who were disaffected toward the reigning family. The extent of his depredations between the years 1806 and 1811 would be incredible if not well attested by English officers and other Europeans. Fishermen and other destitute classes flocked by thousands to his standard, and his audacity growing with his numbers, he not merely swept the coast, but blockaded the principal rivers, penetrated far into the interior of the empire, surprised and plundered great towns and took very many large war-junks. His exploits were marked with cruelty and every imaginable atrocity and abomination. At one time he controlled seventy thousand men, eight hundred large vessels and more than a thousand smaller ones.

Ching-yih was accidentally drowned, but his death did not put a stop to the lawless practices of his people; for his widow, who might have been esteemed as a great heroine in a worthier cause, took the command of the fleet, headed the rovers in all their piratical expeditions, and actually fought in several engagements with the government forces. These Amazonian qualities were combined with very extraordinary talents as a ruler; for she drew up a regular code of laws for the government of

her people, by which they were bound to act equitably toward each other, and thus order was preserved among them. For some time this female corsair maintained the sovereignty of the Chinese seas, insomuch that no merchant-ships could navigate them in safety without a pass from her, which she granted on payment of a certain toll, and this pass protected them from any pirate vessels they might encounter on their passage. At length disputes arose among the pirate captains, and the female chieftain, beginning to find her position a difficult one to maintain, concluded a regular treaty of peace with the governor of Canton, who was rewarded by government with a peacock's feather, the usual mark of distinction bestowed on a military or naval commander for any eminent service rendered to the state. The lady withdrew from the conspicuous situation in which she had placed herself to live in retirement, while most of the pirates, being thus left without a leader, made their peace and were received into the government.

In the mean time, the whole country was in a very unsettled state. The province of Chih-li was overrun with armed bands, composed partly of those who had become robbers by profession, and partly of native patriots, who joined with the banditti as a means of strengthening their force. All were equally terrible to the peaceful inhabitants, who were plundered with impunity; the robbers coming in such numbers as to intimidate the magistrates, some of whom were possibly more inclined to encourage than to oppose them. Some of these patriots profess merely an anxiety for the restoration of a native dynasty as the best means of promoting internal tranquillity, good order and prosperity; but

many of them entertain very wild, anarchical and communistic notions.

In the year 1813 the palace at Peking was suddenly attacked by a numerous body of armed men, who forced the gates and rushed into the great hall, with the intention of seizing the emperor and obliging him to abdicate the throne. A similar attempt had been made ten years previously, since which time Kia-king had taken care to have a strong bodyguard in constant attendance; and besides this precaution a double guard was posted at every gate; therefore it is supposed that the conspirators must have had confederates within the palace, who facilitated their entrance; otherwise there must have been a desperate struggle with the soldiers, which does not appear to have been the case. A terrible scene of confusion ensued. The princes and attendant officers surrounding their sovereign made a gallant defence; and one of Kia-king's sons had the good fortune to save his father's life by shooting two of the insurgents who were in the act of rushing upon the emperor. Much blood was shed before the palace was cleared of the assailants, who were, however, at length dispersed, and the insurrection was eventually subdued. Kia-king named as his successor the prince whose timely aid had preserved his life.

About three years after this rebellion another embassy was sent by the British government to the court of Peking, to complain anew of the manner in which the trade with England was conducted at Canton. The good effect produced by the interference of Kien-lung had been but temporary. Lord Amherst was the ambassador on this occasion. On the arrival of the em-

bassy at Peking the old dispute relative to the ko-tau, or prostration before the emperor, was revived, and the conduct of the ambassador was so entirely misrepresented to him that no audience was granted; and thus the English not only failed in obtaining a redress of grievances, but were disappointed of seeing the sovereign. It has been ascertained, however, that the agency of the provincial government of Canton was powerfully exerted against Lord Amherst's embassy, and that the emperor subsequently discovered, with much regret, the insulting proceedings of his ministers.

One grand object of this unsuccessful embassy had been, as before, to solicit a restoration of the privilege formerly enjoyed by British merchants of trading to other ports besides that of Canton—a privilege now obtained by other means, and not likely to be lost again. All European trade, as already stated, had been restricted to the single port of Canton by an edict of Kien-lung in the year 1755, when it was ordered that foreign vessels should only go thither at a certain season of the year, and not remain there longer than a given time, at the expiration of which they were either to depart entirely or withdraw to Macao; and this arbitrary decree had never been revoked. In consequence of the ports being thus closed against them, the British merchants were obliged to pay for the transport of tea from an immense distance, by which its price was considerably increased; for between Canton and the principal tea districts there were ranges of lofty mountains to be crossed and shallow rivers to be navigated, which made the carriage of goods a difficult, expensive and tedious process, the more especially as chests of tea, or any

other large or heavy packages, are not conveyed overland in wagons or by horses, but are slung on bamboo poles and carried by men, however long the distance may be. The boats on the canals and many of the rivers have to be towed or tracked by ropes; and this labor also, which in most countries is done by horses, is in China performed by men; so that, either on land or water, the number of laborers employed in the transit of merchandise is immense. To the resistance of all these interested parties in the interior and on the coast has been attributed the failure of the embassy.

The death of Kia-king, when sixty-one years of age, in 1820, is said to have been hastened by his excesses, and by his uneasiness and fear on learning, during a journey in the provinces, the sad condition to which the empire had fallen during his reign. There were, however, strong suspicions of secret assassination.

The emperor's will, a very singular document, was published to the people. In it was this passage: "The Yellow river has from the remotest ages been *China's sorrow*. Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand-banks, it has, higher up its course, created alarm by overflowing the country. On such occasions I have not spared the imperial treasury to embank the river and restore the waters to their former channel. Since a former repair of the river was completed, six or seven years of tranquillity had elapsed, when last year, in the autumn, the excessive rains caused an unusual rise of the water, and in Ho-nan the river burst its banks at several points, both on the south and north sides. The stream Wu-chi forced a passage to the sea, and the mischief done was immense. During

the spring of this year, just as those who conducted the repair of the banks had reported that the work was finished, the southern bank at I-fung again gave way." The mention of this subject in the emperor's will is a sufficient proof of its importance. If the science of European engineers could put an effectual stop to the evil, it would be the most important physical benefit that was ever conferred on the empire. Even the European trade at Canton was annually taxed to meet the repairs of the Yellow river.

"The emperor's will," says Sir J. F. Davis, "proceeds to state the merits of his second son, the late sovereign, Tau-kwang, in having shot two of the assassins who entered the palace in 1813, which was the reason of his selection. It has been even supposed that Kia-king's death was hastened by some discontented persons of high rank, who had been lately disgraced in consequence of the mysterious loss of an official seal. The emperor's death was announced to the several provinces by despatches written with blue ink, the mourning color. All persons of condition were required to take the red silk ornament from their caps, with the ball or button of rank; all subjects of China, without exception, were called upon to forbear from shaving their heads for one hundred days, within which period none might marry, or play on musical instruments, or perform any sacrifice." Kia-king was succeeded by his second son, Tau-kwang.

CHAPTER XII.

TAU-KWANG AND THE OPIUM WAR.

THE emperor Tau-kwang, whose name signifies "Light of Reason," ascended the throne in the year 1820; and if he possessed not the wisdom and talents of his grandfather, Kien-lung, he endeavored to maintain the dignity of his exalted station, and was consequently more respected than his predecessor, the weak-minded and vicious Kia-king.

The distant Tartar tribes have always been found very troublesome dependants, and no sooner was Tau-kwang seated on the throne than a serious insurrection broke out in the western territories, which had been annexed to the empire by Kien-lung. Kashgar was one of the chief scenes of the revolt, which, after a struggle of several years, was at length suppressed by the Manchu imperial troops, who are said to have been guilty of dreadful barbarity toward the insurgents.

Peace was scarcely restored in the west when the internal repose of the country was disturbed by another rebellion of the Miau-tsz. The cause of this fresh outbreak does not appear to be known, but they poured down in great numbers from their native hills, under the command of a chieftain who assumed the name of Wang, or king, and not only displayed the imperial ensign of

the golden dragon, but wore a yellow robe, which is a direct assumption of the imperial dignity. All the mountain tribes, each governed by a separate chief, enlisted under the banner of this daring leader and descended to the plains, where they defeated the imperial troops and possessed themselves of four towns, from which they expelled the soldiers and mandarins, but did not injure the rest of the inhabitants, declaring by a public proclamation that they were not the enemies of the people, but of the government. By the spring of 1832 they had established themselves in the country to the north-west of Canton, holding a number of walled cities, and treating the industrious portion of the inhabitants with great kindness. At this time it was rather more than suspected that a good many members of the "Triad Society," whose object is the emancipation of the Chinese and the overthrow of the Tartars, had got among the mountaineers and were directing their measures and movements. Li, the governor of Canton, received orders from Peking to put an end to the rebellion; and with that view he assembled what he supposed would be a sufficient force to defeat them, but they were more formidable than he had expected, and his army was repulsed with great loss; in consequence of which misfortune he was degraded and deprived of his government, for the spirit of the law is that if a general is commanded to conquer he ought to obey. Another officer, the governor of Ho-nan, met with better success, and having retaken one of the towns occupied by the mountain bands, was rewarded with a peacock's feather, which is the highest badge of military distinction known among the Tartars. Still the rebellion was not terminated, and the Miau-tsz

held out with determined obstinacy for nearly six years, when in 1838 two imperial commissioners were sent from Peking to treat with them upon amicable terms, and induced them to return quietly to their homes—by what means is not exactly known, although it is suspected large presents were not spared. It was then publicly announced that the rebels had been obliged to make the most humble submission; but as they are as independent now as they were before, it is quite evident they were rather appeased than subdued, and, if they really were bribed to withdraw, will most probably repeat the same profitable experiment. About the same period there was also an insurrection in the island of Formosa, which was successfully quelled by the government.

In 1838 a war broke out of a totally different nature from any that had yet disturbed the Celestial Empire. The commercial intercourse between England and China had been carried on through the East India Company, and so it continued till the year 1833, when the term of its last charter expired, and all British subjects were equally at liberty to send out ships to China for tea and other produce of that country, which till then had never been exported by any vessels but those belonging to the privileged company. Independent merchants were less watchful against creating trouble with the Chinese, and less honest and less responsible in their dealings with them than the company. Troubles sprang up, and mutual suspicion and hatred increased between the two nations. But the great cause of the war was the fearful evils inflicted upon the Chinese, from the highest to the lowest, by the growth and illegal introduction of opium. The company had carried on an extensive trade

in this drug. The consumption of the narcotic had become enormous. Sir John F. Davis says, "The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for opium, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of all other English imports combined, deserves particular notice, especially in connection with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first." The trade was contraband, for opium had always been prohibited as hurtful to the health and morals of the people. Yet the quantity imported into China had increased more than fivefold in twelve years.¹

This had the effect of drawing the serious attention of the Peking government to the growing evil. Decrees were fulminated by the imperial court against all smokers, venders or purchasers of opium. They were to be beaten with a hundred strokes of the bamboo, to stand in the pillory and to receive other punishments. An imperial state paper says, "It seems that opium is almost entirely imported from abroad: worthless subordinates in offices and nefarious traders first introduced the abuse; young persons of family, wealthy citizens and merchants adopted the custom, until at last it reached the common people."

The denunciation might have been made far more

¹ This will be made manifest by the following statement:

Year.	Chests.	Average price,	Dollars.	Total dollars.
1821	4,628		1325	6,132,100
1825	9,621	"	723	6,955,983
1830	18,760	"	587	11,012,120
1832	23,670	"	648	15,338,160

general. The highest prince of the blood smoked his opium pipe, and so did the poorest peasant when he could get it. At Canton and all the frequented seaport towns there were public houses exclusively devoted to opium-smoking; at Peking, in the very palace, the ladies of the imperial harem and their emasculated attendants smoked opium, and would not be without it. In the year 1833 opium formed about *one-half* of the total value of British imports at Canton and Lintin, and the amount of the opium imported by that nation was greater than that of the tea exported by the Chinese.¹

In the spring of 1834, when the British free-trading ships began to arrive and take in cargoes of tea at Canton, there was a visible increase in the sale of opium. That drug was also partly supplied by American and other ships. The long series of quarrels which led to the war between England and China did not, however, spring from opium alone. Many grievances in the way of trade were complained of before the issuing of the new regulations. In July, 1834, Lord Napier, chief superintendent of British commerce in China, John F. Davis, Esq., and Sir G. B. Robinson, second and third superintendents, arrived at Canton, their appointments having been made by the British government of that period, and their instructions principally drawn up by Viscount Palmerston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who appears to have entertained very incorrect notions as to

¹ The following were the exports and imports for that year:

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
Opium.....	\$11,618,167	Tea.....	\$9,133,749
Other imports.....	11,858,077	Other exports.....	11,309,521
	\$23,476,244		\$20,443,270

the facility of extending foreign trade to other parts of the Chinese dominion, and as to the respect which would be paid to representatives of his government. Lord Napier was not treated with the respect which the authorities had been accustomed to pay to the experienced agents of the East India Company. An edict was issued commanding his lordship to return to Macao, and threatening to stop the trade. As the superintendent would not move, the trade was stopped on the second of September, and all intercourse with British subjects prohibited. Lord Napier immediately called up two British frigates to protect the shipping and persons of British subjects. These vessels, the *Andromache* and *Imogene*, were fired upon by the Chinese in their passage through the Bogue; but they soon silenced those batteries, got near to Canton and landed some sailors and marines at the factory. The Chinese made overtures for an accommodation. At this point, Lord Napier, affected by a sultry climate to which he was not accustomed, and by the delays and vexations to which he had been exposed, fell very ill. On the 19th of September it was agreed that the two frigates should be sent away, that he should return to Macao and that the trade should be reopened. On the 21st the frigates were ordered to leave the river, and his lordship left Canton for Macao in a native passage-boat provided by the Chinese authorities. The Chinese regarded him as a prisoner, and detained him five days on a journey of less than a hundred miles. The sufferings and annoyances he experienced on his passage down were too much for his debilitated frame, and he died at Macao a fortnight after his arrival there, and just three months since his land-

ing in China. The Chinese officers seized several workmen who were in the employment of Protestant missionaries and engaged in printing religious tracts, and, having severely bamboozed them, dragged them to a filthy prison.

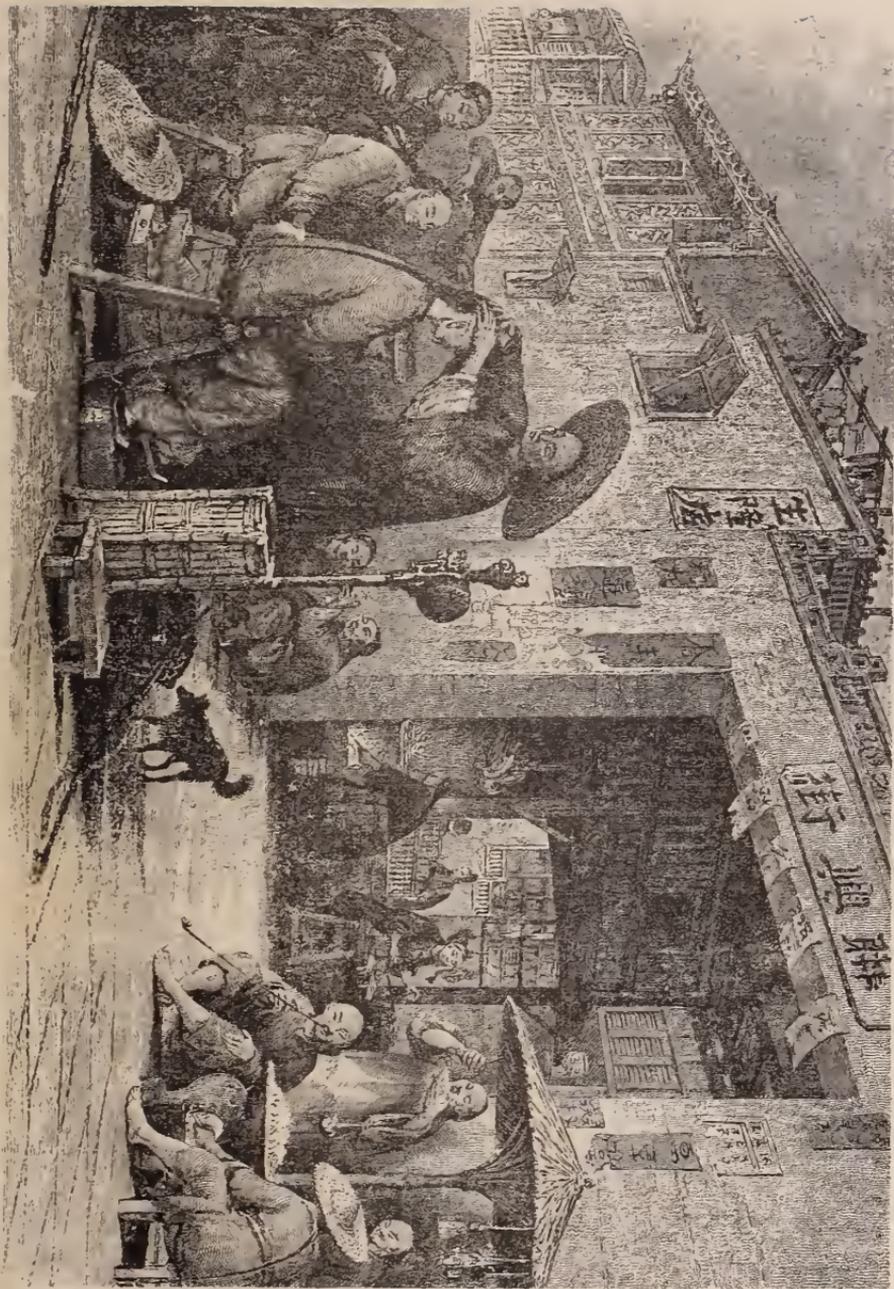
Lord Napier was succeeded by John F. Davis, Esq., with Captain Eliot for secretary. About a month after this (in November, 1834) an imperial mandate utterly forbade all traffic in opium. Shortly afterward, part of the crew of the English ship *Argyle*, which had anchored on the coast of China in consequence of damage at sea, were seized by the local authorities and kept as prisoners; and when Captain Eliot, now third superintendent, went up to Canton to demand their restoration, he was grossly assaulted by the authorities there and forcibly sent back. In a few days, however, the sailors were restored. The years 1836-39 were almost filled up with disputes and quarrels, arising from the confused state of affairs, and from the persistent efforts of the English to force opium into the accessible ports and harbors, particularly along the southern coast. There continued to grow up a stupendous system of smuggling, in which many of the Chinese officers were involved, and which those who sincerely deplored and resisted it were utterly unable to control.

The factories belonging to the merchants of Europe and America occupy a small space along the banks of the river, outside the walls of the city. There were at that time the British, American, French, Dutch, Austrian, Danish and Swedish; each consisting of several brick or stone edifices, built along the side of an open space of inconsiderable dimensions. Three streets in the suburbs,

leading from these factories, contained the shops where foreigners purchased all they required for their own use, for they were not allowed to enter the town. Within these narrow limits they were now closely confined, their lives being in danger if they ventured beyond them; and on one occasion a mob invaded their limits and a serious fight ensued.

In January, 1839, the government sent the police to search the native houses of Canton and seize opium wherever found. This led to a curious scene, highly characteristic of the democratic character of the Chinese institutions and the independence of the people. The people would not allow the search to begin until they had first searched the policemen, who were generally known as the greatest opium-smokers in the city. A few days after this the Canton authorities caused a native opium-smuggler to be executed in front of the factories, whereupon all the foreign flags were immediately struck. The governor took no notice of a remonstrance addressed to him by Captain Eliot.

A week after these occurrences the celebrated Commissioner Lin arrived from court, vested with the most absolute powers that were ever delegated by the emperor. When he arrived at Canton there were several British ships in the river, having not less than twenty thousand chests of opium on board. These he demanded should be given up without delay, to be destroyed. He blockaded the factories, and even threatened to put the occupants to death; on which the British superintendent—Captain Eliot—deemed it advisable to agree to the surrender of the opium, in order to secure the safety of his countrymen. Several weeks were



Suen-hung Street, Canton

occupied in the landing of the forfeited drug, during which the merchants were still detained in the factories; but as soon as it was ascertained that all the chests had been brought on shore, the troops were withdrawn and the captives left at liberty to depart.

In the mean time the commissioner had sent to Peking for instructions how to dispose of the property he had seized, and received the following order, in the name of the emperor: "Lin and his colleagues are to assemble the civil and military officers and destroy the opium before their eyes; thus manifesting to the natives dwelling on the sea-coast and the foreigners of the outside nations an awful warning. Respect this. Obey respectfully." In obedience to this command, on the 3d of June, 1839, the high commissioner, accompanied by all the officers, proceeded to Chan-hau, near the mouth of the river, where large trenches had been dug, into which the opium was thrown, with a quantity of quicklime, salt and water, so that it was decomposed and the mixture ran into the sea. The operations for destroying the drug continued about twenty days, and were witnessed on the 16th by several English merchants, who had an interview with Commissioner Lin. The market value of the property at the time was about twelve millions of Spanish dollars.

Some days before this transaction the British merchants had retired to Macao. This settlement still belongs to the Portuguese, who have their own government and the privilege of trying any offender by their own laws, even though he be a Chinese. They have forts garrisoned by about four hundred men, some fine churches, a monastery and a convent for nuns. The

Portuguese employ a great many black slaves as servants, but all the mechanics and workmen of every description, as well as the shopkeepers, are Chinese. The houses are built in the European style, and there a considerable number of English families were residing at the time.

Soon after the British merchants had removed from Canton to Macao, it happened that some English, American and Chinese sailors quarreled in the street, and that one of the latter was accidentally killed by a random blow. When the governor of Canton was informed of this unfortunate circumstance, he demanded that the culprits should be given up to justice, but as the Portuguese territory is not amenable to Chinese law, they of course refused to comply; however, a very short time after, the English and American seamen were tried by their own laws at Hong-kong, when they were acquitted of the murder, but five of them were found guilty of riot and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, with hard labor. The governor now gave orders that provisions should no longer be supplied to the English at Macao, on which Captain Eliot removed the whole fleet to Hong-kong, a rocky island about thirty-five miles to the east of that settlement, inhabited at that time chiefly by fishermen, but which has now become an English settlement, with a good town, built by its new occupants. In the mean time, the British superintendent had written to Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, requesting vessels and men to assist in protecting the lives and property of British subjects in China, and thus, toward the close of 1839, the clouds of war were gathering rapidly over the Celestial Empire.

The High-Commissioner Lin no sooner became aware

that the British fleet had removed to Hong-kong than he issued a decree that all trade between the English and the Chinese should be suspended until the former had given a bond to obey the laws of the empire, signed with the names of all the owners of vessels engaged in the opium trade, as well as that of the superintendent. For a time, therefore, the trade was suspended, and the English ships remained in Hong-kong harbor, while the Chinese fleet was preparing to make an attack on them.

Hong-kong is one of a group of small rocky islands which are so numerous round the coast of China that one of the titles given the emperor is, "Lord of Ten Thousand Isles." The inhabitants were mostly poor fishermen, living on the sea-shore, in wooden sheds, and some in huts of a rude character, made of old junks and worn-out boats. It is not more than eight miles in length and five in breadth, exhibiting to the eye on the first approach a mass of steep rugged rocks, among which, however, are found a few fertile spots, where rice is cultivated; and the inhabitants enjoy the luxury of plenty of good water, which in many other Chinese islands is very scarce. The island abounds in granite, which many of the inhabitants are employed in hewing for exportation.

A number of British merchant vessels having collected below the mouth of the river, under the protection of two British frigates—the *Volage* and the *Hycinth*—Lin sent Admiral Kwan to attack them. On the 3d of November, Kwan went through the *Bocca Tigris* or *Bogue* passage, and with sixteen war-junks gave battle. The frigates beat him off with great loss; one of his junks was blown up, three were sunk, and

the rest shattered and scattered. This defeat was a serious blow to the authorities at Canton, who had placed great dependence on the admiral. Lin and his coadjutors exerted themselves to strengthen the fleet, by building a number of gunboats of larger size and superior in construction to the generality of the war-junks, which were little different from the trading vessels. Nothing of special importance occurred till the month of June, when an armament arrived from India, under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer, which joined the British ships already assembled. There was a bold attempt made by the Chinese to destroy the whole fleet, by sending fire-ships into the midst of it, which failed.

Lin and the war party placed great confidence in the valor of their troops, which began to collect in large numbers, but in truth the Chinese army was not fitted to resist the European soldiery.

It may be remarked here that the entire force under the command of the government, including both the native troops and the Tartar legions, amounts to eight hundred thousand men, who are ranged under eight banners, and must always be ready for duty. Their colors are yellow, white, red and blue, which, variously bordered, form eight different standards. The Tartar soldiers are more effective than the Chinese, as they are warlike by nature, trained to arms and regularly organized; whereas the Chinese merely constitute a militia, as they dwell at their own homes, clothe and arm themselves according to their own fancy, and are very seldom required for actual service. Their chief duty, as military men, is to act as police in the cities; and in case of any local disturbances or rebellions of the mountaineers, they are

obliged to take the field; but, in general, they spend the greater part of the year with their families, engaged in cultivating the land; and as they receive pay from the government, every countryman is desirous of being enrolled as a soldier for the sake of increasing his means of subsistence.

Instead of striking Canton, however, Sir Gordon Bremer established the blockade of the river, and carried the British fleet northward, on the east coast of China. He had fifteen men-of-war, four war steamers and four thousand land troops.

The first conquest made by the English, on the 5th of July, 1840, was that of Chu-san—a fine island, about fifty miles in circumference, containing a dense population, and situated near the eastern coast of China. Tinghai, the capital, is a large city standing in a plain not far from the sea. Its high blue walls are fortified by twenty-two square towers, together with a wide moat, which runs nearly round the town; but these defences were of little use without artillery and soldiers, with which Tinghai was but ill supplied; so that the English took possession of it without any difficulty.

The flight of the inhabitants from Tinghai was followed by the plunder of all the houses and shops in which any property had been left—not by the invaders alone, but by the poorer class of Chinese. The presence of the English did not deter the pilferers from crowding into the town and carrying off whatever they could seize, till these depredations were in some measure checked by the British officers, who posted sentinels at the gates to prevent anything being taken out, except coffins for interment. These were suffered to pass with-

out question, until their numbers began to excite attention; when they were examined, and, as had been suspected, found to contain all kinds of goods that could be put into them. The English encouraged many of the citizens to return and reopen their shops, while the country people supplied them plentifully with provisions; but the climate was found unhealthy for the British troops, many of whom died there, owing, it is supposed, to the dampness of the flat lands, which are always so wet that the fields can only be crossed by the narrow paved causeways constructed for that purpose.

On the 19th of August the ships *Hyacinth* and *Larne* attacked a great Chinese force and batteries at the Macao barrier, destroying guns, taking the camp and killing about sixty soldiers. The men threw the blame of their quick and scandalous flight on the cowardice of the officers, who were the first to run away.

Nearly at the same time an imposing fleet anchored off Takoo, near the entrance of the Pei-ho river, at the North. Captain Eliot ascended the Pei-ho in a steamer as far as the town of Tien-tsin, where he entered into tedious negotiations with Ki-shen, the viceroy of the province, who had just been appointed imperial high commissioner. The grand object of this acute negotiator was to get the British force removed from the vicinity of Peking, to which city the distance by land was only one hundred miles. During the protracted conferences the admiral profited by the time to sail farther northward, and to visit the extremity of the Great Wall where it passes toward the sea. "As if in mockery of all natural obstacles, this gigantic barrier, between twenty and thirty

feet in height and twenty feet broad, displays itself as far as the eye can reach, traversing the very tops of the mountains, some of them computed at three thousand feet above the sea's level, and those farther inland much higher."¹

It was at length agreed that the negotiations should be removed to Canton, and that the commissioners should be sent to that city to meet Ki-shen, the very same minister with whom they had been so idly conferring on the Pei-ho.

The fleet once removed from the Pei-ho, the Chinese knew that the course of the monsoon would prevent its returning thither for another year, or at least for eight months. The English barbarians had approached the capital of the Celestial Empire to present a respectful and obedient petition; they had been *compelled* to retire, and they all merited extermination. So ran various proclamations written with "the vermilion pencil."

Captain Eliot continued to treat with Ki-shen; but on the 6th of January, 1841, an edict was issued from Peking that all English ships and Englishmen should be destroyed wherever they should be met with near China. At the same time high rewards were offered by the Canton authorities for the bodies of Englishmen, dead or alive. The price put upon the commodore and the other chiefs was fifty thousand dollars apiece, if taken alive; for their heads, twenty-five thousand dollars. In consequence of this, Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer moved his forces, and on the 7th of January attacked and reduced the forts of Chuen-pi and Tai-kok-tau, near the Bogue, capturing one hundred and seventy-three Chinese guns.

¹ Sir J. F. DAVIS, *Sketches of China*.

Above these forts the river expands considerably in width, being in some places five or six miles broad, but toward Whampoa it again becomes narrow, and a little below that village divides itself into two branches, from which numerous streams and canals run in all directions through many miles of paddy-fields.

On the 26th of February all the Bogue forts were battered and taken. Poor Admiral Kwan was killed at his post, and four hundred and fifty guns were captured. There was a very strong Chinese force on the hills behind the forts, but they ran away in a panic as soon as the batteries were taken. Many lost their lives in attempting to swim across the river; and of the thousand men probably who did not escape on this day, nearly every one met his death.

The cruelty of the British in shooting the poor men as they vainly endeavored to escape in the water is spoken of among the Chinese with deep indignation. Those who had fought for a short time in the batteries were covered by very strong walls, and suffered little loss there.

On the morrow the smaller ships were moved up to the first bar. Here were found a long fortification on the river bank, an entrenched camp of over three thousand troops, defended by more than one hundred cannon, and a strong raft thrown across the river from bank to bank. The ships and steamers knocked the batteries to pieces, and some British troops and Sepoys being landed, drove the enemy before them, burned the camp and removed or destroyed all the stores, and then the steamers leisurely removed the great raft. In this affair some of the imperial troops displayed considerable courage; but, with their wretched discipline, the best of

them could not stand even before the Sepoys. By the 1st of March the lighter part of the squadron proceeded up the river to Canton, and on the following day Sir Hugh Gough arrived to take the command of the forces. On the 6th a proclamation was issued to the people of Canton, offering to spare the city from bombardment on condition of the population remaining quiet. The Chinese having fired upon a flag of truce, the British forces destroyed a fleet of their junks and boats, took possession of some of the suburbs of Canton and captured four hundred and sixty more guns. At this juncture, Ki-shen, degraded and deprived of his office, was removed as a state prisoner from Canton.

A new imperial commissioner arrived at Canton, and hosts of troops from the interior marched to the coast. Captain Eliot, for the third time, prepared to attack Canton. While so doing the ships were attacked by the Chinese with great guns and fire-rafts, which, however, were speedily disposed of. The *Nemesis* burned upward of sixty of the fire-rafts, and some small ships of war silenced the batteries along shore. Three days after this (on the 24th of May, 1841) the British forces commenced operations in earnest against Canton. On the morning of the 25th, Sir Hugh Gough, with about twenty-five hundred men and his artillery, moved toward the forts and camps on heights behind the city, distant about three miles. After firing at long shots about half an hour, the Chinese in immense numbers evacuated forts and camps, leaving ninety guns behind them. The British troops burned the camps, occupied the heights and bivouacked there for the night. With much reluctance, on the 27th of May, when everything was in

readiness for opening the fire, the authorities of Canton agreed to pay six millions of dollars for the ransom of the city. Four days after this five millions were paid, security was given for the remainder, and the British forces withdrew from Canton. Ferocious conflicts took place within the city between the lawless troops from the interior and the citizens, the soldiers wanting to plunder and the citizens defending their property. It is stated that in one of these affrays more than a thousand persons were killed in the streets.

Sir Henry Pottinger arrived on the 10th of August, 1841, at Macao, as sole plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty. Before his arrival trade with Canton was fully reopened, and opium was smuggled more abundantly and more openly than ever. The court of Peking had not ceased levying troops to prosecute the war. The new British negotiator adopted a different line of conduct from that pursued by his predecessor, giving the Chinese authorities to understand that they must either accede to all the demands of the British government, or expect that very decided steps would be taken to force them into compliance. Not only did he require payment for the opium, but that other ports besides that of Canton should be opened to British trade; and he resolved not to terminate the war on any other conditions.

An expedition was immediately undertaken against Amoy, a strongly-fortified city and port in an island of the same name belonging to the province of Fu-kien, and situated within a spacious bay about halfway between Canton and Chu-san. The town is large and populous, defended by stone walls and batteries, and has from time immemorial been a place of great trade, its

merchants being classed among the most wealthy and enterprising in the Eastern world. It has a very fine harbor, with every convenience for loading and unloading ships, which can sail close up to the houses; and it also possesses a fine citadel, with a cannon foundry and vast magazines for military stores in the suburbs, which are separated from the city by a chain of rocky hills, over which a paved road leads through a pass with a massive gateway on the highest point. The streets of the city are narrow, but they contain several handsome temples and houses belonging to the officers and merchants.

The fleet destined to attack this important place appeared off Amoy on the 26th of August. The broadsides of the ships had little effect on the stone works, and it was not until a body of troops landed and drove out their garrisons, who stood manfully to their guns, that the fire slackened and the Chinese took to flight. The tremendous cannonading was continued for four hours, without the least real damage to the fortifications, and without killing more than between twenty and thirty Chinese.

When the city was entered by the British troops, it was found in much the same state as Ting-hai on a similar occasion. The most respectable of the inhabitants had fled and a great deal of property had been removed, but much had been necessarily left behind. The streets were soon filled with plunderers, who, in spite of the efforts of the soldiery, contrived to appropriate a vast quantity of goods to which they had no claim. Leaving a garrison at Ku-long-su, a small rocky island, forming part of the fortifications of Amoy, the expedition pro-

ceeded to Chu-san, which was speedily reoccupied, but not without the sacrifice of many lives on the part of the Chinese, who made an attempt to defend Ting-hai, but were soon obliged to surrender.

The next conquest was that of Chin-hai, a large and opulent city at the mouth of the Ningpo river, the occupation of which was a preliminary step to the attack upon Ningpo itself. Chin-hai stands at the foot of a lofty hill, and is enclosed by a high wall, about thirty-seven feet in thickness, over which may be seen the tall masts of vessels gliding along a branch of the river which runs through the town. On the summit of the hill is the citadel, which, from its commanding position, is most important as a military station, being, as it were, the key to both Chin-hai and Ningpo, the latter situated about fifteen miles up the river. This fortress is also surrounded by a strong wall, with massive gates, and on two sides the height is so precipitous that it is inaccessible, except at one point, where a narrow path winds from the sea, which skirts the base of the hill, and to this path there is no way by land. The citadel communicates with the town by a steep causeway to a barrier gate at the bottom of the hill, where a bridge over a moat leads to one of the city gates. When the British fleet arrived every point was fortified with batteries and guns mounted, while the hills were covered with encampments.

On the morning of the 10th of October about twenty-two hundred men, with twelve field-pieces and mortars, were landed to attack the citadel and entrenched camp. In these positions alone there were about nine thousand Chinese and Manchu Tartars, who formed in tolerable

order as the English advanced, opening a well-directed fire upon their front column, but quite neglecting two smaller columns sent round to turn their flanks; as these three columns opened upon them nearly at the same time, their whole force was completely bewildered, and soon broke and fled in all directions. Knowing nothing of the mode of asking for quarter, and not being themselves in the habit of giving quarter, while some fled into the country the greater part retreated toward the water, pursued by the British soldiery. Hundreds were shot or bayoneted, and hundreds more were drowned. Sir Hugh Gough sent out a flag, with a Chinese inscription on it, to inform them that their lives would be spared if they yielded, but not more than five hundred understood it so far as to throw down their arms. The water was covered with dead bodies, and, besides a large number of wounded, full fifteen hundred lost their lives. Meanwhile, the town and its defences on the north side of the river were bombarded by the ships and the troops driven out. Yu-kien, the very high official who commanded, on seeing that the day was lost, attempted to drown himself; and being prevented from so doing, he fled beyond Ningpo and committed suicide in another manner. At Chin-hai about a hundred and fifty pieces of brass ordnance, many iron guns, matchlocks and other military stores, were captured, together with great quantities of rice and other provisions. The bombardment caused the death of many poor, inoffensive townspeople, who offered no resistance.

Chin-hai was taken on the 10th of October, and on the following day the fleet proceeded up the river to Ningpo, having left a guard of three hundred men in

the captured city. The country is a highly-cultivated plain, intersected with numerous canals and abounding with cattle, which is an unusual sight in China. The villages are numerous, and a large town is situated at every five or six miles along the river, while in the distance are seen ranges of lofty hills, forming the boundary of a very charming prospect. The whole province of Chi-kiang is luxuriant and beautiful, and contains an immense population, all the towns and villages being crowded with inhabitants. Numerous families also dwell on the waters, which are enlivened by verdure, as the poor people who lead this amphibious kind of life cultivate some vegetables and flowers in pots on their barges.

In the same province, Hang-chau, which, under some of the early dynasties, was the capital of the empire, is still one of the most wealthy and pleasant cities of China. It is supposed to contain a population equal to that of Paris, and is adorned with many elegant buildings. The shops are handsome, and well stocked, not only with native produce, but with British manufactures, particularly broadcloth, which is very much used in this and the more northern parts of China. The country around Hang-chau is studded with ornamented villas and lofty pagodas, and is beautifully diversified with hill and dale, the former covered to the summit with a variety of trees and shrubs, among which the camphor and tallow trees are conspicuous—the one by its bright green, the other by its purple leaves; and as Chi-kiang is one of the principal silk provinces, plantations of mulberry trees are found in every part.

The city of Ningpo, now a place of interest as an im-

portant open port and field of successful missionary efforts, was taken without the least opposition on the part of the inhabitants, many of whom assisted the English to scale the walls and open the gates which had been barricaded, so that the terrible scenes which had occurred at Chin-hai were not enacted on this occasion. The inhabitants wrote on the doors of their houses the words *shun min*, meaning "submissive people." About one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars in silver, many tons of copper cash, with rice, silk and porcelain, made up the most valuable prize yet taken. It was determined to occupy the city as winter quarters. Ningpo is a much larger city than Chin-hai, and being in the vicinity of the green-tea districts, it is very conveniently situated as a trading station for foreign vessels. It has six arched gates and is almost surrounded by water, the river running on one side almost close to the walls, and a canal forming a boundary to the remainder of the city, with the exception of a small part of the suburbs. The ramparts are high, and so wide that three carriages might be driven abreast on their summit, and the walls are strengthened by huge square buttresses on the inside.

The houses in Ningpo have generally two stories, the one raised above the other on pillars, each story having a separate tiled roof. All the good houses are within a small court, the latter paved with flag-stones, and ornamented with flower-beds and tanks for gold-fish. The principal entrance to these abodes consists of triple doors, but those which form a communication between different apartments are of many fantastic shapes. There are no glass windows, and when the English first arrived there

were no fireplaces, but the officers very soon supplied that deficiency in the houses where they established themselves.

A curious incident, illustrative of the Chinese character, is related by a British officer as having occurred during his residence at Ningpo. A paper was one day thrown over the wall addressed to the English, containing, among other arguments, this appeal to their feelings, so characteristic of the people of China, on the impropriety of remaining any longer in that country: "You have been away from your country long enough; your mothers and sisters must be longing for your return. Go back to your families, for we do not want you here."

In the month of March, 1842, the Chinese made a desperate effort to recover the cities of Chin-hai and Ningpo, which they entered at night by scaling the walls, but in both cases they were repulsed with considerable loss. At Ningpo about two hundred and fifty soldiers were killed in the market-place. This attack appears to have been the result of a plan concerted among the chiefs of the army and some of the governors, as a fleet of junks was sent just at the same time against Chu-san, but equally without effect.

Having failed in their enterprises, the Chinese forces assembled at Tsz-ki, a town about eleven miles from Ningpo, where they formed an extensive encampment, and endeavored to cut off the supplies that were carried every day by the country people into the city. This measure brought on an immediate engagement, and again the imperial troops were put to flight, leaving about six hundred dead upon the field. For two months after this

battle hostilities were suspended, and the markets, as in time of peace, were plentifully supplied with poultry, fish and very fine vegetables.

About this time the emperor removed to Jeh-ho for the summer, but haughtily refused to listen to the proposed terms of peace. On the 7th of May the British army left Ningpo on its progress toward the north. The intention of the general was to proceed to Nanking, and take possession of that important city as a prelude to the attack on Peking, provided the emperor should persist in refusing to make peace on the terms demanded by the government of Great Britain. On the coast of Chi-kiang stands the town of Cha-pu, the chief port of communication between China and Japan. It is situated at the foot of a chain of wooded hills, which, on the landing of the English, were covered with Tartar troops, who fled without making any attempt to prevent the invaders from entering the city. The Tartar inhabitants of Cha-pu—those who were able to bear arms being all soldiers—occupied a small division of the town, separated from that of the Chinese by a wall, and built with the regularity of an encampment, where they dwelt with their wives and children, many of whom were made widows and orphans on that fatal day; for when the soldiers fled from the heights a party of about nine hundred Tartars took refuge in a temple, to which they were pursued, and under the mistaken idea that if they surrendered no quarter would be given, they fired on the enemy, killing and wounding several British officers, upon which the British soldiery commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of these brave people, in which they spared but forty, whom they made prisoners, but after-

ward released. Many of the families of the city endeavored to escape from these horrible scenes, but were unable to do so from their terror of the barbarity and licentiousness of the Hindoo troops in the British army. Most of the poor women whose husbands were killed threw their helpless infants into the tanks and wells, and then destroyed themselves or each other.

Soon after the capture of Cha-pu the fleet entered the river Yang-tsz-kiang, or the "Son of the Ocean." This noble stream, which rises in Tibet, and flows through near three thousand miles of country ere it reaches the sea, is the largest river in the world except the Mississippi and the Amazon; and, considering the innumerable canals which it supplies with water to keep the country through which it passes under constant irrigation, the commerce carried on upon its bosom, the fruitfulness of its banks and the depth and breadth of its waters, it may well claim a place among the great rivers of the globe. The right bank of the Yang-tsz-kiang is more picturesque than the left, on account of the chains of hills which rise behind each other, and which are covered with rich and varied foliage, not merely in the distance, but sweeping down to the banks of the stream; while the country on the other side is flat and cultivated with rice, but rendered pleasing to the eye by many neat little villages. As the fleet sailed up the river the villagers flocked in crowds to the shore, to gaze at the novel spectacle of steamships on the waters of China. On the 20th of July the fleet anchored at Chin-kiang, a strongly fortified city, which, being situated at the point where the Grand Canal enters the Yang-tsz-kiang river, is looked upon as one of the keys

of the empire, and forms a barrier for the defence of the interior.

The river was in this part about a mile and a half broad, and near the shore, crowned with temples, since then destroyed by the rebels, rose the Kin-shan, or Golden Island, the beauties of which were so highly celebrated by foreigners who had seen it. The town was garrisoned by Tartars, and the hills overhanging the river were covered with encampments of Chinese troops, who fled. The Tartars, however, bravely defended the city, disputing every inch of ground, and firing incessantly from the ramparts, which were at length ascended by scaling-ladders, and after some desperate fighting, in which many Englishmen were killed, the British flag was planted on the walls. Still, the Tartars continued to resist with determined valor, fighting in the streets with their long spears and firing with matchlocks from the houses for several hours, till night came on, when they were obliged to give up the contest, and the inhabitants then began to make their escape from the city.

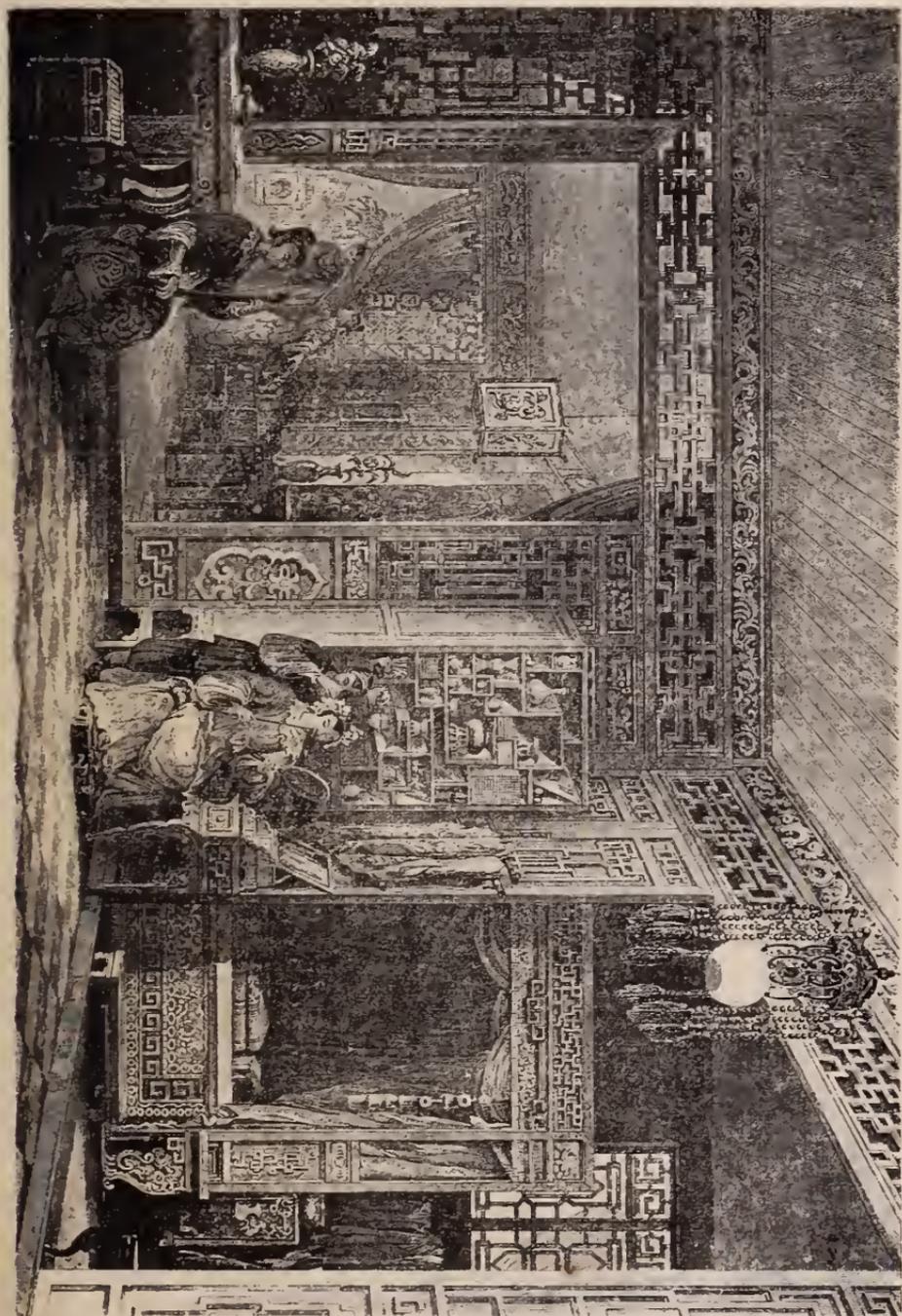
The taking of Chin-kiang is memorable for an extraordinary act of individual resolution. The Tartar general, who had made the greatest exertions to save the city, when he found that the contest was decided in favor of the enemy, went into his house, and, taking his accustomed seat in an arm-chair, had his official papers heaped around it, and ordered his servants to set fire to the dwelling. His body was found the next day much burned, but retaining the sitting posture in which he had placed himself to meet the approach of death. On the morning after the battle the streets were found strewn with the dead, the houses were mostly de-

sented, those of the government officers were in flames, the shops were broken open and plundered by the Chinese rabble, and female suicide was committed to a more fearful extent than even at Cha-pu.

But let us leave this scene of horror and proceed with the fleet to the famous city of Nanking, forty miles higher up the river. This ancient capital was still a large, populous and wealthy city; and although exhibiting none of that splendor which depends on the residence of the court, was still superior, in many respects, to the present metropolis. It was the residence of a great number of literary men, and had many flourishing manufactures, particularly those of silk and the cotton cloth which is known by its name. The city and its vicinity presented many objects of attraction, among which the Porcelain Tower occupied the first place. This celebrated work of art, and the temple to which it was attached, were built by the emperor Yung-loh before he removed the seat of government from Nanking to Peking.

The pagoda was the most elegant structure of the kind that had hitherto been seen by foreigners in China, and took its name from the tiles of white porcelain with which the solid brickwork of the building was covered, every tile being cast in a mould, with an indenture in the shape of a half cross, the bricks having a projecting piece of a similar form, which fitted into the cavity. The tower consisted of nine stories, and was remarkable for its correct proportions. Its form was octagonal, the angles being marked on each side by a row of tiles, red and green, placed alternately. A light balustrade of green porcelain ran round each story, at every corner of which

Boudoir and Bed-chamber of a Lady of rank



hung a bell. The staircase was within the wall and communicated with every floor. Each story formed a room with a painted roof, and contained a number of idols placed in niches; and each room had four windows, placed toward the four cardinal points. There were priests attached to this pagoda to keep it in good order and to see that it was illuminated at all festivals, the expenses being paid by the contributions of those who bestowed money for such purposes in the hope of propitiating the deities. Within a few years past, in a great fire which desolated the portion the city in which it stood, this remarkable structure was destroyed.

The ancient palaces, observatories and sepulchres were destroyed by the Tartars two centuries previously. Nanking before the rebellion was an eminent seat of learning, and sent more members to the Imperial College of Peking than any other city. The books, the paper and the printing of Nanking were celebrated through the country as being unrivaled. The best Chinese (called by us *Indian*) ink is manufactured in the neighboring cities. The silks, the teas and the various other products of this province render it the most valuable part of the whole empire, and its climate is excellent. The famous pirate, Koshinga, who so long possessed the island of Formosa, once sailed up to Nanking and laid siege to it.

It was about the middle of August when the British fleet arrived within sight of Nanking, which was garrisoned by about fourteen thousand troops; and here another sanguinary conflict was expected; but happily this anticipation was not realized, for just as the attack was about to be commenced, letters reached camp, and the British general, Sir Hugh Gough, was informed that

certain high commissioners, deputed by the emperor, were on their way for the purpose of negotiating a peace. These joyful tidings were speedily confirmed by the arrival of the three delegates. At the head of it was Keying, an uncle of the emperor, a man of extraordinary ability, who seemed fully to cast away the prejudices of his people against foreign improvements, and spoke in kind terms of Christianity and its benevolent principles, which seem to have impressed him, notwithstanding the tremendous calamities inflicted upon his nation by the nominal professors of it. The other members were Elepoo, the former governor of Chi-kiang, a member of the royal family, and a Tartar general. These high functionaries were conveyed on board the *Cornwallis* in a steam vessel, and opened the negotiations which terminated in a treaty of peace. The negotiations were renewed on shore, Sir Henry Pottinger being assisted by Colonel Malcolm, and Messrs. Morrison, Thom and Gutzlaff; and on the 29th of August, 1842, the treaty was fully concluded and signed on board the *Cornwallis*.

As the British plenipotentiary had yielded nothing of his demands, all the concession was on the part of the Chinese government. The articles of the treaty were summarily these: Lasting peace and friendship to be preserved between the two empires; China to pay the immense sum of twenty-one millions of dollars (of which twelve millions were to pay England the expenses of the war, three millions were claimed for debts due to English merchants, and six millions of dollars were required to remunerate the owners of the smuggled opium which Lin had seized in the Canton river); the five ports of Can-

ton, Amoy, Fu-chau, Shanghai and Ningpo to be open to the British, who should have the liberty of appointing consuls to reside in those towns; regular tariffs of import and export duties to be established, so that the merchants might not be subjected to impositions; and the island of Hong-kong was to be ceded for ever to the Crown of England. All subjects of Great Britain, whether European or Indian, then prisoners, were also to be released, without ransom or condition of any kind. And, lastly, the emperor was to grant a free pardon to all those of his own subjects who had incurred penalties by holding intercourse with the British officers.

The emperor objected strongly to the opening of Fu-chau, on account of its vicinity to the principal black-tea districts, alleging that if the English shipped their tea at this port, instead of at Canton, the trade of the latter place would be ruined, and great numbers of his subjects thereby injured; but as the object of gaining access to this port was the very one that formed the ground of objection on the part of the Chinese government—namely, to avoid the inconvenience and expense of bringing goods several hundred miles for shipment—this point was insisted on and eventually gained by the British plenipotentiary, who, as a security for the execution of the treaty, announced his intention of keeping possession of Chu-san and Ku-long-su until all the money should be paid and the rest of the terms fully completed.

Fu-chau, a place of considerable trade, and the capital of the province of Fu-kien, is seated on the banks of the Min, one of the large rivers of China. The country around is mountainous, and the scenery on the borders

of the river is described as being very romantic and beautiful, resembling here and there the most picturesque parts of the banks of the Rhine ; and as the climate is much more temperate than in the southern provinces, Fu-chau will probably be more pleasant as a place of residence than Canton. The city stands on both sides of the river, the two parts being connected by a celebrated stone bridge, consisting of thirty-three arches, which is mentioned as a wonderful work of art by the Jesuit writers of the seventeenth century. The liberty of trading to Fu-chau is of importance, as the black teas can be brought in boats direct to the ships from the farms where they are grown, and thus the enormous expenses of land carriage to Canton will be obviated. Shanghai is one of the greatest commercial emporiums of Eastern Asia, being advantageously situated for native trade on the river Woo-sung near the Yang-tsz-kiang, and thus communicates with the Great Canal and the Yellow river. This port has a commodious harbor, and is frequented by trading junks from all parts of the empire. The streets are narrow, and most of them are paved with tiles. Although the shops are small, they are plentifully stocked with native commodities of all descriptions ; and many of them contain European broad-cloths and other foreign goods. The great advantage of Shanghai as a port is its easy communication by water with the interior provinces of the empire, and with the populous cities on the Yang-tsz-kiang and the Imperial Canal. It has since the war become the great port of entry and exit for foreign commerce, and its population and wealth have increased fourfold. A large trade has been done on the Yang-tsz-kiang in

foreign steamers, which, though temporarily checked, will no doubt increase in the future to vast dimensions. Native steamers have already been built; a line of American steamships connects it and other ports less favorably situated with California and the New World.

After the signing of the treaty at Nanking, Lord Saltoun was appointed governor of Hong-kong, where very extensive improvements had been made since the British had been in possession of the island. The new town, the principal part of which is built on a hill, contains many fine buildings, has an important commerce, and is a depôt of military and naval stores for the British government; but the climate is found to be unhealthy.

The Chinese, not without reason, view the Opium War, and its exactions and results, with great bitterness. The following is a specimen of the papers published by some of their writers in regard to the conduct of the English.

“Behold that vile English nation! Its ruler is at one time a woman, then a man, and then perhaps a woman again; its people are at one time like vultures, and then they are like wild beasts, with dispositions more fierce and furious than the tiger or wolf, and natures more greedy than anacondas or swine. These people have long stealthily devoured all the Western barbarians, and, like demons of the night, they now suddenly exalt themselves here. During the reigns of the emperors Kien-lung and Kia-king these English barbarians humbly besought an entrance and permission to deliver tribute and presents; they afterward presumptuously asked to have Chu-san, but our sovereigns, clearly perceiving their

traitorous designs, gave them a determined refusal. From that time, linking themselves with traitorous Chinese traders, they have carried on a large trade and poisoned our brave people with opium. Verily, the English barbarians murder all of us that they can. They are dogs, whose desires can never be satisfied. Therefore we need not inquire whether the peace they have now made be real or pretended. Let us all rise, arm, unite and go against them. We do here bind ourselves to vengeance, and express these our sincere intentions in order to exhibit our high principles and patriotism. The gods from on high now look down on us; let us not lose our just and firm resolution." The popular opposition to foreigners at Canton was remarkable in several ways, as showing the energy and freedom of the people. The paper above was agreed to at a great public meeting at Canton, and the officers of the province declared that they could not prevent its publication. Outbreaks continued to take place from time to time in Canton, and life and property were less secure for a number of years than they were before the war and treaty of peace. On the 8th of July, 1846, the patriots and the mob and thieves endeavored to burn and destroy factories. The foreign merchants on shore, being without any military or naval assistance, armed themselves and shot about twenty of their assailants, and thus restored tranquillity for a time.

At length it became evident that the local government had no faculty of suppression or coercion, and that it was utterly powerless to carry the stipulations of the treaty into effect. In May, 1847, several British vessels of war proceeded to the Bogue Forts and captured and removed

or destroyed all their guns. After this the populace of Canton became more submissive, and the Europeans were authorized by the local government to extend the limits of their factories and permitted to enjoy more freedom.

The British colony of Hong-kong, instead of proving a representative of the blessings of Christian institutions upon which the people of China would look with admiration, was the scene of every vice in its boldest and most unrestrained form. It was the headquarters of the diabolical opium traffic. The police, knowing as yet little of the Chinese or their language, were impotent to detect and punish crime. "It is very natural," says Dr. Gutzlaff, describing its condition, "that depraved, idle, wicked characters from the adjacent main should flock to the colony. The islanders themselves, nearly all fishermen are pirates when the opportunity presents. They are a roving set of beings, floating on the wide face of the ocean with their families, and committing depredations whenever it can be done with impunity. The stone-cutters have been working here for many years before our arrival; the majority of these men are unprincipled; they cannot be considered as domesticated among us, and are in the habit of going and coming according to the state of their trade. The most numerous class, who since our arrival have fixed themselves on the island, are from Whampoa; many of them are of the very worst character, and are ready to commit any atrocity." Under the very shadow of the British flag there were formed numerous nocturnal clubs and secret societies. The members of these societies bound themselves to stand by one another and afford mutual protection. Thus the other Chinese were afraid of denouncing their

crimes or informing against them. The proclamations of the governor had no effect toward dissolving or even checking these combinations.

The great Governor of nations made the Opium War a means, evil as it was, of breaking down the fence with which Manchu jealousy and Chinese pride had begirt the empire. But some of the immediate effects were most prejudicial to Christianity. The causes, the history and the results of the war created intense hatred and detestation of Christian nations. It was remarked at the time that one very visible effect of the English war upon the emperor Tau-kwang was his return to idolatry. Formerly he had professed to be a strict Confucian and to hold in contempt all manner of graven images. But now the idols in the empire were not sufficiently numerous for him, and new ones were imported and old ones brought again to light from the obscurity and neglect into which they had been allowed to fall. He prostrated himself and burned his incense before these deities, thinking that if he had done so before his hosts would not have been beaten by the unbelieving barbarians. This superstitious state of mind was rendered still worse by the occurrence of a scarcity which in many parts of the empire amounted to a famine, and by the void presented in the imperial treasury, which had been emptied by the war and the money paid for the peace.

Tau-kwang changed his chief ministers, but he could not find one with power and means to remedy the evils. He sent out circulars to the governors of the provinces, calling upon them for a correct statement of their debts and annual revenues, and he asked his grand council what was to be done to avert a general bankruptcy.

Many of the poor people gave up their lands and huts because they could not pay the taxes, many emigrated to foreign countries, and others turned robbers on land or pirates at sea and on the great rivers. The last class became so exceedingly numerous and so daring that even foreign ships were not always safe. But for the British squadron these pirates would have become far more formidable. The emperor ordered that a fleet should be built, and even that steam vessels, like those used with so much effect by the English, should be constructed. The Chinese workmen made a steamer in all outward appearances very like theirs; it had its funnel and its paddle-wheels, but to make a steam engine was quite beyond their skill at the time. They also constructed a few ships on the European model, but these were weak and badly manned, and they remained quietly at anchor under the protection of the Bogue Forts while the pirates were ravaging the coasts.

If the British negotiators had neglected many important points (as that of religious liberty in China), and had not concluded the best treaty which might have been made, they had neither done nor intended anything in an illiberal, exclusive spirit. The announcement of the British treaty of Nanking caused considerable sensation among the commercial circles, both in Europe and in America. The governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and even Prussia, deputed agents to confer with the Chinese authorities at Canton, to examine into the prospects of trade, and, if possible, to make commercial arrangements in the country. The United States sent a minister extraordinary to the court of Peking with a letter from the President

to the emperor. Mr. Cushing and his suite arrived in China in the frigate *Brandywine* in February, 1844, and took up their residence at Macao. They were very positively told that they could on no account be allowed to proceed to Peking, as the United States of America had never yet sent *tribute* to the emperor, and could not therefore be included among the tributary states of the empire, which merely meant that the Americans had not previously sent out any ambassador or minister. Although his negotiations were impeded by a riot in the city, which is subject to the Portuguese, Mr. Cushing succeeded in concluding commercial arrangements with the Chinese commissioners. The treaty of Wang-hia, as it is called, was ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, and they sent the Hon. A. H. Everett to China as resident minister.

The war had caused great confusion and distress, without producing any considerable diminution of the population, which ever pressed too closely on the means of subsistence. Though contrary to the old laws, the government winked at the emigration which was going on at an increased ratio; yet the year 1846 brought a recurrence of scarcity and financial embarrassment. The servants of government, receiving no pay, were left to shift for themselves; and in so doing they had recourse to the most oppressive means of extortion, by which the poor people were frequently driven into open rebellion. Great bands of robbers traversed the country with impunity, for many of the troops sent against them joined their ranks, and the rest of the imperial forces were either too weak or too spiritless to attack them. At the same time the pirates reappeared

all along the coast. In 1847 there was a rebellious rising in several of the dependent states; the city of Kashgar and another place of importance were stormed and taken, and the whole of the imperial Manchu army was put to the rout. The chiefs of Kokonor, a very independent, unruly race, declared open war against the government, made inroads into the country, committed great ravages, levied contributions at the point of the sword, returned to their mountains loaded with booty, and left poverty, terror and despair behind them. Buddhists though they were, these terrible chiefs stopped an envoy of the Grand Lama of Tibet (in their faith a most sacred person), and plundered him as he was on his way to the emperor's court at Peking. A Tartar-Chinese army tardily took the field, and a long and desultory border war commenced, in which the cattle and other property of the Chinese and the quieter tribes of Tartars were plundered to a ruinous extent by the active enemy. These depredations scarcely left horses and camels enough to mount the imperial troops and carry their provisions and stores. Commissioner Lin gradually recovered from the disgrace he had incurred for not conquering the English, and being now in favor at court, he was sent to quell this and other rebellions on the borders. He retired in triumph, believing that by his address and energy he had quelled the insurrection, but some of those tribes took up arms and rallied as soon as he was gone, and he was again and again obliged to return to the scene of action. The holy land of Tibet was overrun by wild clans from the Himmaleh mountains and from Ladakh; the Grand Lama, believed to be the impersonation of the Divinity,

was made to tremble in Lassa, his remote capital, and his lamas or priests, after witnessing the plunder of their temples, were drowned by hundreds in the sacred river Sansoo.

As Tau-kwang approached his own end, the woes and miseries of the country thickened. In Ho-nan and elsewhere fearful inundations swept away the crops and deprived a vast population of their subsistence. Many of the sufferers were relieved by death; others dragged out a miserable existence by feeding on roots and wild herbs; everywhere in those districts were wretchedness, disease and death.

As the year 1849 was approaching, when, according to treaty, the city gates of Canton were to be thrown open to foreigners, the populace vowed that the barbarians should not go at large within their walls, and addressed a petition to the emperor, insisting that they had the right of settling this matter themselves. They threw up barricades, adopted other measures to repel the barbarians, and threatened to set fire to the factories. It is believed that these deeds were very unpalatable to Tau-kwang, who feared that they might bring upon him another war with the English. However, the poor potentate was compelled to yield to the Canton rabble, and to write back that "the will of the people was the will of Heaven."

Battered by all these storms and tempests, and sorely wounded in his pride, the health and strength of Tau-kwang rapidly gave way. He was never himself after the Opium War. About this time an event occurred which shows him to have been a man of great tenderness of heart, and reflects honor upon his character. On

ascending the throne, he had, according to a custom of his nation, adopted as mother a widowed princess of the imperial lineage, and this lady he continued to respect, to love and almost to idolize. His devoted, unvarying affection to her was that of the most affectionate of sons. This lady fell sick; he attended on her in person, as he had always done when she was ill, for twenty-nine years. On the 19th of January the lady took an airing in the garden, and he rejoiced in the belief that she was convalescent; but only five days after that time "she mounted the spirit chariot, and went the long journey." The emperor himself drew up the official account of her death and his own great grief. "We have been happy," said the paper, "in attending to her behests, as men are rejoiced by the sun which prolongs their lives; but we shall never see her again, we can never more look upon her affectionate countenance, and we are inconsolable! We received her last orders that mourning should be worn only twenty-seven days; but we cannot be satisfied with this, and therefore, as is right, we ourselves shall put on the filial garb for a hundred days, twenty-seven of which we shall pass in deep mourning." By his command divine honors were rendered to her throughout the whole empire; and in every important city tablets were erected to commemorate her extraordinary virtues.

Tau-kwang passed the twenty-seven days near the coffin, dressed in sackcloth, fasting with severity, drinking nothing but water, and sleeping near the remains of the dead on a hard couch. This seems to have finally broken the health of the aged emperor, who died about the end of March, 1851, after a troubled reign of thirty years.

CHAPTER XIII.

RESULTS OF THE OPIUM WAR.

THE Opium War may be considered to be the grand crisis in the history of China—the point whence may be dated the change from the old things which had existed for twenty centuries to the new things which are to give her a place in the sisterhood of Christian nations, in the temple illuminated by the thousand new lamps wherewith modern scientific labors have dissipated the superstitions of the past, and cheered with new hopes and enjoyments the heart of man. Its decisive events have been related in the preceding chapter of this volume. It was watched with extraordinary interest by all the nations of the civilized world. Let us now proceed summarily to trace its results.

The most painful one was the ascendancy which it gave to those who used their power for the purpose of forcing opium upon the Chinese nation and for overawing or corrupting the officers of the government. And the advantage gained was pushed until it was consummated in the legalization of the opium trade. Not that there were not other objects before the mind of the British people; but the most valuable article of the commerce which they hoped to extend was opium; none

was more vitally connected with the prosperity of their finances in India, none more necessary as a commercial equivalent for Chinese exports. Opium has more than any other cause been at the bottom of the difficulties with the Chinese government and people for two generations past.

The growth of the use of opium by the people of this empire is one of the strange mysteries in the history of mankind. The poppy and its extract, opium, were known to the ancient world. The Jews seem to have employed its virtues as a narcotic several centuries before the Christian era.¹ The Greek and Latin classical writers often introduce allusions to it in their prose and poetry.² The Turks, Persians and several Asiatic nations have

¹ Neither of the words "poppy" or "opium" occurs in our translation of the Scriptures, but there are evident allusions in both the Old and New Testaments to the poppy, which abounds in Palestine. The capsules or "heads" of it are supposed by Gesenius to be referred to in the Hebrew (*rosh*) of Deut. xxxii. 32 and elsewhere. The word rendered "hemlock" in Hos. x. 4 is the same. The "water of gall," in Jer. viii. 14, was a decoction of it.

² HOMER gives us descriptions of the effects of opium as used on the coasts of the Mediterranean sea three thousand years ago. In the *Odyssey* (book x.) he narrates how Circe stupefied the companions of Eurylochus and then changed them to swine. The following is Pope's translation of the passage:

"On thrones around, with downy coverings graced,
With semblance fair, the unhappy men she placed.
Milk newly pressed, the sacred flour of wheat,
And honey fresh, and Pramnian wines, the treat;
But venom'd was the bread, and mix'd the bowl
With drugs of force to darken all the soul:
Soon in the luscious feast themselves they lost,
And drank oblivion of their native coast.
Instant her circling wand the goddess waves,
To hogs transformed them, and the sty receives.
No more was seen the human form divine;
Head, face and members bristle into swine.
Still curs'd with sense, their minds remain alone,
And their own voice affrights them when they groan."

long used it to a limited extent. But it was not till the present century that the demon of opium seemed to awake to the dreadful appetite for destruction, and go forth to be one of the direst enemies of the human race.

In China, the British, observing the passion of some of the Hindùs for its use, and the readiness with which it was communicated to the quiet and thoughtful Chinese, began to import it to Canton just before the period of the Revolutionary War in this country, and at a time when the profligacy and insane greed for money of Warren Hastings and his corrupt associates in the East India Company seemed to have stupefied the conscience of the nation. From a few hundreds of chests in a year the trade had grown at the time of the Opium War to thirty

The stimulating and intoxicating influence of opium was often infused into wine. This is described in book iv. of the same poem :

“Bright Helen mixed a mirth-inspiring bowl ;
 Tempered with drugs of sovereign use to assuage
 The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage ;
 To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,
 And dry the tearful sluices of despair.
 Charmed with that potent draught, the exalted mind
 All sense of woe delivers to the wind.
 Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,
 Or a loved brother groaned his life away,
 Or darling son, oppressed by ruffian force,
 Fell breathless at his feet, a mangled corse,
 From morn to eve, impassive and serene,
 The man entranced would view the deathful scene.”

The source whence the knowledge of these medicinal or intoxicating virtues was derived is mentioned. It was in Egypt, that India of the West:—

“Where prolific Nile
 With various simples clothes the fattened soil ;
 With wholesome herbage mixed, the direful bane
 Of vegetable venom taints the plain.”

thousand chests, and has now risen to eighty thousand chests yearly.

The effects of this dreadful poison upon the human system are utterly destructive to the health of the body and the clear use of the faculties of the mind, to the happiness of the unfortunate family of the victim, to his success in business and to his usefulness to society. The face becomes pale and haggard, the eyes moist and vacant, the whole expression miserable and idiotic. The body wastes to a skeleton, the joints are tortured with pain. The sensation of gnawing in the stomach when deprived of the drug is described by those addicted to its use to be like the tearing of its tender coats by the claws of an animal of prey, while a return to it fills the brain with horrid and tormenting visions like the mania of delirium tremens. I have seen strong men, when unable to obtain their accustomed dose, crazy with the suffering, the face crimsoned in some cases, and the perspiration streaming down in a shower. Few individuals of those whom it possesses are able to find a sufficient antidote. The subject lingers a few years, and a dreary and unpitied death ends the scene. This is the history of tens of thousands in China, as well as in other countries. This most terrible form of intemperance affects all classes of society, from the most powerful, wealthy and learned to the most wretched beggar. One sees the lowest and vilest, even the impoverished and rotten lepers without the walls of the cities, drunk with it. When they cannot find money to purchase the drug, they buy the dirt which remains after it is refined, and abjectly scrape the bowls of the pipes used by their more favored brethren, and smoke this refuse. Women learn the

habit from their husbands and brothers, and when the woeful penalty of this indulgence comes upon the family, they find in opium a ready and familiar instrument to cut the thread of life and drop into the gulf of an unknown and dark future.

The introduction of opium was resisted with the most noble fidelity to the best interests of his subjects by the emperor Tau-kwang. When importuned by some of the officers of the government to consent to the legalization of the trade, he replied that he would not consent to derive a revenue from that which destroyed the lives and happiness of his people. No words could present the case more strongly than those used by one of themselves, who thus describes the calamities which he saw around him or in the future: "Opium is the author of the most pressing evils to the nation, the consumer of its substance, the destroyer of its people, the corrupter of its officers and the plotter of its final subjugation."

At first, the foreign supply, with the severity of the laws against its cultivation and use, sufficed to prevent attempts toward a home production of opium. But of late years, in the west, and in provinces where the control of the government is less recognized, considerable quantities of it are now raised, adding probably to the total amount used in the empire not less than one-half more than the quantity which is obtained from abroad. When, beyond the loss produced by the sending out of the country about fifty millions of dollars a year in specie, and the abstraction of that vast sum from the industrial and commercial employments of the people, we consider that which arises from the devotion of a large number of people at home, and of a very extensive share of the

soil to the growth of this noxious plant, and the incalculable amount of corruption and vice which directly flow from the whole traffic, then we are able to imagine something of its general disastrous results to the nation.

If we would form a more exact conception of the greatness of the injury wrought by this poison, we must follow it to the homes of the individuals who use it, amounting to not less than twelve millions of adults, representing the interests, the moral character and the happiness of sixty millions of the population who suffer directly from its effects.

The profits of the opium trade to Great Britain are enormous—not less than twenty to twenty-five millions of dollars a year. According to the estimate of an English newspaper published in China,¹ the total profit from the time when the trade began until the year 1854 was in round numbers three hundred and ten millions of dollars, and from that time to the present it is three hundred and forty millions more. The total is about six hundred and fifty millions in sycee silver—that is, silver without alloy, paid by weight. This is the actual net profit to the producer upon a trade which amounts to from sixty to eighty thousand chests a year, which are worth in all from forty to sixty millions of dollars.²

¹ The *North China Herald*, of Shanghai.

² The total import of opium into China at fourteen ports (as computed by the *China Overland Trade Report*) amounted in 1866 to 81,750 chests. Of this amount, 37,775 chests contained Malwa opium, the average price of which at Hong-kong was \$807.70 per chest, amounting to \$30,510,867. The remaining 43,975 chests contained Patna and Benares opium, the average price of which was \$630.30 per chest, amounting to \$27,717,442. Adding these two quantities, we have the number of chests of opium imported into China in 1866, amounting in value to the sum of \$58,228,309. If we compare this with the balance of the commerce of foreign nations with that country, the conclusion is most painful.

The extent of the responsibility of the British government for the production and sale of opium I prefer to state in the words of one of its own subjects. The Calcutta correspondent of the London *Times* thus presents the case for the consideration of the readers of that influential paper:

“What are the facts? As to Bengal, I have gone through the poppy-fields of Shahabad, and have witnessed every detail of the manufacture in the enormous go-downs of Patna. Under a severe contract law, twice as penal as any that has ever been proposed for ordinary agricultural progress, and scouted by England, advances of money are annually made to the peasants of Behar, Benares and elsewhere. The state lies out of these advances for a year. Its establishment of highly-paid officials and oppressive or colluding native subordinates supervises every detail—the preparation of the fields, the sowing, the weeding, the scraping of the capsules, the collection of the crude juice, its transit to the state factory and its sale in Calcutta. Yet, in spite of its establishments, smuggling is the rule.

“The state of the case is this: China will have opium just as England will have gin and Scotland whisky.

The amount of tea exported from the open ports of China in 1866 was 1,183,042 peculs (of 140 lbs. each, amounting to 165,625,880 lbs.), which, at an average price of \$36 per pecul, amounted to \$42,589,512. The amount of raw silks exported from Chinese ports in 1866 was 32,462 peculs, which, at an average rate of \$600 per pecul, amounted to \$19,477,200. So that the entire exports of tea and raw silk were worth \$62,066,712; for which the Chinese received in imports beyond the opium mentioned but \$3,838,403, or about one-sixteenth of the value of what they gave.

In 1867, we learn from another source, the total value of the opium imported was 45,000,000 of taels, or about \$63,000,000. The total exports from China of tea and silk together, for the same year, were 49,500,000 taels, or \$69,300,000.

All facts go to show that the abuse of opium in China, while great, is by no means equal to that of alcohol in Europe. The moral question is not whether China may be supplied with opium, but whether England as a nation, as the ruling power of India, ought *in its official and national character*, to grow, manufacture and export the drug, the use of which has after two or three wars been legalized in China. Yet this is the position of England at this moment in relation to three-fourths of the opium exported from India."

What is the effect of the opium trade upon Christian missions? The writer, and every man who has been engaged in the work of preaching the gospel, healing the sick, instructing the young and disseminating the word of God, knows that the incessant and bitter objection urged by all classes to his efforts is that it is impossible that nations which carry opium in the right hand can have any boon of mercy in the left. An eminent official of the British government has, in a late work,¹ tried to throw the blame of the great hostility of the Chinese to the residence of foreigners at the ports which have been "opened" by the cannon and the sword, upon the Christian missionaries. He says in it: "What, in effect, is the natural and necessary effect of Christianity as the gospels have delivered it to us? Is it not of necessity antagonistic, entirely subversive to the whole scheme of government, which claims for the head of the state divine honors, and places the will of the emperor on the footing of a decree from Heaven?" No! It is subversive of the idolatry of the government, but not of the monarchical form of it. The emperor Con-

¹ SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, *Three Years in Japan*, chap. xxxvii.

stantine held the throne of Rome no less firmly when he inscribed the cross upon his standard, and exchanged the superstitions of paganism for the principles of justice and charity. Nor is the authority of Queen Victoria and of British law less submissively obeyed because the British people are disciples of Jesus Christ. The emperors Shun-chi and Kang-hi did not resist and persecute Christianity when it presented itself as a wise and beneficent system of truth, or until the sects of Roman priests contradicted its first reputation by their quarrels, covetousness and interference with the political affairs of the empire. Since the book referred to was written this gentleman has urged upon the government which he represents a restrictive policy with reference to missionary operations in the interior of China; and his views have been brought before Parliament by Lord Clarendon and other members. The consequence has been a reply containing a fair statement of the truth from the missionaries in China. They confirm this by some forcible illustrations. The following is one of them: A missionary was driven out of Ho-nan by a mob led on by the native gentry, whose feeling was shown by shouting these words after him, "You burned our palace; you killed our emperor; you sell poison to our people; now you come professing to teach us virtue!"

The opium traffic in India and China is the darkest stain upon the Christianity of the nineteenth century. Its calamitous effects are felt wherever the people of China emigrate and wherever the products of China are carried over the whole world. In the arrest of it the citizens of the United States are more deeply interested than any other people outside of China. Opium puts a

great stone in the path of the commerce with Eastern Asia; it hinders the development of departments of industry on our Pacific coast, which would discover and furnish numerous useful materials and manufactures to supply that commerce, and thus render great benefits to either continent; it is planting seeds of enervation, crime and disease in the Chinese who are coming to our shores, and creating corresponding vexation and injury to us; it keeps the sword of war continually unsheathed and wet with blood, the torch of conflagration constantly burning, and every puff of hostile wind distributing its sparks amidst materials which are ever ready to burn hotly; it makes the benevolent efforts of the preacher of the gospel of mercy, and of the Christian physician and teacher, appear like shallow and abominable hypocrisy, and the word of God itself something false and hateful, when offered by hands imbrued with so stupendous a crime against humanity and justice, against the conscience of man and against the laws of Heaven.

Would that it were possible to say that the hands of American merchants have not been stained by connivance with the crime of the opium trade in China! We are grateful to God that it has not been made "an official and national" business "to grow, manufacture and export the drug" by any other nation than Great Britain and its Indian dependencies. But our ships have helped to convey and distribute the poison; our merchants have partaken to some extent in the profits of the work; and we have given it a garment of respectability by the deceitful pleas with which we have palliated its enormity.

Nor do we lightly or censoriously tell the tale of

England's shame. She is our great Protestant sister amidst the European nations; the nearest to us in blood and spirit; and the one most interested with us in breaking every yoke and letting the oppressed go free, in sending forth the light which alone can dispel the gross darkness of the heathen. But in the spirit of one of her faithful sons we would point out her offences, that they may be amended. The opium trade was begun by a most unprincipled and avaricious Company. One of her noblest poets has painted its picture. His admonition as to the end of such policy should be heeded:

“ Merchants, unimpeachable of sin
 Against the charities of domestic life,
 Incorporated, seem at once to lose
 Their nature; and, disclaiming all regard
 For mercy and the common rights of man,
 Build factories with blood, conducting trade
 At the sword's point, and dyeing the white robe
 Of innocent commercial justice red.”—
 Britain “is rigid in denouncing death
 On petty robbers; and indulges life
 And liberty, and oftentimes honor too,
 To peculators of the public gold,
 That thieves at home must hang; but he that puts
 Into his gorged and bloated purse
 The wealth of Indian provinces, escapes;
 Nor is it well, nor can it come to good.”¹

The reign of the emperor Tau-kwang will be commemorated in history on another account than that of the direct events of the Opium War. In the forests, when a fire has burned off the old trees of one kind, it is observed that it is another kind generally which springs up vigorously in its place. So the great Husbandman orders it with the race of man. The calamities of

¹ WM. COWPER, *Task*, books i. and iv.

View near Canton





nations—war, pestilence, famine—allow Him to plant among them some better seed and secure some more useful crop. Great religious reformatations are often seen to follow them.

For twenty-seven years previous to the termination of the charter of the East India Company, a solitary, humble Dissenting minister, amidst the unconcealed contempt and scoffing of its aristocratic merchants and clerks, sat engaged in the great elementary work of Christian missions, the compilation of a dictionary and the translation of the revelation of God to man into the language of the people. The company's charter expired in the year 1834; and in that year he died. Its work and his work were to give place to a new order of things.

Morrison was joined at Canton but four years previous to his death by Bridgman, an American. The life of this first missionary from our country was spent, chiefly, in company with S. W. Williams, who had also charge of the printing, in the editorship of the *Chinese Repository*, a monthly magazine which for twenty years continued to pour out information designed to inform and interest our country and Great Britain in regard to the character, literature, public affairs and religion and spiritual wants of the empire of China. It has been replaced by several weekly newspapers published by foreigners at the ports open to their trade; by another monthly missionary periodical, the *Chinese Recorder*, issued recently by the American Methodist missionaries at Fuh-chau; and by several periodical publications at various ports in the Chinese language and character.

New translations of the Scriptures in more idiomatic Chinese have been made by Drs. Medhurst and Gutzlaff,

by missionaries connected with Baptist societies, and by a committee of missionaries of different societies meeting at Shanghai, in behalf of the great Bible Societies of this country and Great Britain. The last mentioned is the most satisfactory, yet it must in time yield to some one more perfect, in which Oriental students of the Oriental styles of thought and illustration shall be able to give to the Church of the Land of Sinim a translation which shall be universally acceptable and permanent.

The living expositor, taking the Word in his hand, followed the openings of commerce. Chapels were speedily opened at ports where foreigners were allowed to resort, and in the neighboring villages. And multitudes of the Chinese crowded to see and hear them—to see their strange raiment; and to hear warnings against the worship of gods, sages and ancestors, which in some breasts aroused bitter scorn and rage, but in others curiosity to know what better things these men had to give, for many are weary of the silly and vapid fables which their fathers brought from India.

Numerous translations of foreign books, or compilations from them in Chinese, were prepared by the missionaries; among which were histories of the world, of the United States and of the Jewish nation; treatises on geography, astronomy, medicine, anatomy and vaccination; almanacs filled with a variety of information; and other volumes and tracts suitable for family reading and to interest both young and old readers.

Next in the train followed missionary hospitals. Charitable surgeons of the East India Company had done something for the relief of the unlimited amount of suffering about them. In 1835, Dr. Peter Parker

commenced a hospital at Macao, which was transferred to Canton. Several thousands of patients each year have received gratuitous medicines from its dispensary or been cared for in its wards. The writer enjoyed the privilege of assisting there in medical labors and in preaching stately the gospel in the native tongue, while residing in that city. The institution is now under the care of Dr. J. G. Kerr. Several pupils have been made well acquainted with medical science by the instruction there furnished. Some of the most distinguished officers and gentry of the province and of other parts of the empire have been indebted to the hospital for relief. And probably millions of copies of tracts and Christian gospels have been distributed thence, with the glowing tongue of grateful patients to interpret their truths, to every part of the country. Several other hospitals have followed in the work of doing good to both body and soul; those at Ningpo, Shanghai and Hong-kong have been specially useful. A medical society, supported by contributions from the foreign merchants, has for more than twenty years paid the expenses of medicines and other necessaries. The building was generously furnished for the hospital at Canton by Howqua, a leading Chinese merchant, who thus became in reality the principal contributor to its support.

Provision for the education of the young was the next step in the great work of Christian missions. The Morrison Education Society, formed at Hong-kong, established a school in 1835 as a monument to the memory of the founder of Protestant missions in China. Its pupils have been well trained, and several of them have become efficient and useful men in various spheres of

life. The missions of the several boards and societies represented in China—American, British, or composed of men from the continent of Europe—have generally aimed to plant good schools at their more prominent stations. Thousands of youths have in these been taught the most useful elements of our knowledge and the principles of Christianity. Some of the young men have been made acquainted with the more advanced departments of science. A few of the most promising of them have been sent to institutions of learning in America and Great Britain; and, what will seem almost incredible to our people, they have not only held their own as students in competition with those of our own race, but some of them have taken prizes or honors in various departments, as in botany, whose nomenclature at least might have been supposed too difficult for a native of China to master, and in English composition.

And yet the missionary work was but in its infancy at this period. Missionaries dared not go much beyond the six ports opened by the several treaties, and a few localities in their immediate vicinity; and even in those places life and property were not safe, and the labors of missionaries were hampered by the restrictions of the government and the opposition of the people. And yet the seed sown was taking root far and wide. There were evidences that people even in remote provinces were hearing of the new truths which strangers from the West preached to their countrymen, and were beginning to inquire what they meant. The Christian Scriptures were carried even to the palace of the emperor.

Tau-kwang—the “Light of Reason”—was succeeded on the throne by his son Yih-chu, with the title of

Hien-fung—"Universal Prosperity;" alas that the promises of hope should so often become the mock of experience! Instead of agricultural prosperity, the reign of the young monarch was ushered in with a widespread and exhausting famine. This, as usual, was followed by pestilence. The cities and villages became scenes of indescribable wretchedness; the poor being driven by suffering to desperation and crime, and the rich to severity toward them and to dissatisfaction with the government. The young and inexperienced emperor, worn out with vain attempts to relieve and propitiate his subjects, gave himself at length to indifference, and retreated to the chambers of the seraglio and the society of truculent courtiers, for peace. The western portion of the empire, remote and comparatively independent, was overrun with bands of robbers, and its population was banded in treasonable associations. The officers of government were inefficient and corrupt. There were witnessed such scenes of universal vice and misery as those which so often in European history have prepared the way for great and radical reformations.

In the summer of 1850 the foreigners upon the sea-coast began to hear rumors of a strange religious movement in the interior, under the name of Christianity. A remarkable man, named Hung Sew-tsuen, at this time about thirty-seven years of age, had in his twentieth year, when animated with the ambition for liberty and political distinction which is common with the brighter youths of China, gone to present himself at an annual examination in Canton. There our faithful old friend Leung A-fah, the preacher and colporteur,

put into his hands, as he did into those of thousands of others each year, some copies of Christian books compiled from the Scriptures or explanatory of them. He threw them carelessly aside on reaching home, after some superficial scanning of their contents. Four years afterward, strange dreams or visions during a period of sickness brought some of their features to remembrance. But their truths did not powerfully affect him till 1847, when a friend of his became acquainted with these books, urged them upon his attention, and together they began the anxious study of their truths. The great doctrines of Christianity, even dimly seen through the medium of an idolatrous education, and interpreted by the stern precepts and examples of the Mosaic books, so fired the hearts of these lonely men that they could not but speak what they believed. Hung Sew-tsuen determined to revisit Canton and search out the disciples of his new creed. He found the Rev. I. J. Roberts, a Baptist missionary, who gave him further instruction, but refused, on account of his imperfect acquaintance with him, to baptize him or license him to preach.

He went back home, and commenced, with the addition of numerous converts made already by the labors of his believing kinsmen and friends, to preach his mongrel but earnest creed. They resisted the exactions of the surrounding idolaters, were persecuted, driven to organize, arm and discipline themselves for self-defence, then, encouraged by success, to destroy idol temples and priests and make battle with the local government. Their numbers increased. In October, 1850, they won an important victory over the imperial soldiery. They moved northward, conquering as they went. The prov-

inces of Kwang-si and Ho-nan were subdued. In March, 1853, they besieged the populous and rich capital of the last native dynasty, Nanking, and in eleven days took it by storm, having effected an entrance through a breach made in the northern wall by springing a mine. They put the Manchu garrison and their families, twenty thousand in all, to the sword. Their discipline until this time had been most severe and efficient. They strictly punished crimes, and counted in the list the use of opium. They observed the Jewish Sabbath with the scrupulousness of the ancient Pharisees; and the effect of their hymns, as sung by the strong masculine voices of many thousands of soldiers in the acts of worship, is described by the American and European visitors who went from Shanghai to see them as very grand and inspiring.

The Christian world was thrilled with the first news which reached them from Nanking of this wonderful movement. It seemed as if a nation had been born in a day, and as if the prophecies of Isaiah as to the mighty victories of the gospel were indeed about to be realized. But it soon became manifest that there was much political corruption, proud fanaticism and heathen ignorance of the principles of Christian truth mixed with it all. It was a mercy of Heaven that this revolution was brought to naught. A campaign against Peking failed. The European powers expelled them from the vicinity of the ports of Shanghai and Ningpo. Their discipline grew lax. Their forces were dispersed and demoralized. And the last sad scene of all this bright promise was the fall of Nanking in July, 1864, when multitudes of the miserable remnant of their host were mercilessly slaugh-

tered by the triumphant and revengeful imperialists. The poor man who started to be the reformer of his native empire came to a bloody end by his own hands.

This strange moral tempest in the sultry and diseased atmosphere of China, while it left wrecks in its course, yet did something to purify it. It taught the empire that there is one true God, the Creator and Governor of all. It made the claims of the Sabbath universally and forcibly understood. It lifted a protest against the curse of opium, at least for the time, even though some of these men fell afterward into its use. It distributed many hundreds of thousands of copies of the Scriptures, to be a seed which in his own time God will water in the hearts of millions with the influences of the Holy Spirit, and make a great means in the final renovation of Eastern Asia. And it is something most affecting, among the ravings of fanaticism and folly, to find in the proclamations of the leaders of this Tai-ping rebellion many of the most precious and consolatory Christian truths and announcements, such as these: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand."—"The whole world together sings the songs of peace."—"Jesus came into the world to ransom sinners by his death, and became an atonement for ten thousand times ten thousand of the inhabitants of the world." Not China alone will feel the power of this movement. To save his own capital the terrified emperor sent into the wilds of the north, and brought thence, to contend with the Tai-pings, large forces of Manchu and other Tartars, who were thus made acquainted with their principles and printed books. It was to no small extent by their efforts that Peking was

delivered. Many a Christian Bible has been carried back by them to the tents of their tribes.

The government was also under the necessity of calling in European and American aid. Several able officers were employed to drill native troops, which they did so successfully as to make them quite effective in battle. The manifest superiority of the people of Western nations in the art of war has greatly increased the respect of the Chinese for them, and prepared the way for the introduction of the sciences of peace.

Having briefly sketched the Tai-ping rebellion, we may return to observe that the brief reign of Hien-fung was made memorable by the tremendous calamities inflicted upon his country and capital by a war of another character, and with foreign powers.

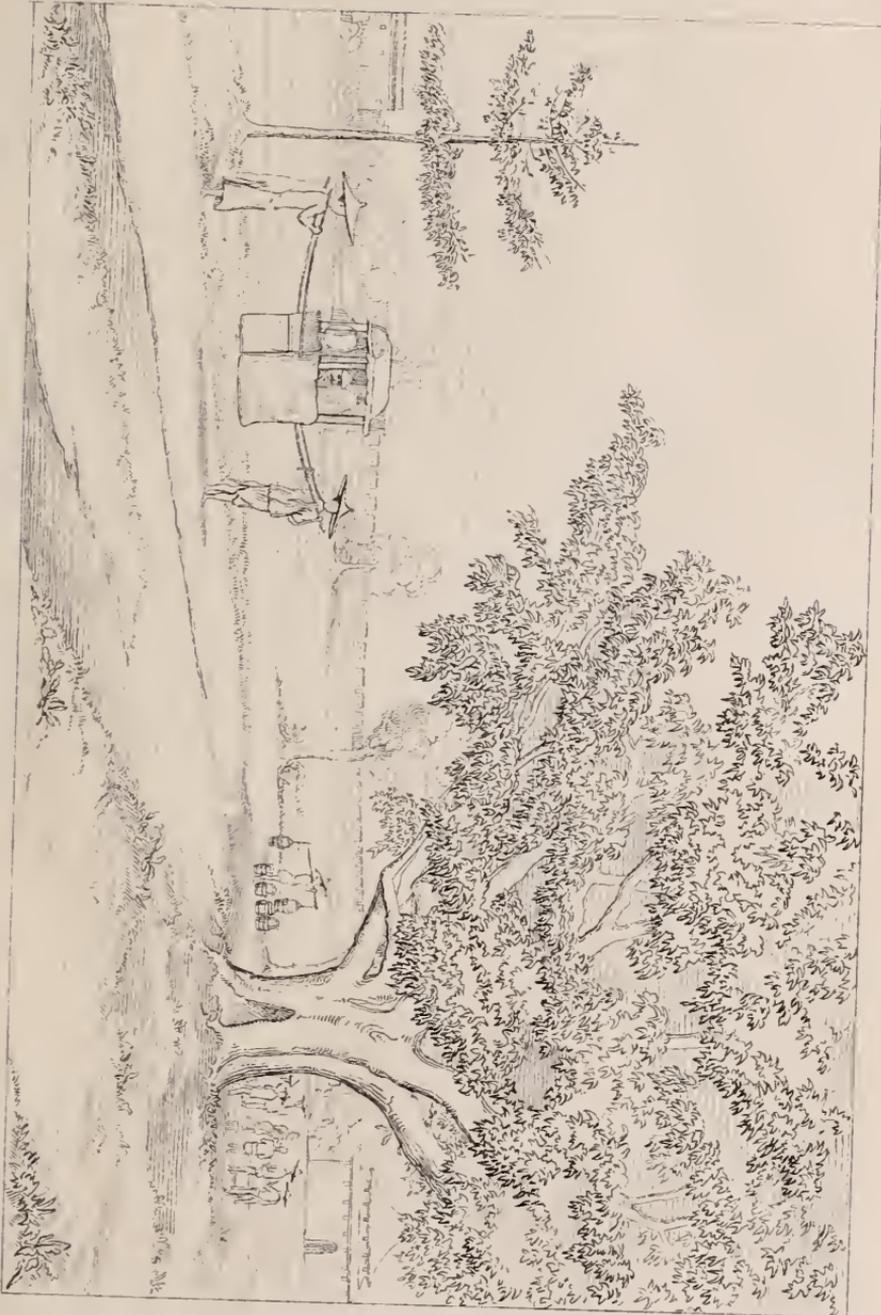
The Opium War was far from subduing the pride of the Chinese. At Canton the population refused to accept the British interpretation of the treaties made at its close. Those of us who resided there were subject to the incidents of a prolonged conflict. Difficulties frequently occurred in which foreigners or natives were killed; and we could not go into the streets of Canton without meeting bitter insults and personal hazard, or venture into its suburbs or the neighboring villages with the assurance of a return alive. At the north, too, there were occasional troubles. At Shanghai they arose in connection with questions relating to the introduction of opium, the payment of duties, and the reasonable resistance of the Chinese authorities to the efforts of foreign merchants to extend their excursions and trade into the interior. Fruitless attempts were made by the British, French and Americans to obtain concessions of larger

liberty. They and the Chinese were mutually irritated.

At length, in 1856, the smouldering fire burst forth, and, as has been too often the case in China, in a way to put Christian nations apparently in the wrong and the Chinese in the right. It had been for some time, in consequence of the disordered state of things upon the coast, the habit of the English authorities at Hong-kong to grant the protection of the British flag to native vessels engaged in carrying passengers and merchandise.¹ These vessels, however, often took opium on board, using the dread of the British power as a shield under which to smuggle it into the interior. A Chinese vessel on the Canton river, manned by Chinese, and thus engaged in smuggling, but whose register had expired a month before, was seized by the Chinese officers. The governor, Teh, at first refused to surrender the crew, averring as an additional reason that some of them were pirates; but, in compliance with the determined demands of the British, he at length sent them back, without an apology. He, however, subsequently promised not to seize foreign craft, but required that foreign nations should not sell registers to Chinese vessels.

¹ The English newspapers at the time complained bitterly of the injury which this practice was doing to their own legitimate commerce. The *Friend of China*, published at Hong-kong, declared that it tended to prolong the rebellion. That paper said: "Canton's character for supplying furniture of cunning workmanship must soon cease altogether, unless we have a change; the best of the bamboo-workers and hard-wood carvers having gone to the wars. Quiescent as matters appear on the surface, we doubt whether the rebellion was ever before at such a stage of what may be termed 'scientific action,' as it is now; and if foreign powers will but hold aloof, the thing may work out quicker than at present is generally expected. To Sir John Bowring's mischievous practice last year of granting the British flag to the Chinese vessels, are we now indebted for the long delay and its attendant consequences."

Outside of the City Wall, Canton.



For this "insult" of capturing a vessel of their own nation, engaged in the violation of their laws, and in introducing a poison which was destroying multitudes of their people, it was resolved that the Chinese must be punished.

The first flagrant act of the war then inaugurated was the bombardment of the great metropolis of southern China in December, the destruction of a wealthy and important portion of the city, the slaughter of many innocent people, the beggary of many through the plundering of their property by the Chinese rabble amidst the confusion, and the subjection of the place to the control of a garrison of British and French soldiers for two years. Amidst these scenes of horror were some that were very affecting. One of them was the distress occasioned in a benevolent institution, the "Asylum for Indigent Females," through its being occupied by the foreign troops; another was the carrying forth by the Chinese of the coffins of their deceased kindred, which many of them seemed more anxious to bear away from the dangers of warfare and conflagration than to save their wealth and furniture, or even their own lives.

It may be briefly stated that in 1858 the allied forces went to the Pei-ho river with the purpose to reach Peking; they took the fortifications at its mouth, but were met by commissioners of the Chinese government, who formed with them a treaty, which was signed on the 26th of June. The force which went on shore at the taking of the forts found, in his rooms in a temple, the body of the commanding officer, Teh Kwei, covered with his own blood, which he had shed by cutting his throat, rather than submit to the degradation and ruin inflicted

upon himself and his family by his defeat. A touching and affectionate poem in memory of his deceased wife, by the commissioner Tan Ting-siang, who was afterward banished to the frontier for his misfortune in being connected with this calamity, was also picked up.

In the treaty of Tien-tsin are found two conspicuous articles. One guarantees the protection of the Chinese government to Christianity, with the preface that "the Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by." Upon this point it may be remarked that in the British treaty at the close of the Opium War in 1842 the subject of Christianity was not mentioned. It is not strange that after the East India Company had systematically labored to prevent Christian missions for two hundred years, these diplomatists should be loth to assume any interest in them. The commissioner Lagrené made provision for the protection of Christians in the French treaty of the following year. The other article in the treaty of Tien-tsin states that in evidence of her desire for the continuance of a friendly understanding, her majesty the queen of Great Britain consents to receive the "sum of two millions of taels (\$2,800,000) on account of losses sustained by British subjects through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton, and a further sum of two millions of taels (\$2,800,000 additional—making \$5,600,000 in specie) on account of the military expenses of the expedition which her majesty the queen has been compelled to send out for the purpose of obtaining redress, and of enforcing the due observance of treaty provisions;" which was to be paid "by the authorities of the

Kwang-tung (Canton) province." There was another very memorable result of this treaty. In the tariff based upon the treaty, which was settled subsequently by a commission of two representatives from each nation, the legalization of the trade in opium was so urgently pressed by the English that the Chinese yielded their consent to its introduction, subject to a duty of thirty taels (forty-two dollars) per chest.

The next year the Chinese met in a very different manner from what they had anticipated the English and French, who appeared off the Pei-ho to have their treaties ratified, accompanied by several American and Russian vessels of war, containing representatives of those nations, which had also effected treaties. They had thoroughly fortified the mouth of the river, and refused the fleet admittance, and repulsed the attacks made by the allies both from sea and shore with a mortifying and disastrous defeat. In 1860 the allies returned with heavy reinforcements both of vessels and troops, destroyed the defences of the river, and soon took possession of the imperial capital.

The sacking of one of the luxurious palaces of the Chinese emperor was a scene such as has had few parallels in the rapine of modern war. The wealth of Eastern rulers is accumulated in depositories of costly robes of ermine, sable, sea-otter, Astrakhan lamb and other rare furs, or of rich satin loaded with splendid embroidery; in stores of silk and crape in rolls; in magnificent collections of vases and other ancient porcelain, and figures in jade and other stones; in vessels of gold, silver and bronze, of great value; in caskets of ornaments, glittering with diamonds, pearls, emeralds, rubies and

other precious stones; in museums of curiosities from foreign lands—clocks, watches, musical instruments and specimens of curious machinery and art; in large mirrors; in images and articles connected with the worship of the gods. Added to these are libraries of books, maps and pictures, and much that is of real and permanent value.

Into these great depositories of Oriental wealth, which had been multiplying for centuries, the regiments of European and Hindù soldiers, maddened by liquor, utterly beyond all restraint of their officers, profanely plunged, to gorge themselves with what pleased their drunken fancy, and to destroy an equal amount out of the pure love of destruction. They dashed the vessels and figures through the mirrors; knocked down chandeliers with clubs; smashed to pieces or took off porcelain jars and jade-stone figures and curious carvings of ivory; and carried away cartloads of costly silks and heaps of yellow imperial robes and court costumes. Low and vile men made themselves rich with the secret treasures of royalty. The officers shared in the intoxication of the hour. Some loaded their horses with the costly spoil and walked leading them to the camp. And the defenceless chambers of princes were crowded, after the foreign soldiery had left, with hundreds of native marauders from the neighborhood, who satiated themselves with the strange pillage. It was a grand national burglary!

For weeks after this scene of stupendous robbery the troops held a carnival of license. They turned upon their native companions in plunder and stripped their houses of their ill-gotten wealth. The want of coin to

pay for the liquor and the eatables they wanted was supplied by a factitious currency of articles stolen. Thus a roll of silk, which was worth in China fifteen to twenty-five dollars, and in this country two or three times that amount, was rated at one dollar. It was a sutlers' paradise.

Poor Hien-fung, on the approach of the "foreign demons," fled in terror to Jeh-ho, the summer retreat of his family in Tartary. There, crushed with mortification and abandoning himself to dissipation, he died the next year (August 22, 1861), at the early age of thirty.

Amidst the bloodshed and desolations of the war with China there was One overruling all for the accomplishment of His omnipotent ends of good, "calling a ravenous bird" from the West—"the man that executed his counsel from a far country." The immediate fruit of the British treaty was the opening of the new ports of Niu-chwang far to the north, Tung-chau in the northern province of Shan-tung, Tai-wan in the beautiful and fertile island of Formosa, Chau-chau or Swatow, east of Canton, and Kiang-chau in the large island of Hai-nan on the southern sea-coast, west of Canton; to these was added afterward Tien-tsin, the seaport of Peking. Treaties have since been made with Belgium, Italy and other secondary powers of Europe, which have added also to the advantages of the rest, inasmuch as each has usually claimed the introduction in its articles of a clause assuring to it all the privileges granted to "the most favored nation." Thus in the treaty with Denmark, in 1863, sixteen ports are enumerated as being open for trade, among which appear those of Nanking, Hang-chau, Chin-kiang and Kiu-kiang; the advantages allowed in

regard to trade on the Yang-tsz-kiang river are important; the coasting trade is thrown open to foreign shipping, and the restrictions are removed from the exportation of some important articles of food.

The chief anxiety of the French in their recent claims has been for increased protection to the Roman Catholic missions, through which chiefly their political influence is maintained. Thus we find the following article in their late treaty :

“The Christian religion, having for its essential object to lead men to virtue, the members of all Christian bodies (communions) shall enjoy full security for their persons, their property and the free exercise of their religious worship; and entire protection shall be given to missionaries who peacefully enter the country furnished with passports, such as are described in article eight. No obstacles shall be interposed by the Chinese authorities to the recognized right of any person in China to embrace Christianity if he pleases, and to obey its requirements without being subject on that account to any penalty. Whatever has been heretofore written, proclaimed or published in China, by order of government, against the Christian faith, is wholly abrogated and nullified in all of the provinces of the empire.”

The government of France means by “the Christian religion” simply Romanism. It is advancing the interests of Roman Catholic missions by all the means at its command. The French minister has recently secured from the Chinese government an edict granting to the foreign priests the right to decide all questions of law between their followers and those natives who do not profess Romanism. The priests are thoroughly in con-

cert with their political supporters, and are working with great energy to regain the political influence which they enjoyed two centuries ago. Their statistics are not to be relied on. Multitudes whom they claim as Christians are simply idolaters baptized in the name of the Trinity, with no Christian knowledge, faith or life. But it is asserted by the Romanists that they possess throughout the empire twenty-four Catholic missions, under the charge of nineteen bishops and five apostolic prefects, who are of French, Italian, Spanish and Belgian origin. Each bishop has under him from four to twenty European missionaries. Each mission is subdivided into districts, according to the number of European missionaries. They claim several thousand native Christians in each mission. They profess to have twenty-four seminaries, in which natives are taught Latin, philosophy and theology; and numerous schools and orphan asylums. The most important college is near Shanghai, and has three hundred pupils, who are taught trades, painting, drawing and Chinese literature, and some are sent to Peking to take the degrees. The missions support several printing-establishments, and have issued several works on mathematics and theology. The French government has demanded, and obtained, the restoration of large amounts of property, formerly belonging to various orders of missionaries, which had been confiscated when they were banished from the empire. Their successors are employing this to re-establish themselves firmly in some of the principal cities. At Canton they are rearing a magnificent cathedral, which it is expected will cost three millions of dollars, overshadowing in size and effect every other edifice in the city. One at as great a

cost is to be built in Peking; others are in progress in other cities.

It requires little explanation to show the anxiety which the advances of Romanism awaken in the mind of the Chinese government. Having in view the experience of his grandfather Shun-chi, and his father Kang-hi, the emperor Yung-ching, upon whom, previous to his accession to the throne, they had counted as a friend, presented the reasons for it in words which are remembered by those who have succeeded him until this day. He well knew the control which the Roman priests assume over the political actions of their people. He said:

“Certain Europeans in the province of Fu-kien have been endeavoring to defeat our laws and trouble our people. The chief men of the province have applied to me, and I must repress this disorder. It is the business of the government with which I am charged; and I neither can nor ought to act now as I did when I was a private prince. You say that your creed is not a false one, and I grant this. But what would you say if I were to send a troop of Buddhist priests and lamas into your country to preach their creed? How would you receive them? You wish to make Christians of the Chinese, and that is what your creed demands, I know very well; but what, in that case, would become of us? The subjects of your king, the Christians whom you make, recognize no authority but you; in times of trouble they would listen to no other voice. I know well enough that there is nothing to fear at present, but when your ships shall come by thousands and tens of thousands, then, indeed, we may have disturbances.”

An unanticipated but very important effect of the war was the opportunity which it gave to Russia to settle favorably to herself several long-standing questions of difficulty with China, and to secure the cession to her of a vast district of territory which she had long coveted in vain. The Russians began to settle in Siberia about the year 1587. By the treaty of Nerchinsk, made in 1689, it was agreed that the dividing line between the Russian territories and those of the Mongols and Manchus subject to the Chinese should be the river Amoor and the range of mountains bordering the valley of the Amoor on the north. In order to watch her interests in Eastern Asia, in 1728 Russia succeeded in establishing a mission at Peking, which was to be renewed each ten years. She has gradually appropriated extensive portions of Sungaria. The war with England and France afforded an opportunity not to be lost for urging a claim to the valley of the Amoor river, which is the artery of communication between Eastern Siberia and the Pacific ocean, and the key to mining and agricultural regions of great value to her. Russia had already been pressing colonization to that region. A treaty was made, on the behalf of Russia, by Count Nicholas Muravief, governor of Eastern Siberia, May 28, 1858, at Aigun. This was repudiated, on the ground of some informality, by the Chinese government. A general treaty of peace between the two empires was, however, concluded by Count Putiatin, at Tien-tsin, June 13, 1858, in which Prince Kung represented the Chinese government. In 1860 another opportunity arose. Amidst the troubles of that year the demand for the cession of the northern shore of the Amoor was again urged; and on the 14th of No-

vember the Russian ambassador, M. Ignatief, signed another treaty with Prince Kung at Peking, by which that and far more was yielded. The vast regions between the Amoor river and the Olekma mountains, extending from the forty-eighth to the fifty-sixth degree of latitude, and from the one hundred and eighteenth to the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude, with a tract several degrees in width running down the coast of Manchuria below the forty-third degree, were handed over to Russia, so far as the document shows, without an equivalent. The same treaty granted to the Russians, who had before been limited to Kiakhta, the right to trade at Urga and Kalgan, with ground for a trading-post and church at Kashgar. Arrangements were also made for frequent and rapid mail communications between St. Petersburg and Peking by way of Kiakhta. These have been much increased since that time, so that now our earliest telegraphic news from Peking comes by way of St. Petersburg. A portion of the territory granted by the treaty, it is true, had been long claimed by Russia. Its extent has been estimated to be over three hundred and sixty thousand square miles, which is equal to the surface of the New England and Middle States, with the Atlantic States of the South down to the Florida line. It contains valuable mines. Its commercial and industrial resources will be rapidly developed by the Russian "Amoor Company," incorporated in 1858 with a capital of \$800,000, and power to increase it to \$2,250,000. The trade with California has already been considerable. In 1861 there were eleven steamers running on the Amoor river, seven of them iron. Four of the eleven had been obtained in

America, and several others were soon to be added to the number there.

The Amoor is estimated to be over two thousand miles in length. The two branches which form it, called the Argun and Shilka, extend several hundred miles farther into the heart of the continent. The chief value of the vast country which the Amoor opens up to commerce lies in its mines. Gold, platinum, silver, lead, copper, iron, arsenic, marble, precious stones of various kinds, coal of good quality and salt, have been found in it. The sable, ermine and other furs exported have been valuable. Pearls have been found in some of the rivers. Large quantities of ginseng are dug by the Chinese on the Usuri, a southern branch of the Amoor, the sales of which in one year have amounted to two hundred thousand dollars. The port at the mouth of the Amoor is Nicolayevsk. The Russians are exporting thence their metals, woolen cloths, leather, glass and hemp, and receiving in return the products of China, Japan and the west coast of North America. The trade is, however, yet in its infancy. The Russian government is pushing its railroad connections toward Chita, on the head-waters of the Amoor (52° N. 113° W.). And it is urging the colonization of the valley of the Amoor. It has recently offered to the Fins, who have suffered greatly from the failure of crops in their own country, inducements in the shape of tracts of farming-lands, loans of money to procure cattle and agricultural implements, and freedom from taxes for twenty-four years. The influence of these colonies upon the future history of China will be very important.

The foreign commerce of China has increased im-

mensely during the past few years. Previous to the termination of the charter of the East India Company, in 1834, the exports amounted to about thirteen millions of dollars a year, and the imports to ten and a half millions; in a dozen years afterward they had more than doubled; in 1868 the total exports were one hundred and three and a half millions of dollars, the imports one hundred and ten millions. The chief articles imported were opium, various kinds of cotton and woolen goods, the precious metals and coal. Six-sevenths of the whole trade is carried on with Great Britain and her Asiatic and Australian colonies.¹

The extent and character of the commerce between the continent of Europe and China has been greatly changed by the gradual increase of the facilities for it by the way of the isthmus of Suez. The first attempt to open an overland route for the mails and passengers

¹ The following is a summary of the total foreign trade for the year 1868 :

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
Great Britain.....	\$36,718,000	\$63,062,000	\$99,780,000
Hong-kong.....	23,510,000	13,455,000	36,965,000
India.....	39,147,000	396,000	39,543,000
Australia and New Zealand.....	1,102,000	4,428,000	5,530,000
Straits Settlements and Cape.....	1,116,000	506,000	1,622,000
Canada.....	355,000	355,000
Total for Great Britain and depend'cies.....	101,593,000	82,202,000	183,795,000
United States.....	1,249,000	9,875,000	11,124,000
Continent of Europe and Channel Islands.....	489,000	7,831,000	8,320,000
Japan.....	3,921,000	1,405,000	5,326,000
Siam and Cochin-China.....	1,612,000	186,000	1,798,000
Philippine Islands and Java.....	870,000	618,000	1,488,000
Russia (overland), Siberia and Amoor provinces.....	141,000	1,207,000	1,348,000
South America.....	102,000	348,000	450,000
Grand total.....	\$109,977,000	103,672,000	213,649,000

to the East was made by Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn of the British navy. He encountered great difficulties, having been compelled to make part of his transit upon the Red sea in an open boat. But his indomitable energy and courage triumphed over every obstacle and proved the feasibility of this route. An attempt in 1838 to obtain the co-operation of the merchants in China failed; but in 1844 he succeeded in interesting the Lords of the Admiralty and British merchants in the establishment of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company, which, in August, 1845, commenced to run a monthly steamer from Suez, by Point de Galle in Ceylon, to Hong-kong. The first vessel that arrived in China was the *Lady Mary Wood*, which brought the mails in fifty days from London. The mail service is now performed semi-monthly, and is extended to Shanghai and other ports to the north, and to Yokohama in Japan. The ports on the Mediterranean where connections are made in order to avoid the length of the sea-passage to Southampton are Marseilles, Trieste, and recently Brindisi in Italy.

No achievement of the age is more grand and memorable than that of the completion of the Suez Canal, which reopens, after it had been closed at least twelve centuries, the communication between the Red sea and the Mediterranean. Conceived by Sesostris about the time of the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt, partly excavated by Pharaoh Necos previous to the Babylonish captivity of that people, again undertaken by Darius the Persian,¹ completed by the Greek

¹ HERODOTUS (ii. 258) describes the course of the canal. He says that Pharaoh Necos sacrificed the lives of a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians in excavating it, and that he did not complete it, in consequence of an oracle which

Ptolemies, and after long disuse again opened for a time by the Mohammedan Khalif Omar in the seventh century of our era, the history of this work covers more than three thousand years of time, and shows how important the commercial ends which could thus inspire so many dynasties of rulers. The route of the ancient canal was explored by the officers of Napoleon Bonaparte during his campaign in Egypt. Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, after overcoming difficulties which would have discouraged any mind but one capable of appreciating the grandeur and usefulness of the enterprise, and of looking to the perpetuation of his name in all future history as his chief personal reward, has succeeded in uniting the two seas, at an expense of eighty millions of dollars. The canal is one hundred miles in length, three hundred feet wide at the surface of the water, and twenty-four feet deep. It connects Port Said on the Mediterranean with Suez on the Red sea. The distance to the ports of the East will be made about nine thousand miles shorter to vessels sailing from the commercial centres of Western Europe, and seven thousand miles to those from our seaports, than by the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. It is estimated that six millions of tons of merchandise will annually pass through this gateway of the oceans, and that the income from it will be twelve millions of dollars. Passengers from England will reach Hong-kong in China in nearly the same time by Suez or by the Pacific Railroad across

warned him against it as being a work that would accrue to the benefit of barbarian nations.

RAWLINSON, in a note upon the above passage, says that a stone at Suez is inscribed in the Persian cuneiform character with the words, "Darius, the Great King."

this continent and the Pacific mail steamers from San Francisco—that is, in forty-one to forty-three days.

The past few years of the internal history of the Chinese empire have been, like those preceding, full of troubles. In the provinces north of the Yellow river large districts, laid waste by previous rebellions, remain waste and desolate, and have been overrun by another crop of the same pestilent marauders, who are designated the Nien-fi or “Northern Rebels.” Three years ago they several times defeated large imperial forces sent against various divisions of them, and threatened the great cities of Chefoo, Han-kau on the Yangtsz-kiang river, and even the capital itself. But little danger, however, is now apprehended from them.

The present condition of the western provinces of China it is difficult to ascertain. The country in the south-west is mountainous, and partially inhabited by tribes of people who differ much from the Chinese in customs, language and religion. There is a large Mohammedan element, which has found its home there for some centuries at least. Marco Polo says that the population of that part of the empire six hundred years ago consisted of a mixture of idolaters, Nestorian Christians and Saracens or Mohammedans. The latter, according to the Chinese accounts, were the descendants of some tribes who were called in by the emperors of the Tang dynasty in the years 750 to 800 A.D., to aid them in quelling domestic rebellions. They are denominated by the Chinese “Hwuy-sz,” or “Hwui-hwui,” which means the Ouigour Tartars. The most intelligent of them read the Koran in Arabic. They are described as more fair and taller than the Chinese. Many of them wear turbans.

It is declared by British officers in India, who have seen documents circulated in Nepal by these Mohammedans, that in the year 1855 those of them who were working in the Lu-sunfu silver mines of Yun-nan rebelled against the Chinese government, and elected a sultan for themselves, whom they arrayed in the imperial yellow; and that they have maintained their independence until this time. Other rebellions have been reported in the western provinces or dependent territories in the west and north-west. But this is evident, that on the whole the government is stronger than it was some years ago. The prophecies, then so frequent and so confident, of the speedy downfall of the Manchu dynasty, are now rarely heard. The presence and aid of foreign nations have contributed largely to this result.

The numerous and dangerous insurrections against the imperial authority, and the manifestations of the vast superiority of the nations of the West in the art of war, have compelled the Chinese to seek instruction and assistance from them. Several American, English and French officers of ability have been employed to discipline and command Manchu troops. General Ward, an American, especially, was respected and trusted by the imperial government, to which he rendered important services in putting down the Tai-ping rebellion, and in the service of which he sacrificed his life in a battle near the city of Ningpo, in September, 1862. He was succeeded in command by General Burgevine, also an American, who, however, lost the confidence of the authorities, and at length abandoned them for their enemies, on account of difficulties about the payment of the soldiers and foreign officers. He lost his life by

drowning. An excellent English officer, Major Gordon, was of great service in 1863, in leading the imperial troops in the sieges of Fu-shan, Tai-tsan, Su-chau and other important cities. He afterward gave instruction in military science to Chinese officers, and drilled bodies of soldiers for them at Shanghai. The French commanders lent several intelligent officers for the same purposes. Two of these, Captains Lebreton and De Moidry, were killed by the rebels at Kiu-ting. Admiral Protet lost his life in the same battle.

The English inspector-general of customs at Shanghai, Mr. Lay, used his influence with the Chinese government to obtain a commission to purchase for it several vessels of war in Great Britain. A million of dollars was put in his hands for the purpose. But he went far beyond his instructions, incurred a heavy debt, which he secured in favor of the British government upon the vessels themselves, and added certain unjustifiable conditions designed to favor English interests. This discreditable proceeding provoked the just indignation of Prince Kung and of the representatives of other governments; and, in consequence, the purchase was repudiated by the imperial government and the vessels were sold. It has been announced to be the judicious policy of the Chinese to establish manufactories and ship-yards, and make their own arms and build their own ships.

The young son of Hien-fung, Tsai-chun, then only seven years of age, was on the death of his father proclaimed emperor, under the name of Tung-chi. The empress-dowager, who was not his own mother, but who, having no children of her own, had adopted him as

her own son, according to the Chinese law, which imputes to the first and proper wife the children of the secondary wives, was made regent at Jeh-ho. Several other members of the royal family claimed a share in the authority, but the brother of the late emperor, Yih-su, Prince Kung, a very able and determined man, went there, promptly seized and condemned to death three of these rivals, and had himself proclaimed joint-regent with her. He set himself at once vigorously to work in rectifying abuses, enforcing the laws over the empire, repressing the rebellious disposition of some portions of the population, and encouraging the resumption of industry and commerce. He found an intelligent and faithful coadjutor in the queen-dowager, and in another female member of the royal household possessing a rank nearly equal to hers.

The young emperor, at this time in his sixteenth year, is placed in the hands of strict and honest tutors, who not only teach him faithfully the morality and wisdom of Confucius, but continually hold before him the noblest actions of his ancestry for his imitation, and, it is said, do not fear severely to reprove his faults. It is expected that he will during the present year assume the throne, as he will soon reach the age which has been fixed as appropriate for him to do so by the precedents of previous emperors, especially that of Kang-hi.

What imagination dare make the bold conjecture of what the condition of the empire will be at its close, should the reign of Tung-chi equal in length that of Kang-hi or Kien-lung? Will the career of this boy have been that of a persecuting Nero or that of a believing Constantine? Will China in the year of our Lord 1930 lie torn into

bleeding fragments by the resistance of paganism to the necessary progress of the gospel and the science of civilized lands—or will it be a homogeneous Christian empire, one of the grandest and strongest in the history of mankind, shedding blessings over the entire continent and its adjacent islands, and communicating them to distant lands to which it will have owed not alone a debt of great evil, but also a debt of greater good?

CHAPTER XIV.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

THE relations between our country and China date back to the period when the United States were yet the colonies of Great Britain, and even had something to do with the measures which resulted in giving us national independence.

The East India Company early set itself to the development of a trade in the Colonies which would be profitable to its treasury. It sent here some of the tea which it brought from China, and sought for such products of the New World as would afford a profitable return cargo for its ships, and a means through which it could save the payment of specie in exchange for the merchandise of the Celestial Empire. The ginseng of the Northern Colonies was one of the first articles which proved advantageous to its purposes. Agents were sent to New England, who induced the Indians to search for this medicinal root by rewards of money, whisky, trinkets and calico. The Christian people who were interested in civilizing these wild tribes, elevating their morals and giving them the blessings of the worship of God on the Sabbath and of education for their children, were sorely grieved by the vagrant habits, the drunkenness and other vices which were fostered by this busi-

ness, and some of the first missionaries to the Indians, in their letters to the churches of the mother-country, made complaint of the injury which it did to religion.

The East India Company had some share in the political oppression which led the Colonies to revolt. Their charges for tea were so grievous that the people were compelled to smuggle it from their Dutch neighbors of the colony of New Amsterdam, on the Hudson. Lord Townshend, in 1767, carried a bill through Parliament which laid a duty of three pence a pound on tea, with something upon paper, glass and paints. This only increased the evil, and it aroused the question of the right to impose taxation upon those to whom the mother-country allowed no political representation. The colonists refused to use tea brought from England. The losses to the East India Company were, in consequence, so great as to threaten it with bankruptcy. It could not pay its dividends or debts, and its stock went down to half its former value. At the suggestion of Lord North, Parliament authorized the company to ship its tea to America without previously paying the duty in England. The people of Boston, of Philadelphia, of New York, of Charleston and of other places, now determined that tea should not be brought to the country. The first cargoes came to Boston. And there was performed one of the acts which began the great struggle for Independence. On the evening of the sixteenth of December, 1773, a company of citizens, disguised as Indians, seized three ships, which had recently arrived, and without injuring any other articles, in three hours broke open three hundred and forty chests of tea, and emptied what the company had bought at the fac-

ories at Canton, and transported twenty thousand miles, out into the icy and briny waters of the harbor. So the East India Company, the ill-gotten wealth it poured into the British treasury and its Chinese trade, have a niche in the history of this nation.

As soon as the war was ended, our people hastened to engage for themselves in the rich trade with China. The ship *Empress*, commanded by Captain Green, left New York for Canton on the anniversary of the birthday of General Washington, February 22, 1784, six months after the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed at Paris.

The development of the commerce with China has been in a remarkable and very important manner connected with that of our national territory, our internal trade and prosperity, and even with our missionary efforts in other parts of the world.

The winter climate of Southern China is raw and changeable; that of the north is quite cold. The people cannot afford fuel to warm their houses, and so protect themselves by an increase of clothing. The better classes, from the earliest history of the empire, have been accustomed at that season of the year to clothe themselves with an abundance of warm and rich furs. Robes and capes of various kinds are worn, some of which are very elegant and very expensive. They constitute, indeed, a not unimportant item of the wealth which is transmitted in families. Previous to the discovery of America these furs were supplied by the wild Asiatic tribes on the north and the west of the empire. The exportation of them from the colonies of the New World to China was begun by the English, Dutch,

French and Spaniards. The English North-west and Hudson's Bay Companies planted their posts and sent forth their agents and trappers over the vast regions north of the great lakes to the borders of the Arctic zone, and westward even beyond the Rocky Mountains. They collected the furs of the muskrat, otter, marten, ermine, beaver, silver and other species of fox, fitch, chinchilla, mink and the coarser ones of several other animals. But a sudden and great impulse was given to the fur trade by the discovery of the abundance of the sea-otter and other fur-bearing animals on the north-west coast of the continent, which was made by Captain James Cook and his companions during his third voyage to the Pacific ocean. When the information which they obtained was published in the winter of 1784, the attention of the mercantile world was at once directed to this new field for adventure. Numerous vessels were sent there within the next few years. These discovered new groups of islands in the Pacific ocean, and explored the scarcely known western shores of the continent. Captain Gray, who was the first man that carried the American flag round the world in 1787 to 1790, at that time explored Queen Charlotte's Sound, and during his next voyage, in May, 1792, discovered the Columbia river and named it after his own vessel. This was the basis of the American claim to the territory which the Columbia river drains.

The opening up of these sources of wealth upon the coast naturally suggested the importance of securing a connection with them across the continent, whose interior until that time was almost as unknown as the heart of Africa. It was considered to be as wild and incapable

of cultivation as the Sahara, and its place was marked upon the maps as the "Great American Desert." The first to penetrate and explore it were the hardy French and English trappers and hunters. They were encouraged by the support of rich merchants and companies—English, Russian, French and American—who furnished them supplies and purchased the spoils of their expeditions. In January, 1803, President Jefferson suggested an exploration of the Missouri and Columbia rivers at the expense of the government. This was agreed to by Congress, and Captain M. Lewis, who had been Jefferson's private secretary, and Lieutenant W. Clarke were sent forth upon the arduous work the next year. They reached the Pacific coast November 17, 1805, and spent the winter there. The narrative of their expedition was read with great interest throughout the country. Its great object was to show the possibility of commercial intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the American continent.

The fur trade now received a new impulse. Companies for its prosecution were formed in New York and in the valley of the Mississippi. The most successful of them was the American, which afterward became the Pacific Fur Company, projected by John Jacob Astor, of New York. He determined to establish a line of trading-posts along the Missouri and down the Columbia to the mouth of the river, where there should be a great central depôt for the interior and coast trade, and a post for the vessels which should connect it with the distant market in China. "He considered his projected establishment at the mouth of the Columbia as the emporium to an immense commerce; as a colony that would form

the germ of a wide civilization, that would in fact carry the American population across the Rocky Mountains and spread it along the shores of the Pacific as it already animated the shores of the Atlantic." The great end of all was to supply "China, that great mart for peltries," to avoid the long and hazardous voyage round Cape Horn and to bring our own nation into more close connection with the trade of Asia.¹

The acquaintance which was formed by our merchants and trappers with the Pacific coast in the prosecution of this fur trade with China led, in the end, to its colonization by our people, to our acquisition of Oregon and California, and to the magnificent results which have followed in later years through the discovery of the abundance of the precious metals in the mountains of that slope of the American continent.

The ships engaged in the fur trade visited, in their course around the world, the ports on the eastern and western sides of South America, in which they tarried and bought and sold; and thus were made to exercise an important influence upon the character of that continent. And they brought into connection with the great world the lonely islands which lay in their track.

The history of the Sandwich Islands is peculiarly connected with this commerce. The fur ships were accustomed to time their departure from the Atlantic ports so as to reach the North-west coast in the spring. They traded during the summer up and down it with

¹ Many interesting facts relating to the fur trade can be gathered from LEWIS & CLARKE, *Expedition*, etc. (Philada., 1814); WASHINGTON IRVING, *Astoria*, chap. iii.; H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, *Views of Louisiana* (Pittsburg, 1814); ROBERT GREENHOW, *History of California and Oregon*, chaps. vi., vii. (Boston, 1845).

the Indians. In the fall they went down to the Sandwich Islands, and there refitted and laid in fresh provisions; dried, cleaned and preserved their furs; and purchased sandal-wood, sharks' fins and tortoise shells for the China trade. The second spring they returned north for a further supply of furs, in the fall touched at the islands again to put them in order and thence sailed away for China. An exchange of their cargo for tea, silk and porcelain was soon effected there, and they joyfully hastened upon the wings of the monsoon toward their Atlantic homes.

The name given by the Chinese to the Sandwich Islands was *Tan-hiang Shan*, the "Sandal-wood Islands." This name they bear commonly in the Chinese language till this day, though the sandal-wood has long ago been cut off, so that now only a bush of it can be found here and there on the mountains. It is wonderful to trace out the chain of influences as they affected the people of these and other islands. The trade in sandal-wood enriched a few of the prominent chiefs. Kamehameha, an ambitious chief of the island of Hawaii, was furnished by it with a part of the means necessary to prosecute his determination to make himself master, first of the large island on which he lived, then of the whole group. He compelled his people to search for the precious fragrant wood, hew and clean it and carry it down the mountain sides upon their backs. He traded it for vessels, guns, ammunition and stores. He succeeded in conquering the whole of the islands. This removed some of the greatest obstacles to the future efforts of the missionaries of the gospel. Through the tractable native Hawaiians, who were employed as seamen on the ships engaged in

this same trade, the attention of American Christians was turned to those interesting people. The presence of two of them, Obookiah and Hopu, at New Haven, helped to kindle the missionary impulses which created the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in June, 1810, and led one of its first missionary companies, in 1819, to undertake the conversion of the Hawaiian nation to Christ. Thus the commerce whose end was to clothe with costly furs the wealthy inhabitants of the empire of China was appointed by the Providence which wisely and mercifully manages the world to be a means to surround it with a rich belt of celestial blessings to our race.

It would be exceedingly entertaining to trace the effects of the commerce between China and America upon the development of the civilization of the New World in other respects besides those mentioned. Our space in this volume permits us, however, to speak now of but one of them—that is, the advancement of the art of ship-building.

The fresh teas were brought down from the interior to Canton in the autumn. The first “chops,” or lots, in the market were sold at several cents a pound higher than those which came in from two to four weeks later. There was much competition among the foreign merchants for the early teas, and anxiety to be the first to get them into the markets of this country or Europe. And this will be understood when it is remembered that a difference of only two cents in the pound, in a cargo of one thousand tons of tea, makes forty thousand dollars more or less in the profits of it. The decline in the prices of the teas after the sale of the first chops sug-

gested the construction of swift ships, which would enable the owners to take advantage of the fall, and yet land their cargoes first in the Atlantic ports. Hence, immediately after the Opium War, there began to appear in the Chinese waters long, trim vessels, whose narrowness of beam, sharp lines, tall masts, heavy spars and weight of canvas appalled the old salts of the trade, who shook their heads and pronounced them nothing but coffins, that could not stand up in a hard storm. However, these "clippers" were but the forerunners in a great reformation of the art of ship-building; and now the days of the "Cleopatra" and the "Bull-dog" and the "Duke of Marlborough" have passed away, and the generation of the "Wings of the Morning" and the "Carrier Dove" and the "Morning Star" has taken their place. Other nations have caught the spirit of advancement in the construction of sailing vessels, especially for the China trade. And with each returning spring we read of the splendid races of the clippers from China, a grand and exhilarating contest over an ocean track from one to the other side of the globe, compared with which the strifes between the youths of rival universities in England and America look like child's play.

And the same great causes will in time dispense with canvas. The age of steam on the ocean is already begun. The commerce with China and India has cut out for itself a new channel through the Isthmus of Suez. It will soon cut another through the Isthmus of Darien. But either isthmus is adjacent to tropic seas, in which a vessel with sails alone may lie for days, and even for weeks together, upon a surface as smooth as polished glass, but made dangerous in places by currents and



Chinese Barber, San Francisco

submarine rocks. Steam is essential to the accelerated communication of the future. Within a generation or two from the present one the great oceans of the world will be covered with fleet lines of vessels propelled by steam or some more compact, economical and effective power, and engaged in the universal distribution of the gifts with which Providence has favored the different climes and races of man. And it is interesting to consider, in connection with the subject before us, that it is the necessities of the intercourse with China which will most imperatively demand this great advancement and inaugurate this great commercial era.

The history of American diplomacy in China presents nothing of special interest previous to the Opium War. As soon as possible after its close, the Hon. Caleb Cushing was dispatched as the first minister plenipotentiary from the United States to that empire. A treaty was made with Ki-ying, a member of the royal family, and three subordinates acting in connection with him, which was signed at Wang-hia, July 3, 1844. There were some remarkable advances manifest in this treaty upon those previously made by Sir Henry Pottinger, the British plenipotentiary. In a dispatch on the subject from Mr. Cushing to the Secretary of State, he enumerates sixteen "provisions which are not embraced either in the English treaty of Nanking or in the treaty supplementary thereto." Some of them are important and remarkable, as exhibiting the different spirit which animates the treaty of Wang-hia. The protection of Christian converts or the right of Christian missionaries to follow the openings of commerce had not been brought forward in the British treaty. But in that of Wang-hia, as Mr.

Cushing mentions, "Citizens of the United States are permitted to have all accommodations at each of the five ports, not only as heretofore in the construction of mercantile and dwelling-houses, but also for churches, cemeteries and hospitals. Chinese scholars, who might act as teachers or assistants of missionaries, had formerly been liable to severe punishments. To guard against this in the future an article was inserted in the treaty making provision for the employment by Americans of persons to teach the languages of the empire, and the purchase of books was legalized." It was argued by the American minister, and assented to by the Chinese commissioners, that to persecute and oppress such of its subjects as either gave instruction or sold books to foreigners in China was a great obstacle to the study of the languages of China, and thus to the acquisition of the means of satisfactory intercourse with its government. The painful and delicate subject of the opium trade was discussed. This had not been directly mentioned in the English treaties; but it was provided by the treaty of Wang-hia that citizens of the United States engaged in this, or any other contraband trade, should receive no protection from the American government, nor should the flag of the United States be abusively employed by other nations as a cover for the violation of the laws of China.

The general character awarded to the people of the United States by the Chinese has been that they are more peaceable and more friendly to them than any other foreigners. It suits the subjects of European governments to ridicule this assertion when it is made by Americans; but I know by experience that it is true,

and so well have other nations been aware of it that individuals of them have been known, when threatened by a furious Chinese mob, to declare that they were "men of the country of the flowery flag." The activity of the American missionaries in preparing and circulating gospels and tracts in the native tongue, and the influence of the hospital of Dr. Parker, which was resorted to by thousands of patients annually from the whole province and from great distances in the interior, had more to do with producing this kindly feeling than even the republican and pacific character of our nation.

A beautiful and touching illustration of this feeling occurred at Amoy. The amiable and devoted Rev. Dr. David Abeel was one of our missionaries at that port. Among the Chinese gentlemen with whom he was acquainted there was Seu Ki-yu, an intelligent and able officer, who was subsequently made governor of the province of Fu-kien. The results of the war greatly excited the interest of this gentleman in regard to the geography and history of the nations of the West. He procured translations from works in our language, more especially extracts from Murray's *Cyclopedia of Geography*, and spent many hours with Dr. Abeel and others gathering information from them. This was thrown together and published by him in 1848, in a work containing ten parts or volumes, under the name of "A General Survey of Maritime Countries." He gave in this work a fair account of the colonization of America and of the War of Independence. But it was the character of our Washington which specially and deeply impressed him. He dwelt upon the life and actions of Washington in one of his chapters as something which equaled the ancient

Chinese ideals. The following extracts will convey an idea of this portion of the work :

“Washington was born in the ninth year of the emperor Yung Ching. His father died when he was but ten years of age. He was trained up by his mother. While yet young he manifested much intelligence, both in regard to civil and military affairs, and excelled in personal strength and courage. Washington first held a commission in the war of the English against the French, in which he led out his troops against the marauding aborigines of the southern parts of the country, and conquered them. But the English general did not fairly represent to the government his worthy deeds. His countrymen, however, desired his acceptance of an important office ; but this sickness compelled him to decline.

“At the period when the people rose up in rebellion against England, they urgently besought Washington to become their commander-in-chief. He at once accepted the position. Without arms, ammunition or provisions, Washington roused his countrymen to action by his own patriotic spirit. He planted his army first near to the capital of one of the provinces, before which the English commander-in-chief had collected his ships of war. Suddenly a storm rose and dispersed the ships, which gave Washington an opportunity to attack and obtain possession of the city.

“The English general subsequently collected his forces and drove Washington from his position. His soldiers now became greatly disheartened, and wished to lay down their arms, but he, with the same heroic spirit which he had exhibited from the first, having reorgan-

ized his army, again attacked the English, and this time with success. From that time, during eight years of bloody conflict, while his army was often reduced and weakened, the spirit of Washington was undiminished. The English army in the mean time became exhausted. The French raised a large force, crossed the sea and joined Washington in resistance to the English. The Spanish and Dutch governments favored peace. The English, unable to continue the contest, concluded a treaty with Washington, according to which the northern part of the continent, a cold region, was retained by them, while they yielded the southern part of it, a fertile country.

“When Washington had established the government upon a firm foundation, he disbanded the army and desired to return to the pursuits of husbandry, but the people would not consent to it, and pressed upon him the office of Chief Magistrate. In an address to Congress, Washington said, ‘To obtain a kingdom for one’s self, to transmit it to posterity, were a criminal ambition. Integrity should distinguish those who are to be elevated to this position in the nation.’ Surely Washington was an extraordinary man. His successes as a soldier were more rapid than those of Shing and Kwang, and in personal courage he was superior to Tsau-pi and Liu-pang. With the two-edged sword [of justice] he established the tranquillity of the country over an area of several thousand miles. He refused to receive pecuniary recompense. He labored to rear an elective system of government. Patriotism like this is to be commended under the whole heavens. Truly it reminds us of our own three great ancient dynasties! In administering the

government he fostered virtue, he avoided war and he succeeded in making his country superior to all other nations. I have seen his portrait. His countenance exhibits great mental power. Who must not concede to him the character of an extraordinary man?"

The subsequent career of the author of this remarkable tribute to the character of the Father of his Country is full of interest to us, and may be mentioned here. Such encomiums paid to a person of the West, whose nations seemed to be the fountain of all evil to China, offended the imperial government. In 1850, the noble and candid Seu Ki-yu was degraded and sent into private life, in his native province of Shan-si. There he remained until after the accession of the present youthful emperor to the throne, under the regency of Prince Kung. Since that his intelligent acquaintance with foreign countries has led to his being summoned to the council for foreign affairs. In March, 1867, when seventy years of age, he was placed by an imperial decree at the head of the new "Institution for Giving Instruction in the Arts and Sciences of the West," which has been established at Peking, and has excited so much interest in America and Europe. On learning of this appointment, the President of the United States, through the Hon. W. H. Seward, as Secretary of State, sent to Peking a portrait of Washington, which Mr. Burlingame presented to the venerable Seu Ki-yu, with a written expression of the gratification of the government of the United States on account of the honor done him.¹

¹ On this occasion, after the act of presentation, an interesting conversation took place between Mr. Burlingame and the Chinese ministers present, of which the following is a portion:

The government of the United States viewed with anxiety the new breaking out of hostilities between

Mr. Burlingame: "The presentation of this picture indicates a commerce of thought. We have borrowed many useful ideas from you. Some of our arts were originally derived from China, and perhaps we may have some things to offer in exchange—industrial arts, physical sciences, and religious truth."

Wen-Siang: "Our maxim is, in everything to inquire for the best method and to adopt it for our own, no matter where it may originate."

Mr. Burlingame: "The institutions of our country present many points of resemblance to your own. For instance, the elective principle which pervades us is quite analogous to your practice of admitting all honest citizens to the privilege of a fair competition for the honors and emoluments of office."

Wen-Siang: "With you that excellent system descends from Washington, who refused to transmit to his successor a legacy of hereditary power, but preferred to leave it in the hands of the people."

Mr. Burlingame: "Like your ancient sovereigns, Washington honored agriculture by himself holding the plough, and, like them, he inculcated the doctrine that rulers should employ moral influence in preference to physical force."

Tan: "Nothing is more desirable than that nations should conform in their practice to a principle which is at once so just and so humane."

Tung: "That is the surest way to conciliate the love and respect of other nations, for our sacred books lay down the principle that 'those who respect others will be respected, and those who love others will be loved.'"

The written reply which Mr. Burlingame received to his letter to the Chinese statesman was as follows:

"SIR: I yesterday perused your highly-prized address, in which you have bestowed upon me such high commendation, in presenting me the painting of the portrait of Washington, the founder of your honorable country. As I and my associates again and again looked at this beautiful and elegant gift our pleasure and admiration increased, and we could all only the more value and appreciate this worthy remembrance of you.

"Among all the great men of your land, I think that Washington stands first, for his surprising capacity. He founded and planned its enduring institutions as a pattern for all ages, and his merit makes him a perfect link to connect the great men of antiquity with those who will come in all time, so that his name will surely be honored by mankind through all ages.

"I beg to renew my thanks, in sending you this answer, and avail myself of the opportunity to offer my wishes for your highest happiness."

"SEU KI-YU."

"His Excellency Hon. ANSON BURLINGAME,

"United States Minister."

Great Britain, supported by France as an ally, and China in the year 1856. President Buchanan sent thither the Hon. William B. Reed to watch the course of events, and to act the part of a mediator and peacemaker when the opportunity should offer. In this he was sustained by the influence of Russia. Mr. Reed arrived in Hong-kong, on the fine war steamer *Minnesota*, November 7, 1857. He at once set himself to remove the difficulties between the English and Chinese, and save if possible the further effusion of blood. He endeavored in vain to persuade the proud and obstinate governor Yeh to yield, and save Canton from bombardment. He proceeded to the north, and made on behalf of his government a treaty of peace with China which was signed June 18. The first article of the treaty contains a significant reference to the posture of the United States in relation to the war then in progress, as well as to any which might thereafter arise. The article says :

“There shall be, as there have always been, peace and friendship between the United States of America and the Ta-Tsing Empire, and between their people respectively. They shall not insult or oppress each other for any trifling cause, so as to produce an estrangement between them ; and if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feelings.”

A subsequent article of this treaty is to be interpreted by keeping in view the bitter root of the difficulties between Great Britain and China which led to the previous war of 1839 to '42, and to this war. After stating the

ports where Americans shall be permitted to reside and their vessels to trade, it continues in the following language:

“But said vessels shall not carry on a clandestine and fraudulent trade at other ports of China not declared to be legal, or along the coasts thereof; and any vessel under the American flag violating this provision shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation to the Chinese government; and any citizen of the United States who shall trade in any contraband article of merchandise shall be subject to be dealt with by the Chinese government, without being entitled to any countenance or protection from that of the United States; and the United States will take measures to prevent their flag from being abused by the subjects of other nations as a cover for the violation of the laws of the empire.”

It was a very interesting fact, which was remarked at the time with great pleasure in our country, that the first announcement of news from the Old World made by the Atlantic telegraph cable, August 25, 1858, after the ascription of thanks and utterance of hope in the words, “Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will toward men,” was that peace had been made between China and the European allies!

The development of the foreign trade with China during the brief time which has passed since the last war has been very great. The exports and imports at its close amounted to some eighty millions of dollars a year—now it is two hundred and thirteen millions. The American government has been represented most of the time by the Hon. Anson Burlingame, who has taken the lead, with remarkable ability and success, in establishing

the policy of peaceful co-operation between the chief treaty-powers, in encouraging the Chinese to adopt a more wise and progressive policy in their intercourse with foreign nations and in the introduction of the improvements of the age. He has been cordially supported in this by Sir Frederick Bruce, the late British minister, by M. Berthemy, the late French minister, and by the representatives of the other powers. Several very important reforms have been inaugurated, and the germs of beneficial Western systems or institutions planted; upon which subject we cannot, however, dwell now.

It has been a point of the first magnitude to arrest at once the alienation of Chinese territory to any foreign power. The history of British India has illustrated the results of even small and feeble beginnings in that way. The sites for factories and forts at Surat, Armegum and Hoogley, two centuries ago, were the little acorns whence grew the oaks which came to overshadow the nations of the Indian peninsula. The sites of the factories at Canton, Shanghai and other ports were claimed already by some of the consuls to be wholly under foreign jurisdiction. That at Shanghai, as the centre of the extensive trade at that point, covered several square miles, was occupied with costly and capacious foreign buildings, and was becoming the abode of a large and wealthy Chinese population. The representatives of the several commercial powers came to see the dangers to their common interests and those to the future unity and permanence of the Chinese empire, which were involved in the permission of the claims to the jurisdiction of any one of them over these seats of trade; and they agreed together, notwithstanding the indignation and protests

of some of their subjects, to sustain the original authority of the Chinese government, while they maintained whatever local administration of justice might be required by the necessities of their own people.

Some of the foreigners claimed privileges which had not been conceded by treaty. There was a continual disposition to transgress Chinese forms and laws. And some well-meaning and some interested parties pressed the construction of railroads, telegraphs and other accessories of trade and travel in a manner calculated to thwart the increasing sense of their usefulness among the Chinese and delay their final establishment.

While these and other serious matters were pressing upon the minds of the able officers of the Council of Foreign Affairs at Peking, Mr. Burlingame, who had been in China six years, determined to resign his post and return to America. The news of it excited much regret among both Chinese and foreign diplomatists. The former endeavored in vain to dissuade him from his purpose. Failing to accomplish this, he was invited by Prince Kung to a farewell entertainment, at which were present many of the leading officers of the government. During it they expressed to him their gratitude for his offices to them as an intelligent and disinterested counselor and friend. And they seem to have conceived at this time the thought of putting the relations of the empire with foreign countries upon a more just and equal basis, by sending to them an imperial embassy of which he should be the head. They promptly consulted some of their more reliable friends among the foreign gentlemen at the capital, and in two days after they tendered to Mr. Burlingame, much to his surprise,

the appointment of minister plenipotentiary of China to the Western powers.

The designation of Mr. Burlingame to the most responsible and honorable office of being the first plenipotentiary of the empire of China in modern ages to any nation of the West may be considered to be a national compliment to the United States, for the following reasons. It was, no doubt, their experience of the sincere and generous friendship of the representative of the government of the United States which induced the proposal of the Chinese to him to undertake this mission. The burning and terrible memories of the past, and the peculiar temptations to the abuse of the trust to their own advantage, would probably have prevented the appointment of a subject of any first-class European government, and that of one of a secondary nation would not have carried with it sufficient weight. The jealousies of the leading European powers, it would be foreseen, would probably defeat the general ends of the embassy under the leadership of any one of them. And it was doubtless the same causes, and the liberality and friendship it had always shown, which led to the selection of the government of the United States as the first one to which the embassy should be sent, in order to secure its general designs. And subsequent facts have proved that had the embassy been otherwise constituted, or had it gone first to either of the European courts, it would have wholly or comparatively failed in the attainment of its splendid successes.

Mr. Burlingame left the Chinese capital on the 25th of November, 1867. The embassy consisted, besides the principal, of Chih-kang and Sun Chia-ku, a Manchu



Hon. Anson Burlingame

and a Chinese officer, each wearing the red ball on his cap which indicates an official of a rank next to the highest in the empire; J. McLeary Brown, formerly of the British legation, and M. Deschamps, as secretaries; Teh Ming and Fung I as Chinese attachés, and several other persons in subordinate positions. The embassy was detained five days on the way to Tien-tsin, which was distant but two days' journey, and put in some peril, by bands of mounted robbers. It went to Shanghai, thence to San Francisco, where it was most cordially welcomed by both the American and Chinese mercantile communities. It reached Washington in May, 1868. The embassy was treated with much distinction at the American capital. No American statesman was so capable and disposed to enter cordially into its objects as the Secretary of State at that time, the Hon. William H. Seward, whose mind had long apprehended the great features of the policy which American and foreign nations should pursue in relation to the Chinese empire. On the 16th of July the Senate of the United States ratified a treaty which he had made in behalf of this country with the representative of the Chinese government.

The treaty defines and fixes the principles of the intercourse of Western nations with China, of the importance of which I have already spoken. It secures the territorial integrity of the empire, and concedes to China the rights which the civilized nations of the world accord to each other as to eminent domain over land and waters, and jurisdiction over persons and property therein. It takes the first step toward the appointment of Chinese consuls in our seaports—a measure promotive of both Chinese and American interests.

It secures exemption from all disability or persecution on account of religious faith in either country. It recognizes the right of voluntary emigration and makes penal the wrongs of the coolie traffic. It pledges privileges as to travel or residence in either country such as are enjoyed by the most favored nation. It grants to the Chinese permission to attend our schools and colleges, and allows us to freely establish and maintain schools in China. And while it acknowledges the right of the Chinese government to control its own whole interior arrangements, as to railroads, telegraphs and other internal improvements, it suggests the willingness of our government to afford aid toward their construction by designating and authorizing suitable engineers to perform the work, at the expense of the Chinese government.

The treaty expressly leaves the question of naturalization in either country an open one. And we would fain hope that no attempt will be made to construe the clause granting exemption from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith, which should properly protect the Chinese against injustice or violence as to their religious worship or professions, so as to imply that Buddhism possesses equal civil privileges and immunities with Christianity, or may violate our Sabbaths with the clamor of its public demonstrations, or interfere with our common-school education or our judicial oaths. This the Christian sentiment of the nation would justly abhor, and the omnipotent God surely chastise.

While slavery existed in the United States the Senate would not have ratified a national covenant which accords so freely the rights of equal humanity and equal

civilization to a tawny race not of European blood. That covenant will be kept with good faith on our part. It is in harmony with the article of the Constitution recently adopted,¹ which says that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws." This article we accept as the text in the Constitution of which this treaty is one example. It must sweep away the legal disabilities to which the Chinese have been subjected on the Pacific coast, permit them to obtain the sheer rights of humanity, and punish the villains who now plunder, abuse or murder them under the assurance that the testimony of witnesses of that race will be rejected in our courts.

The members of the embassy visited a few of the leading points of interest in the country, though they refused as a rule to accept municipal honors tendered to them. They were particularly interested in a visit to the grand cataract of Niagara and to the State prison at Auburn, New York, the order, discipline, cleanliness and healthfulness of which impressed upon these ministers a lesson that should be imitated in the terrible places of punishment in China, which are in the condition of those of Europe during the Middle Ages. They enjoyed visits to the cities of Boston and New York. Reviews of bodies of soldiers, of fire-brigades and other honors were offered to them, which would exert an important influence upon their estimate of the value of Western civilization.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the progress of

¹ The Fourteenth Amendment, section 1.

this first imperial Chinese embassy. In England it was received at first very coldly, and it was some months before proper attention could be secured from the government to its objects. At length, however, on November 20, it was presented to the queen at Windsor Castle. The audience-room was filled with the royal family and distinguished members of the nobility. Mr. Burlingame was presented to her Majesty by Lord Stanley. He addressed her in the name of the emperor of China, expressing desires for her continued health and happiness and the prosperity of her reign, making a happy allusion to her friendship to the nation of which he was a citizen, that whence the embassy had last come. He then presented his credentials from the emperor of China as his ambassador, a document richly painted upon a sheet of yellow satin. The Chinese members of the embassy were then introduced to the queen. At a luncheon served to the company in the castle, Lord Stanley took occasion to say that his own sentiments perfectly accorded with those of Mr. Burlingame relative to China. He said: "It is true that a certain degree of opposition, originating in ignorance of the real object of the Chinese mission, coupled with a desire to adhere to the old traditional British coercive policy, met Mr. Burlingame on his arrival in England, but this has all passed away. Mr. Burlingame, by his dignified course and feeling the grandeur and importance of the high trust confided to his care, has conducted himself in such a manner as to completely disarm opposition and create a favorable impression not only for China, but for the United States; for, while acting as the representative of the emperor of China, his dignified bearing and

progressive ideas have exhibited him as a true type of the representative American." Lord Stanley then concluded by expressing the belief that the cordial principles which are fast influencing the nations of the world have changed foes to friends.

What heart is there that will not join in the cordial wish that the treaties made by the embassy with Great Britain, France, Prussia and other European powers may be the commencement of a new era in the diplomatic and national intercourse of China with those and all other lands of the West!

It has been questioned whether the government of China really means to fulfill the pledges made in its behalf by Mr. Burlingame and realize the hopes he has excited. This is certain, that the sense exists of the necessity of new relations with foreign governments, of a larger accordance with their spirit and principles, and of the introduction of many of those arts which make them superior in warfare and in influence over the happiness and condition of mankind. It is certain that the powerful party which supports him will be greatly affected by his personal influence and that of the members of the embassy and others who have of late years become acquainted with foreign lands and the improvements of modern science, among whom must be classed the scholars of Protestant missions, and even the returned Chinese visitors to California, Australia and other countries. But it is no less certain that the bad behavior of foreign smugglers of opium, acts of violence at the ports frequented by foreign shipping, the political intrigues of Romish priests and the failure of the powers which have contracted with China to fulfill their part, in the letter

or the spirit, may defeat or procrastinate the benefits which have been hoped for.

But whatsoever the course of other powers in the future toward China, we may trust that the posture of the government of the United States toward her will be unchanged; that the oldest and the newest empire of the world will mutually support, enrich and benefit each other, and that the younger will continue to act for the elder the friendly part of a mediator and interpreter with the other nations of the West.

CHAPTER XV.

ANCIENT CONNECTIONS WITH THIS CONTINENT.

OUR ancestors four centuries ago found numerous races of men, very different from any they had ever before seen, occupying this newly-discovered continent. And our further acquaintance with them shows that these races differ as much from each other as they differ from the people of Europe. In stature, in complexion, in the features of the face, in the shape of the skull, in pursuits, in domestic usages, in religious worship, in the measure of intellect and in energy, they widely vary. The widest contrasts have existed among those on the Pacific coast. The wretched Digger tribes are among the lowest of mankind. They lie on the ground in the sun, their low foreheads, bushy thickets of short hard hair filled with vermin, black skins, large mouths and small vacant eyes indicating a nature little above that of the brutes. And yet down that coast formerly ranged the Toltec and the Aztec, the remains of whose cities still exist, whose civilization compares with that of the nations of Southern Asia; and southward we find the remains of those of the former inhabitants of Central America and of Peru, which are fully as wonderful. One of the most interesting topics of the present volume will be the evidence that these civilized people were of Asiatic origin.

Whence originated the tribes of the Atlantic coast?—is a question which we will not here discuss. They have been claimed by learned men writing in behalf of the Jews, the Phœnicians, the Irish and the Welsh. Some men of learning do not doubt that the Scandinavian mariners traced our Atlantic coast from Greenland southward the whole length of our New England States, and deposited the seeds of communities which sprang up in wild forms there.¹ And yet the narratives of those of them who returned to Europe show that they had found races of men already existing there. Whence came those races? The legends of some of them—translated by Schoolcraft and others—point to a long and dreary path, by many successive migrations, from the farthest north-west. And in this we find one cause of so great diversities in their character.

The way in which the first colonies were formed upon the Pacific shores must be borne in mind. They certainly neither originated from one spot, nor were commenced at one period. It seems reasonable to suppose that the earliest individuals found their way hither in the most remote ages of history, that as their number increased they slowly moved toward the south and west, forming naturally as they progressed new habits, new ideas, new sounds in speech, new peculiarities of constitution. Those longest here would impart most powerfully their acquired characteristics to the whole. And yet there would be manifest features impressed by the

¹ The most satisfactory accounts of these are contained in the *Antiquitates Americanæ* of RAFFN (Danish Counselor of State) and the communications of himself, Repp and others in the *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*; Copenhagen; 1836-39, pp. 369-385, and 1840-43, pp. 5-15, 80-131, 155-162.

elements added from time to time by successive additions from the Old World. Thus we may trace the sources of peculiarities which we find among the races of the New World.

The *first* class of evidence of the Asiatic origin of the former races of this continent we find in the great agencies of nature employed from age to age by the great Governor of the world, as it were appointed to bring them hither.

The ocean was by our fathers regarded as a great salt pond; its waters only moving in the disturbance of its surface by the winds, or as they rose and fell by the attraction of the moon. But later generations have discovered that it is animated by a mighty universal life, which circulates from pole to pole and around the globe. Cook and the earliest adventurers upon the mild Pacific observed the great currents which sweep, some with great rapidity, governed by the zone and by the conformation of the opposite continents, with majestic flow from shore to shore. They have now been laid down upon our charts and described by geographers. Much light has been thrown upon those of the North Pacific by the careful observations made in our naval and mercantile vessels. Great interest has attached to the successive developments of the fact that a vast current almost fills the immense surface of that portion of the Pacific within the temperate zone, resembling the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic ocean. Rising in the tropical zone, south of the Chinese coast, its genial warmth is expended at last upon the shores of California and Mexico, and even upon those of Peru. Its velocity, opposite the Japanese Islands, reaches seventy or eighty

miles a day. Its effects upon the climate of the American coast are very great. "The winters are so mild in Puget's sound, in latitude 48° north, that snow rarely falls there, and the inhabitants are never enabled to fill their ice-houses for the summer; and vessels trading to Petropaulowski and the coast of Kamtschatka, when they become unwieldy from accumulation of ice upon their hulls and rigging, run over to a higher latitude on the American coast and thaw out, in the same manner that vessels frozen up on our own coast retreat again into the Gulf Stream until favored by an easterly wind."¹ Just as the current of the Atlantic Gulf Stream transports the tropical logs from the shores of the Caribbean sea and strands them upon the Hebrides and Norway, so that of the *Kuri-siwu*, or "Black Stream," as the Japanese style it, bears the waifs of Asia to the Aleutian Islands and the north-west coast of America.

The winds, too, have a great commission to fulfill. The lesson of modern observation is that they too move in their courses according to the appointment of a supreme and all-wise will. The monsoons of the Indian and Pacific oceans are linked in a continuous chain. What is known in the Western Pacific as the south-west monsoon commences in gentle breezes, blowing steadily, however, day and night in one direction from April till October, off Madagascar, sweeps along the whole length of the continent of Africa and the whole breadth of Asia, whitening the billows of the China sea with the violence of a gale, and is felt with diminishing power to the centre of the Pacific ocean; and so is most important as an aid to the solution of the question we are now con-

¹ *Narrative of the United States Japan Expedition*, vol. ii., pp. 363-370.

sidering, as to the origin of the American races. The effects of this vast atmospheric tide, whose semi-annual ebb and flood outreach the opposite extremes of the eastern hemisphere, in awakening and facilitating intercourse and trade among the numerous countries and islands within its limits, impress the attention of one who is conversant with that part of the world. But it has further ends. It is like the gifts of revelation to the Jews, which find their highest significance and their wisest interpreters in the opposite side of the world and in the end of time.

The stupendous hurricanes of the Indian and Pacific oceans have of late years been explained. They were formerly regarded by seamen with the utmost terror. Whence and how they came and went was as incomprehensible to that class of men as any other awful calamity with which he that is permitted to go to and fro in the earth, walking up and down in it, chose to visit them. But now it is known that an arm of infinite wisdom sways their great movements. Those of the northern and southern hemisphere rise respectively near the equator and move outward toward either pole. Those of the southern hemisphere invariably revolve on their centre, in the same direction with the hands of a watch; that is, from north to east, south and west. Those of the northern hemisphere whirl in the opposite direction, or contrary to the course of the hands of a watch. Those which rise in the China sea are guided by the geography of the coast and move in its general direction, and within two or three degrees of it pass the Japanese Islands, vex in their wrath the waters of the North Pacific, and often stretch away even to the vicinity of the

Sandwich Islands. It requires little imagination to conceive how potent an agency are these typhoons, or hurricanes, in distributing the populations of the shores which they visit.

Now let us present a *second* class of evidence as to the source whence these races in America sprang. We have abundant proof that vessels from the Asiatic side have been wrecked upon the American coast and upon the island groups of the Pacific ocean within the memory of man.

The voyager through the seas that skirt the empires of China and Japan will be amazed to see the countless vessels of every kind whose heavy, yellow mat sails and high, painted poops spot the blue waves. Some of them are transports, deeply laden with rice, salt fish, provisions of every kind and all manner of wares and dry goods. There is a boundless internal commerce between city and city, or province and province, or with neighboring countries within two thousand miles' distance. Some are the homes of a population of probably several millions in all, that, like aquatic birds, are ever on the wing and subsist wholly by fishing. Families are born, live and die upon them, who only visit the shore to obtain the necessaries of life or to propitiate the gods that rule the sea. Merchants, pilgrims, emigrants and others travel upon these various classes of vessels.

These craft sometimes are driven from or mistake their course. And when the demons of the terrible typhoon drive through their fleets, numbers are hurried far off into seas unknown to them, to be speedily sunk, or to be tossed about they know not whither for weary months, subsisting upon the cargoes of provisions on

board of them, the fish they catch and the rains of heaven, or to be cast upon remote islands or countries and see their native land no more.

A dozen cases of Japanese or Chinese junks picked up at sea, or wrecked upon our north-west coast or the Sandwich Islands, have come to my knowledge, by the newspapers or in conversation with seamen, within but a few years. I have seen Japanese in San Francisco thus rescued at different times. Captain C. J. W. Russell, for some time a resident among the Indian tribes north of the Columbia river, informed me that he found there legends of vessels which had been cast upon that coast, having people of a strange nation on board; and he presented me with two copper coins obtained from the Indians, which both contain the inscription, in Chinese characters, "KWAN-YUNG. CURRENT MONEY." "Kwan-yung" is the name of the emperor under whose reign the money was coined, but I have been unable to ascertain whether he was Chinese or Japanese, or when he lived. If Chinese, they are more than two centuries old, since they do not possess the Manchu characters which distinguish the issues of the present dynasty. Part of the crew of a Japanese junk, wrecked upon our shores about 1832, found their way to England and thence to China, and there they assisted the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff to translate into their native tongue portions of the word of God.¹

Four thousand years may have elapsed since the first

¹ DIBBLE, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, pp. 12, 13, mentions a crew of Japanese brought there in 1839, and another in 1840, by whale-ships. The *Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. i., describes at length a Japanese junk that came in there with four survivors on board in 1832. The natives when they beheld them exclaimed, "It is plain now that we are from Asia!"

craft coasted from point to point along the Asiatic shores. Who shall say when the first wretched band, after weary months of hunger and thirst, wakened the echoes of the human voice among the wildernesses of this virgin hemisphere? From that day to this it is probable no century has passed without involuntary additions from the parent climes.

An analogical argument as to the origin of the American races may be drawn from the spread of the Malay family. The migrations of mankind in every age seem to pursue, if possible, nearly the same threads of the earth's latitude along which they were commenced. They naturally prefer kindred climates and productions of the earth to which men and the domestic animals have been accustomed. And, as has been shown, the winds of heaven and the currents of the ocean are disposed to gratify this tendency. Thus the Malay stock is essentially tropical and nautical. From their primeval starting-point upon the shores of the Indian ocean they have crept eastward and westward, following their burning native sun, until now we behold the remarkable expansion of affiliated tribes and dialects, from Madagascar upon the one extreme as far as to the Sandwich Islands, the last Polynesian group, upon the other. Never penetrating far inland upon the Asiatic and African continents, they have yet displayed a maritime enterprise and endurance that has bridged vast oceanic expanses. The islanders of the Pacific voluntarily hazard voyages to distant groups, carrying them several days out of sight of land in their tiny canoes. At the Sandwich Islands, after a careful comparison of the native language with several dialects of the Chinese,

I could observe no analogies of importance beyond the natural infantile sounds common to all the tongues of the globe. And it appears to have not much connection with the Japanese, Corean and other branches of the Chinese family of languages at the north. But on the other hand, there are many of its words found in the vocabularies of the Malay, and of the Marquesan, the Samoan, the New Zealand and other Pacific groups; and the Rev. Mr. Bishop and other intelligent missionaries assured me that, stretching far over all the intervening and disordered forms of human speech, they have been astonished to find almost the accents of their Hawaiian disciples half-way around the world, among the persecuted Christians of Madagascar.¹ This dispersion of the Malays over a breadth of ten thousand miles of the tropic zone renders just the inference that the Chinese race especially, which is so much more numerous and energetic, employing vessels so much more capacious, some of them measuring hundreds of tons burden, and freighting these vessels with provisions so much more substantial and cured with salt or sugar, should have successfully endured even longer and more perilous voyages over the flowing seas of their own temperate zone. The manifest Malayan origin of the Pacific Islanders is a premise which almost of necessity implies the Chinese and Japanese origin of the swarms that we trace from all parts of our continent back to the north-west coast.

Third. Reference may be made to the fact that legends

¹ W. ELLIS, the well-known English missionary, comes to the same conclusion (*Polynesian Researches*, vol. iv., p. 461. London, 1854): "The aboriginal languages of Madagascar and the South Sea Islands are strikingly analogous, if not identical."

exist among the Asiatic nations of people that have wandered to and populated regions far to the east of them.

The Jesuit missionaries among the Tartars heard them narrate traditions that some of their ancestors had been borne across the waters to a far-off continent upon cakes of ice. Humboldt advances the idea that the Toltecs or Aztecs may be the descendants of a body of Huns, who, according to the Chinese historians, emigrated under their leader Punon, and were lost in the north parts of Siberia.¹ The intelligent Japanese appear to have possessed not only some ideas of the existence of regions far toward the sunrise from their island home, but to have familiarized them in connection with the designation of the land by the name Fusang. But the Chinese afford us more distinct information than any other nation as to the locality and character of this Oriental Atlantis. They seem to have borrowed for it the Japanese appellation Fusang, unless that be imagined to owe its derivation to the language of the land itself. The following article, translated from an extensive Chinese Encyclopædia (the *Yuen-kien-lui-han*, pp. 44 and 45, of the 231st volume or book), will entertain the reader:

“FUSANG.—In the first year of the reign of the emperor Wing-yuen, of the Tsi dynasty [about A.D. 499], some Shaman priests, men of learning, came to King-chau from Fusang. They described the country as situated some twenty thousand Chinese furlongs² to the east of Ta-han, and eastward also from China. It derives its name from the wood called *fusang*, which abounds

¹ *Tableaux de la Nature*, i., 53, and *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, vol. i., p. 101.

² The Chinese *li*, or furlong, is rather longer than two of our furlongs.

there. The foliage of the *fusang* tree resembles that of the jatropha. The early sprouts are like those of the bamboo. The fruit is eaten as we do pears. The bark is woven into cloth for garments and for embroidery. The cities are unwallled. They possess some literature, their paper being made of the bark of the *fusang*. The soldiery are not clad in mail, and do not venture to engage in open battle."

The account proceeds to mention some circumstances to illustrate the severity with which crimes were punished by imprisonment for various terms, and even for life; the penalty, according to the grade of the offence, involving either self alone or the immediate offspring, or sometimes even those to the seventh degree of relationship, and the sale into slavery of children born in prison. It notices as a peculiarity of the trial of prisoners, that they "ate and drank in the presence of the judges." It continues as follows:

"The king is styled the *yih-ki*, the first rank of nobility the *tui-lu*, the second the inferior *tui-lu*, the third the *na-tuh-sha*. The king travels in great state, attended by bands of martial music. The royal apparel is varied each two years, and the five colors—green, red, yellow, black and white—are adopted for that period in succession. Many kinds of wheeled vehicles are in use, drawn by horses, oxen and deer. Deer are raised also to furnish milk for the manufacture of fermented spirits. Pears grow there of a red species which keeps sound throughout the year. The cat-tail reed or rush is exceedingly abundant. So also is the peach. Of iron there is none, but copper is found there. The mode of contracting marriage is for the lover to erect a temporary

dwelling close beside that of the maiden he desires, and to serve her, even in menial offices, for a whole year. If not pleased with him, she is then at liberty to discard him; if mutually satisfied, the nuptials are consummated. Buddhism did not originally exist in that country. But in the second year of the emperor Ta-ming of the Sung dynasty [about A.D. 459] five *pi-keu*, or mendicant priests, from Ki-pin, went through the country distributing Buddhist writings and setting up images. Its form of religion has in consequence undergone a change."

The question whether the Chinese by Fusang can mean North America has been discussed with much interest by American and European scholars. There was no knowledge here, it is objected, of the peach; and there were certainly no horses. Yet the points of resemblance between their descriptions of it and those of the Aztec empire furnished by the Spanish writers are so numerous and distinct that the general opinion favors the view that they are the same. It was advocated by De Guignes, by several of the French missionaries,¹ by Horn, Scherer, Sir William Jones, Paravey, Neumann and Humboldt. Bradford,² Schoolcraft,³ Gallatin, Mc-

¹ There is an interesting presentation of the subject in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris, 1843); iv., 1-75.

² BRADFORD expressly says that the Japanese ships once visited the countries west of them as far as the Indian Archipelago, and had reached the shores of North America to the east, which they knew by the designation Fusang.—*American Antiquities*, p. 233.

³ H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, in his numerous and valuable works on Indian antiquities, often takes occasion to speak of the Oriental origin of the language, legends, religions and customs of our aborigines. For example, in the *Algie Researches* (vol. i., pp. 44, 45) he says:

"That the tribes themselves are of Oriental origin is probable from the grammatical structure of their languages and their mode of expressing thought. But it is apparent that their separation took place at a very ancient period."

Culloh, Squier and other writers on American antiquities, maintain the same opinion.

It has been asserted that the name Fusang probably means Japan. The reply may be made that the Chinese have no such name for Japan, and say that the country spoken of is six thousand miles eastward of Japan. It has been imagined that the name is derived from a species of wood produced in the latter country; but the Japanese have no such name for any tree, as I am assured by Dr. J. C. Hepburn, the author of the dictionary of that language which has been lately published, and one of the best scholars in that literature.

There are several points of the Chinese accounts from which I have quoted that deserve to be compared with what we know of the Aztecs. Among them are their use of the bark of various trees for cloth and for paper, their possession of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and the number of their written volumes, which was so great that the Spaniards say they heaped up "mountains of them" and burned them. The observation that the criminal on trial "eats and drinks in the presence of the judges" finds a remarkable counterpart in the words of the familiar history of Prescott: "The judges wore an appropriate dress, and attended to business both parts of the day, dining always, for the sake of dispatch, in an apartment of the same building where they held their session—a method of proceeding much commended by the Spanish chroniclers, to whom dispatch was not very familiar in their own tribunals." The abundance of copper and the want of iron is mentioned, while it is said "they did not esteem silver and gold." Here again we notice a strange coincidence. "The use of iron, with

which their soil is impregnated, was unknown to them. They found a substitute in an alloy of copper and tin, and with tools made of this bronze could cut the hardest metals" and stones. The extraordinary assertion that they "did not esteem silver and gold," meets its parallel in the enumeration of the revenue of the Aztec emperor, where our American historian says: "In this curious medley of the most homely commodities and the elegant superfluities of luxury, it is singular that no mention should be made of silver, the great staple of the country in later times, the use of which was certainly known to the Aztecs."¹

The letters of Cortes to his sovereign, the emperor Charles V., contain numerous pictures which seem as if painted from Asiatic originals. Thus, in describing the palace of Mutezuma, he says of the carvings, "The gold and the silver are wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone-work is executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been employed, and the feather-work is superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery." Its separate edifices were beautified by numerous "conservatories of flowers." Its royal meals were "served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes." Its etiquette was so tedious that "no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in their courts." The members of the court wore dresses of cotton which "could not be equaled in the whole world, either in texture or in the variety and

¹ *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i., pp. 32, 138, 140.

beauty of the colors, or in the workmanship.”¹ These letters of Cortes strongly remind one of the narratives of Marco Polo, Rubruquis and the early Roman Catholic missionaries to India, China and Japan. And, indeed, it was not to be wondered at that he should imagine he had reached the remoter provinces of those countries.

There was everything to beguile the Spaniard into the belief that he saw before him “the Indians” themselves. When he cast his eyes over the country he beheld the same respect paid to agriculture as a profession, the same dependence of government on the products of the soil chiefly for its revenue, and the payment of taxes in kind; also similar modes of irrigation to increase the yield of the earth, hills terraced and cultivated to their very summits, and large public granaries in which the excess of the luxuriant harvest was deposited for years of drought and famine. In the place of trade he saw the same association of merchants and mechanics into powerful guilds for the protection of their privileges and their prices. In the street the coolies bore the burden that belongs, in our ideas, to the horse or the ass, and there were no wheeled carriages. The soldier strutted by him in armor of quilted cotton holding the bow and arrows. In the workshop he was delighted by the same dazzling exhibition of fine porcelain, of lacquer-work in wood, of cotton cloth, of silk spun from the thread of a worm, of precious stones skillfully cut and polished and of different metals splendidly enchased. About the abodes of wealth he wandered in brilliant gardens, containing collections of plants then not excelled by any in Europe, adorned by sparkling pools

¹ Letter ii., chap. v. (Translation by George Folsom; New York, 1843).

and airy pavilions, whose graceful pillars were inscribed with poetic or fanciful quotations. Within those abodes he witnessed the same regulation of marriage, one proper wife, with an unlimited number of inferiors in concubinage; the same jealous separation of males and females at their meals, and the same frivolous employment of high-born females in the arts of embroidery, music, gambling and the toilet. Did he mingle in the social life of the Aztecs, the abundance of sweetmeats at their feasts and the succeeding exhibitions of plays and juggling, the ceremonious gifts, the use of snuff and the peculiar mode in which the smoke of tobacco was inhaled into the lungs, might have cheated him into the belief that he enjoyed the hospitality of some mandarin of Kwang-tung. Should he converse with a company of students, their attention to astrology, their use of a hieroglyphic and ideographic system of characters in writing, the surprising resemblance of the calendar and the principle of the annotation of time, which has been so much remarked by the learned of Europe, nay, even as minute a circumstance as the mode of preserving their books, not in scrolls, but in alternate fan-like folds, would have confirmed his delusion. And how would he have accounted for some things still more peculiar, such as that remarkable usage, common to the Chinese and Aztec emperors, of appointing stated days for the public assemblage of their courts to hear something like a hortatory moral discourse addressed to them, or such an institution as the establishment of public literary examinations of prose and poetical compositions and the bestowment of prizes and rewards to successful candidates?

The Chinese descriptions of Fusang say that Buddhist

Wives of Chinese Merchants in San Francisco



priests went there in the fifth century of the Christian era and converted the people to their faith. To those who judge according to Western ideas of the facility of the communication of such a fact, if anything like it did occur, back from the one continent to the other, this statement will seem incredible. But it will not seem so to those who know that, rapidly and widely as important news fly by the agency of the newspaper, in the nations of the East they spread almost as swiftly by the mouths of merchants and sailors and monks and government couriers, and by beacons, and almost as by some instinct of the sharp-sighted and quick-eared people. And there are strange links which lead parts the remotest from each other to feel a mutual religious sympathy. Alfred the Great sent the bishop of Sherborne to bear his greetings from Britain to the Syriac Christians in India; Prester John sent a commission from Tibet to the pope of Rome; and the roving tribes of Northern Asia and America communicate to vast distances, and from one side to the other of the straits which divide the Old from the New World, important matters of concern, either social or spiritual.

But whether the information of the success of Buddhism across the waters ever became known at its original seats is a secondary question. The main one is that it really did give its character to the Aztec institutions. This is very manifest to one acquainted with it in Asia who will trace the countless points of resemblance in this respect between the Aztecs and the Buddhist nations of Eastern Asia. They resemble each other in their primary ideas of the divine Being, of good and evil spirits, of the depravity of matter and of the transmigration of the soul; in their general use of monastic forms and dis-

cipline; in their penances, ablutions, almsgivings and public festivals; in the employment of water as a symbol of sanctification; in the worship of their household gods; in the offices of their tutelary gods; in the devotion of the priests to the studies of astrology and astronomy; in the admission of virgin females to the vows and rites of the cloister; in some of the titles and functions of various prominent deities; in the bells struck with a wooden mallet; in the incense, liturgies and chants of their worship; in their use of charms and amulets; in their erection of charitable hospitals for the sick and asylums for the disabled classes of society; in the assumption of the right to educate the youth; in some of their forms of burial, or burning the dead and the preservation of the ashes in urns.

Besides the notices of Fusang in the Chinese literature which we have considered, there are imperfect legends found among other Asiatic nations of the ancient discovery and population of distant regions across the "Great Eastern Ocean." The French father Aquila, for instance, mentions the existence among the Tartars of some relating to ancestors of theirs who, they said, wandered far to the north-east and crossed to another country upon cakes of ice.

A *fourth* class of evidence, as to the Asiatic origin of the early races of this continent, I will notice but briefly. It is analogous to that employed under the last head to explain and illustrate the Chinese accounts of Fusang. It consists in the resemblances of language, customs and religion among the people of this continent to those of the nations of Eastern Asia.

The straits named by the empress Catharine of Russia

after a German officer in her employ, Vitus Behring, are far more narrow and easily passed than is commonly supposed. From East Cape in Asia to Cape Prince of Wales in America the distance is but thirty-six miles. They are each high and prominent, so that they may be seen from the opposite sides in clear weather. In the summer, large canoes, under sail or paddled by the natives, often cross, either singly or in fleets. In the winter the straits are frozen solid, and the people come and go on the ice as upon the snow of the mainland.¹ It is not strange then that the dialects of the Tchuktchis and other tribes on the Asiatic side should be easily traced in those of the people occupying the higher latitudes of this continent. A large number of Tchuktchi words are the same in the Esquimaux language.²

¹ The narratives of Captain Cook and several of the Arctic voyagers illustrate these statements. The following is from a late visitor to that region, in the service of the United States expedition which explored a route for the proposed telegraph to the Russian possessions (FREDERICK WHYMPER. *Travel, etc., in Alaska*, pp. 278, etc.):

“Scientific men are now agreed as to the Asiatic origin of the Esquimaux, even of those who have migrated as far as Greenland. Of the Mongolian origin of the Tchuktchis themselves no one who has seen individuals of that people would for a moment doubt. [A story is here told by the author of a Tchuktchi boy, taken to San Francisco by Colonel Bulkley, the engineer-in-chief of the telegraph expedition, who constantly passed there for a Chinese.] That the Aleuts also are of an Eastern stock is to my mind undoubted. The inter-tribal trade carried on so regularly every year *vid* Behring’s Straits proved with how little difficulty a tribe of wandering Tchuktchis might cross from Asia and populate the northern coasts of America. Open skin-canoes, capable of containing twenty or more persons with their effects, and hoisting several masts and sails, are now frequently to be observed among both the sea-coast Tchuktchis and the inhabitants of Northern Alaska.”

² WHYMPER gives the following comparative vocabularies of a tribe in Alaska and the Esquimaux of Greenland (*Travel, etc.*, pp. 253, 254):

<i>Malemute.</i>	<i>Greenland Esquimaux.</i>
I.....	Wounga.....Uanga.
He.....	Oona.....Una.

The Athapascas, or Chipewyans, occupy the vast regions between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountain range, south of the Esquimaux. They declare that they came from Siberia, and of the truth of this their dress and manners and religious practices bear witness. At far-distant points upon the continent connections may be observed with them. The language of the Apaches in Mexico has been found to very closely resemble that of the Athapascas.¹

Commencing with the portion of the continent occupied by the Toltecs and the Aztecs, of which sufficient has been said, we find the Pacific shore occupied down to Peru in South America with a succession of nations whose civilization is of the same Asiatic kind, not inferior in the grandeur of its remains, and as distinctly marked by the symbolism of the religions of the lands of the East. The prevailing style of the ruins of the temples of Yucatan is Buddhist. The paintings in which the sacred red is the prevailing color, the rich and orna-

	<i>Malemute.</i>	<i>Greenland Esquimaux.</i>
We.....	Wurgut.....	Uagut.
You.....	Itlepit.....	Iblet Illipse.
Man.....	Inuet.....	Angut Innuit.
Woman.....	Achanuk.....	Arnak.
Day.....	Oblook.....	Utlok.
Sun.....	Sickunyuk.....	Sekkinék.
Water.....	Imuk.....	Imék (salt water) Imak.
Snow.....	Kanik.....	Kannik.
Ice.....	Seko.....	Sikkó.
Head.....	Neakuk.....	Niakok.
Face.....	Keenyuk.....	Kenak.
Mouth.....	Kanuk.....	Kánnek.
Teeth.....	Keeutik.....	Kigitit.
Wood.....	Kushuk.....	Késsuk.
Canoe.....	Omeuk-puk.....	Oomiak.

¹ Prof. W. W. TURNER, of Washington city, quoted in Pritchard, ii., 519.

mented cornices, the heavy beams of carved wood, the elaborate sculpture in stone, the recurrence of symbols common in Chinese and Japanese temples, especially the figures of serpents, or dragons, encircling the ornaments and prominent parts of the edifices, give an Oriental aspect to them.¹ A good enamel covered some of the excellent specimens of earthenware. And the taste exhibited in some of the palaces was so cultivated and correct that some of the ornaments "tried by the severest rules of art recognized among us would embellish the architecture of any known era."²

The great Japan or North Pacific current, after warming the coasts of North America, is lost upon the north-western shores of South America; just as its Atlantic counterpart, after imparting its mild temperature to Western Europe, disappears on the coast of Africa. And it is finally upon the coast of Peru that this giant river of the ocean would land things borne upon its surface.

The legends of Peru indicate the occasional mysterious appearance among them of men and women of races superior to that which had existed there. Such were Manco Capac and Mama Oello Huaco, a man and woman who said they were "children of the sun," which is an exact translation of the name of Japan, and also of a title commonly given to the emperor of China; and who taught them the arts of civilization much higher than any

¹ STEPHENS (*Travels in Central America, etc.*, i., 314) says of the House of the Dwarf at Uxmal: "The emblems of life and death appear on the wall in close juxtaposition, confirming the belief in the existence of that worship practiced by the Egyptians and all other Eastern nations, and before referred to as prevalent among the people of Uxmal."

² STEPHENS. *Travels, etc.*, i., 389.

before known in Peru. Whence came these strange visitants? There seems no explanation possible save by the presumption either that they found their way from the land of the Aztecs, or that they were passengers upon one of those ancient vessels, built with the greatest solidity, and laden with rice, wheat, barley, dried and salt provisions and fruits, which traffic through the Eastern Pacific and are swept abroad over the surface of that great ocean by the typhoons, of which there are several in a single autumn. Save for the difficulty of collecting water from the rains after the supply on board has been exhausted, there is no reason why a few persons might not survive upon such a ponderous craft as long as some of our shipwrecked seamen have done upon rocky islets in the heart of the same ocean. The history of many a European or American Alexander Selkirk, who midst such a scene has cried,

"I am out of humanity's reach,
I must finish my journey alone,"

puts in our hand a thread which may guide us out of the darkness and mystery of the origin of the empire of the Incas into the light of a rational interpretation of it. The hindrance to this is more in the imaginations of our scholars in their closets than in the facts of providence annually transpiring in that hemisphere.

The customs and institutions of the Peruvians, when first visited by the Spaniards, wonderfully resembled what the same discoverers found in Mexico. They have been painted with such life, minuteness and beauty by numerous writers in our own tongue that we can dispense with a description of them at this time. What has been previously said of those of the Aztecs may almost be

applied to those of the Incas. The Oriental character of the South American race, if there be difference, is even more marked than that of the people of the North. The construction of the royal roads which led to Cuzco and Quito is equaled by no masonry outside of the Chinese empire.¹ The skill in the composition and working

¹ This whole most interesting subject is presented with the greatest possible brevity; but in relation to the military roads of the Peruvians I may be allowed to quote the following paragraphs from the most eminent philosopher of our day, who himself inspected these wonderful remains, which are so Asiatic in their character, to show how broad and fertile is the field of research:

“The impressions produced on the mind by the natural characters of these wildernesses of the Cordilleras are heightened, in a remarkable and unexpected manner, from its being in those very regions that we still see admirable remains of the gigantic work—the artificial road of the Incas—which formed a line of communication through all the provinces of the empire, extending over a length of more than a thousand English geographical miles. We find placed, at nearly equal distances apart, stations consisting of dwelling-houses built of well-cut stone; they are a kind of caravansera, and are called *tambos* and sometimes *Inca-pilca* (from *piracca*, the wall?). Some of them are surrounded by a kind of fortification; others were constructed for baths, with arrangements for conducting hot water; the larger were designed for the use of the family of the monarch himself. . . . In the pass between *Alausi* and *Loxa*, called the *Paramo del Assuay*, as we were leading our heavily-laden mules with great difficulty through the marshy ground on the elevated *Plain del Pullal*, our eyes meanwhile were continually dwelling on the grand remains of the Inca’s road, which with a breadth of twenty-one English feet ran by our side for above a German mile. It had a deep understructure, and was paved with well-cut blocks of blackish trap-porphry. Nothing that I had seen of the remains of Roman roads in Italy, in the south of France and in Spain, was more imposing than these works of the ancient Peruvians, which are, moreover, situated, according to my barometric measurements, at an elevation of 12,440 (13,258 English) feet above the sea, or more than a thousand feet higher than the peak of *Teneriffe*. . . . There are two great artificial Peruvian paved roads, or system of roads, covered with flat stones or sometimes even with cemented gravel (*macadamized*); one passes through the wide and arid plain between the Pacific ocean and the chain of the Andes, and the other over the ridges of the Cordilleras. Mile-stones, or stones marking the distances, are often found placed at equal intervals. The road was conducted across rivers and deep ravines by three kinds of bridges—stone, wood and rope bridges (*Puentes de Hamaca*, or *de Maroma*), and there were also aqueducts or arrangements for bringing water to the *tambos* (hostelries

of metals, in the cutting of gems and in the weaving of fine tissues, carry us back to Eastern Asia. The extended canals for the irrigation of large districts of country, often carried along mountain ranges or piercing them by stone-paved aqueducts; the postal arrangements for the use of the court; the military organization of able-bodied men by decimal numbers; the solemn ceremonial of the Inca going forth in the spring and inaugurating the general agricultural labors of the year by ploughing with a golden plough;—where but to the same far-off source shall we look for the origin of such works or usages? And in Peru we find Buddhism in all its characteristics—the twofold principle in nature, the transmigration of souls, the perpetual celibacy of

or caravanserais) and to the fortresses. Both systems of roads were directed to the central point, Cuzco, the seat of the government of the great empire, in 13° 31' south latitude, and which is placed, according to Pentland's map of Bolivia, 10,676 Paris, or 11,378 English, feet above the level of the sea. As the Peruvians employed no wheel carriages, and the roads were consequently only designed for the march of troops, for men carrying burdens and for lightly-laden lamas, we find them occasionally interrupted, on account of the steepness of the mountains, by long flights of steps, provided with resting-places at suitable intervals.

“Sormiento, who saw the roads of the Incas whilst they were still in a perfect state of preservation, asks, in a *Relacion* which long lay unread, buried in the library of the Escorial, ‘How a nation unacquainted with the use of iron could have completed such grand works in so high and rocky a region (*caminos tan grandes y tan sovervios*), extending from Cuzco to Quito on the one hand, and to the coast of Chili on the other? The Emperor Charles,’ he adds, ‘with all his power, could not accomplish even a part of what the well-ordered government of the Incas effected through the obedient people over whom they ruled.’ Hernando Pizarro exclaims, ‘In the whole of Christendom there are nowhere such fine roads as those which we here admire!’ The two important capitals and seats of government of the Incas—Cuzco and Quito—are one thousand English geographical miles apart in a straight line (S. S. E., N. N. W.), without reckoning the many windings of the way; and including the windings, the distance is estimated by Garcilasso de la Vega and other Conquistadores at ‘five hundred leagues.’”—A. VON HUMBOLDT, *Aspects of Nature*, pp. 415–418.

both monks and nuns, the fasts, the penances, the cloisters and convents, the sacrifices, the processions, the schools for youth and novices, the burial with the face toward the west. The imprint is so distinct that Rivero and Von Tschudi plainly infer that "Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, Manco Capac, and other reformers of Central America (including Mexico and Peru), were Buddhist priests, who, by means of their superior learning and civilization, sought to rule the minds of the natives, and to elevate themselves to political supremacy."¹

It is pleasant to review the several branches of evidence, which I have stated in its most condensed form, that to Eastern Asia we are to look for the great fountain whence flowed the ancient races whose architectural remains on this continent are so wonderful, whose history is so full of romantic interest, and whose mission it was to occupy the New World until the appointed time when from Europe the Protestant Christian nations should be brought to prepare a mould which should be the final ideal of just and beneficent government, into which should be cast first the forms of European nations and finally those of their own offspring in Asia.

And poor Mexico! Happy will be the day when the intelligent industry of the Chinese shall restore the Oriental fertility and beauty and wealth of the land of the Aztecs. A generation or two more, and they will begin to find their way to its rich mines and tropical valleys. It will be strange indeed if it be to become servants to those who have fallen so much from the manly vigor of the men who conquered the country three hundred years ago!

¹ *Peruvian Antiquities* (translated by F. L. Hawks), p. 17.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

DURING fifty-five centuries, at least, it pleased the Creator of the world to confine its population, its history, its good and its evil, chiefly to one of its hemispheres. Three centuries ago the other hemisphere, which had been visited by but a few of the inhabitants of the one opposite, and had been kept in the shadow until the hour for the sun of an unending day to rise upon it, was suddenly revealed. Its mountain tops began then to receive the light which had so long shone upon the Old World. Now that light has descended to every plain and valley. And the atmosphere is purer here, and the light shines brighter here than it did through any of the clouded skies of that other side.

God had a meaning in this great plan of human history. All the nations of Europe hastened to secure each a possession in this New World. But they have been all dispossessed save one. The Protestant Anglo-Saxon race now occupies all that is valuable of North America, and moulds the destinies of the rest of the continent and of South America.

Three centuries and a half ago the African was brought here. He was taught agriculture, the uses of clothing, of various valuable arts and of letters, and the

knowledge of one great God, who stretched out the heavens, who "formed the earth and made it, and he created it not in vain; he formed it to be inhabited." The task of his tuition has been accomplished. A door has been opened for his return.

The Asiatic comes—a very different pupil. Rich, acute, polished, dextrous in many arts, what he asks is chiefly the knowledge of the way of life, eternal life. Shall we impart to him of the fruits of the vineyard which we are enjoying, or shall we entreat him shamefully and send him away empty?

The commencement of the emigration of the Chinese to this country is so important as an era in the history of both hemispheres that we may well devote a chapter to considering its nature and circumstances.

That any of that nation should leave their own country and come to one so remote from it strikes many persons with surprise. But this is only because their information or reflections have been bounded so much by the circle of the interests of their own and kindred races. The Chinese are an enterprising people. At a remote period they were somewhat acquainted with Western lands. Some notice has been taken in another part of this volume of the very ancient intercourse between China and the nations of Central and Western Asia, of that later with Rome in the days of her pride, and of that with India and Arabia in the earlier ages of the Christian era. Mutual commercial connections then existed; caravans passed and repassed; imperial embassies went and came; religious pilgrimages were made far into the West, and some seem to have gone eastward in return, men groping over the face of the world for

some favored spot where they hoped that the veil which covers the throne of mercy might be more transparent, and where they imagined the sounds of the invisible world might be more intelligible. And some of the great invasions of barbarians, those of the Huns, the Mongols, the Turks and other tribes, which destroyed the pagan empire of Rome or scourged the nations which relapsed into its idolatries, were simply great emigrations of Chinese nomads, who, held at bay by the power which had built the Great Wall, opened for themselves a path of advance by conquest into the heart of Europe, and to the shores of the North sea. There is then no reason in the history of ages past for supposing that motives may not be presented which will attract the merchant, the herdsman, the religious pilgrim or the ambassador from China or the adjacent countries to make a temporary, or in the end permanent, home in a country which our own commerce has made so accessible to them.

And in the present age great numbers of the Chinese have gone abroad to traffic, labor, work in mines, or as devotees or to see the world. There are millions of Chinese emigrants in all the countries north and west of the empire, even as far west as India, in the streets of whose capital Chinese workmen manufacture excellent shoes, which are distributed over the country for the use of European residents, and among whose hills Chinese agriculturists are raising tea which is adding a new item to the revenues of the British crown.

A favorite field for Chinese emigration during many centuries past has been the islands of the Indian Archipelago. To many of these their labor and their com-

merce has been a boon beyond price. They have built and manned vessels of the wood cut from the native forests, created valuable departments of trade, turned wild jungles into cultivated gardens, and opened mines of gold, silver, tin, diamonds, and other metals and precious stones. They have proved beyond all other races the most intelligent and energetic associates of the European in the development of the boundless mineral and commercial wealth which the Creator has so prodigally lavished on those islands. In China and in the Indian Archipelago I have observed with great interest the benefits of this commerce.

The narratives of disinterested travelers among those islands are interspersed with pictures of the pleasing results of Chinese labor there. The following specimen is from the pen of an intelligent English gentleman. The scene is among the mountains of Borneo.

“After crossing the swamps we ascended a hill, and on arriving at the top, a sudden turn of the path brought to view one of the finest prospects I had ever beheld. Immediately below us stretched an extensive valley teeming with cultivation and covered with villages and cottages; the Sinkawan river, here about fifteen yards wide, winding through it. The south-east side of the valley was bounded by a range of mountains about fifteen hundred feet in elevation; but to the north-west the ground stretched in gentle undulations as far as the eye could reach.

“Our path led through a series of gardens, which, in addition to many kinds of culinary vegetables, produced sugar-cane, maize, plantains and a variety of fruits. After a delightful walk through the valley for about

three miles, crossing the river several times by means of wooden bridges, we arrived at the large village where we were to breakfast. The street was crowded with people, who left a small space in the centre for us to pass on to the court-house, where I found the kung-sze had prepared an excellent repast, having been informed of my intended visit by a messenger, who had been sent to Montradok from the coast the previous night.

“After leaving this place, we continued our route in a north-east direction. A few miles beyond the village we crossed several trenches about three feet wide and from three to fifteen feet deep, which I discovered to be exhausted gold mines. The soil in which the trenches were dug was of a clayey nature and rather poor, but not so much so as to render its cultivation unprofitable, for the rice-fields in the neighborhood appeared to be in a very flourishing condition. We continued to cross these trenches for about six miles, the distance between them being from twenty yards to half a mile, and then struck to the south-east over several ranges of small hills, the valleys between them being generally cultivated.

“Many of the farmers’ cottages were built of unburnt brick and covered with thatch, and being invariably surrounded and shaded by fruit trees, they bore a stronger resemblance to those which adorn an English landscape than any habitations I had seen since my departure from my own home. Houses for the entertainment of travelers were erected at intervals on the roadside, and at noon we entered one of them to rest ourselves and to partake of some refreshment.”¹

The position of the Chinese in Borneo is thus de-

¹ GEO. WINDSOR EARL, *The Eastern Seas*, pp. 280-282.

scribed by a sprightly German lady who visited the island in the course of a journey round the world :

“The Chinese play in Borneo very much the part of the Jews in Poland and Hungary. All trades and mechanical arts are in their hands; they farm or work the mines, and also cultivate the land with incomparably more care than either Dyaks or Malays. Their food, as might be expected, is much better. They keep, as I have said, both pigs and poultry, and they raise vegetables and fruit.

“In general, the Chinese may be regarded as the *citizens* of the country, the Malays as the peasants and the dependant Dyaks as the slaves.”

The Americans who judge of the habits of the Chinese from what they witness in the crowded and filthy shops of San Francisco may obtain a more just conception of their disposition when allowed scope to exercise it, from the following sketch by the same writer of a Chinese residence in Java :

“In the evening we paid a visit to the Chinese campan, which, with its pretty houses and remarkable cleanliness, forms a favorable contrast to that of the Malays. The houses are built of brick, but are as neat and white as if the whole campan had been that moment finished. They are not large, but are enough so to lodge even a numerous family with convenience. Neither windows nor doors are wanting—the former provided with handsome balconies, and all the wood and frame-work painted in dark oil colors. The front of the house is encircled by a verandah, from which you enter a reception-room, which takes up the whole length of the house, and where you find the ground covered with matting and the walls with

looking-glasses and pictures, and a sufficient number of tables, chairs and presses. In the background are doors leading into the ordinary sitting-room, and almost in every house there is a small altar in the state apartment.

“As we entered several of the houses we found the inhabitants seated at supper. The wives of the Chinese, like those of the Malays, are excluded from their company at meals, and dine and sup in the kitchen or in their own little chambers. The table was covered with a white cloth; there were plates, glasses and bottles upon it, as well as good food. One could have joined them in the meal with pleasure; while when the Malays eat they are disgusting to look at, crouching on the ground wherever they may happen to be, and cramming handfuls of rice into their wide-open jaws.

“The Chinese in the towns are merchants or artizans; they are unwearied in their industry, but not unwilling to allow themselves some domestic conveniences and comforts.”¹

Other testimonials to the industry, thrift and usefulness of the Chinese from recent visitors to the islands of this great archipelago might here be presented if necessary, but these are sufficient to show their character.²

It is true that the laws of China have forbidden emigration to foreign countries, just as its government has endeavored to exclude the commerce of those countries from its seaports, or to keep it confined in fetters at one of them. The present imperial dynasty has been averse to permitting other nations to enjoy free intercourse with

¹ IDA PFEIFFER, *Second Journey Round the World*, pp. 109, 279, 280.

² The recent volume of Prof. BICKMORE contains some useful facts and statistics relating to the Chinese in the islands under the dominion of the Dutch.

its subjects, perhaps for the same reasons which it has had for not allowing its subjects liberty to visit lands where they might imbibe sentiments that would make them troublesome at home. This is a policy quite natural in a small tribe of bold semi-barbarians suddenly lifted to the control of an empire so great, the intelligence and enterprise of whose population has made their own position constantly precarious. The Manchus were too shrewd not to be made wary also by their experience of the superior abilities of the people of the West, and their acquaintance with the arts of a higher civilization and more effective warfare; especially by what they early obtained from their acquaintance with the Roman Catholic missionaries, who cast cannon for them and conveyed to them many presents of a kind suited to show the superiority of Europe in those respects. The intrigues of those same men showed them also how dangerous would be the encouragement of an increase in their numbers; they were even compelled to expel the Europeans, useful as they were to them. The convenient concentration of the foreign commerce in the hands of the wealthy company at the port of Canton, called the Hong merchants, added large sums to the imperial treasury. Thus it has seemed in several important respects to the interest of the government to put a barrier round the avenues of entrance and egress, and almost to cut off the communication of the nation with others. And this jealous and despotic policy, sad to say, has been justified to the nation itself by the selfish and inhuman behavior of Europeans who visited its ports; by the piracies, the wars, the forcible introduction of the opium poison, and other gigantic crimes against humanity and

offences against the sense of right that belongs to the heathen as well as the Christian breast. Outside of the range of these causes, we are not justified in the assertion that a spirit of national exclusiveness exists. Certainly, with the same provocations *we* would have hurled a race of intruders from our shores with more of resentment than the Chinese have manifested toward us.

The commencement of the immigration of the Chinese to California was one of the events which made the year 1848 so memorable in modern history. In the same year in which so many of the thrones of Europe were abased and liberal constitutions given to the people, the thrill of a new life was communicated to the nations around the Pacific ocean by the discovery of gold in California. No magnet less powerful than reputed mountains of this precious metal would have so thoroughly excited them. The stream from China began to set in when the tidings were borne across the Pacific by our merchant vessels. At once the Americans, English, French and other foreigners hastened to prepare in the Chinese ports cargoes of such merchandise as would be suited to the wants of the new country so suddenly filled with people. Clothing, articles of food, even houses constructed in parts which could be easily put together, were hurriedly collected and sent over. The Chinese were equal to the occasion. The most remarkable monument of their capacity is a large and handsome pair of stone buildings, under one roof, three stories in height, which have been generally occupied by banks or express-offices, upon Montgomery, the principal business street of San Francisco. This pair of buildings is composed of granite, in our style of architecture, of which every stone was

cut, fitted and laid in its place without mortar in the province of Canton; the whole was then taken down, shipped with the men who were to erect it on this side of the ocean and erected in 1852, to the entire satisfaction of the gentleman who contracted for it. The cost of these buildings was a hundred and seventeen thousand dollars; they were at once rented for the sum of thirty-six thousand dollars a year.

Chinese of all classes and occupations were infected with the same "fever" which spread over our own Atlantic States. And those who remember the strange compound of the refined and the base, the good and the bad, the men of all professions and employments, who were cast together into the mines of California, will understand how the same variety existed among those who were drawn by the same motives and in the same haste from the opposite shore of the Pacific ocean.

The sudden commixture of races like ours and the Chinese, which had never before been freely brought face to face on equal terms, at first excited among our people a warm interest in them. The Chinese were kindly treated, publicly welcomed, and the imaginations of men looked forward to the commercial advantages which this practical contact of the West and the East seemed to promise to our nation.

But when it was found that the industrious Chinese miners to some extent interfered with the whites, that they willingly continued to work while others were idle, that they could be hired for less wages than our miners chose to accept, that they did not learn our language readily or mingle freely with our people, or join in our amusements, which often were barbarous enough, then

the public sentiment began to turn against them. Their very common-sense arrangements for lodging and other conveniences, in their "companies," became a ground of alarm, and the superintendents and clerks whom they elected to attend to the club or company-houses which they built were imagined to be rich capitalists who had imported the members of the company and were using them as their slaves.

The Chinese who have thus far emigrated to California are almost exclusively from the province of Canton in the South, a region whose people have been more ready to venture to a country inhabited by a European race since it has been there that European trade has centered for the past three centuries. Canton is a rich and fertile province. It is usually estimated to cover about eighty thousand square miles, and to contain a population of a little over twenty-seven millions of people—that is, three hundred and thirty-seven to the square mile. It may be said to be the Italy of the empire, being the most southern province and the mildest in its climate. Though but four-fifths the size of Italy, it has more people. It contains fifteen departments, which are subdivided into ninety-one districts. The most populous department is that of Kwang-chau, in which is the city of Canton, the capital of the province and the great seat of foreign trade. This department embraces fifteen districts. It is about one hundred and twenty miles long and about as broad, if a long, irregular projection into the sea be considered. It lies around a fine bay, studded with high islands, and the mouths of three large rivers come together near the city. The alluvial districts in the region of the city of Canton are the



Tobacco Manufacturing San Francisco

most populous. Towns embowered in bamboo, a species of banyan and other trees meet the eye on every hand. The level portion of the soil is cultivated as only the Chinese know how to do in order to obtain the utmost possible returns from Nature. The view appears like a great garden bounded by ranges of hills. The narrow streets of the towns are densely crowded with men following every trade and means of procuring a subsistence which the necessities of human nature can suggest. The waters swarm with vessels and boats devoted to a far greater variety of uses than vessels upon the water are applied to among the nations of the West. Hundreds of thousands of the people of the province live wholly upon the rivers and sea. In the front of Canton the scene upon the water presents as great a variety of employments and structures as that upon the land. It is from these towns and hamlets that the Chinese in California have come, and the women here are chiefly from this population upon the water, which is considered to be of an inferior race and more vicious than that on shore. These women are purchased from their parents or owners and brought to this country mainly that they may be devoted to licentious and wretched lives.

The word "coolie" is wholly inappropriate to the Chinese immigrating to this country, as much so as it would be to apply it to the mixed population of our own race which may be found laboring in the mining regions.

The origin of the word is to be found in India.¹ And

¹ It is properly from the Hindustani. *Quli*, or *kuli*, signifies simply a porter or bearer of burdens. There are several subdivisions of the *quli* caste, according to the nature of the burdens they bear.

the mistaken ideas which have arisen on this subject have come from confounding the Chinese people and customs with those of India, where the entire social system is widely different. The English writers familiar with Indian usages, and viewing all the nations of the East through the medium of the press in their great colonial presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, have originated in Great Britain and America gross mistakes in regard to the other countries of whose trade the East India Company held also a long monopoly. The British traders in Canton attached Indian appellations to many articles of solely Chinese produce or use. Of all the names of weights, measures, coins and officers, scarcely one is properly a Chinese word. Indeed, the difficulty of pronouncing intelligibly the native sounds has led to the gradual formation at Canton of a jargon the words and grammar of which are the most novel and ludicrous. The Hindustani word "coolie" is one of those thus inflicted upon the Chinese, who have no caste among them, and no class whom it exactly represents.

It must not be supposed that because the Chinese received their Buddhist religion from India therefore they adopted the system of caste. Much as it is interwoven with the customs of India, the Chinese mind, which is so practical and reasonable, has revolted against it. And this is indeed one of the most convincing illustrations of the superiority of the Chinese race to that which inhabits India. The system of "caste" prevalent in the latter country is familiar to all. It is known that there exist there four distinct and fixed divisions of society. We designate them by the word which the first

Portuguese and Spanish navigators applied to them from their own language—*casta*, “a race or lineage.” The native Sanscrit name for them is *varras*, “colors.” Of these castes the Hindùs say that the highest, the *Brahmins*, came originally from the head of the supreme creator, Brahm. They form the chief of all the castes, and are the authoritative expounders of the sacred books. The *Vishya*, or *Bias*, sprang from his body, constituting the chief supporters of the body politic, the agriculturists and capitalists. From his arms issued the defenders of the state, the *Kshatriya*, or military caste. The *Sudras*, or laborers, sprang from his feet. They are the most degraded of all, performing only servile duties. They are employed in tilling the soil and in menial occupations. The Vedas, or sacred books, are closed against their perusal. Thus caste is regarded as a divine and sacred ordinance, and the Hindùs consider the nature of the people of the different employments to be entirely dissimilar, so that it would be as impossible for a man belonging to one of the lower castes to be transformed into a higher caste, or perform the offices of it, as it would be to change a dog into a horse or a tiger into an elephant. Under these four great divisions there is a multitude of inferior distinctions of caste, each like a band of iron round its members, so that a man can scarce perform a solitary act—can neither eat, drink, be born, nor die—but he is made to feel its power. It is the most complicated, burdensome and despotic superstition with which the human race has been cursed. A man who breaks his caste becomes an outcast, is abandoned by his relations and friends and so wanders about till death. The fear of losing it, or

being exposed for acts which would hazard this, often causes the most shocking murders, and infanticide and other crimes.

It should be kept very clearly before the minds of our people, by all who are interested in the Chinese at home or in our country, that with this diabolical system that nation has no sympathy whatsoever. In the social system of China there is no such thing as caste. The less imaginative, calculating Chinese adopts Buddhism because it is all around him, the religion of every land with which his is contiguous, just as the furniture is tinged green in the room whose windows are curtained with green; but many of its characteristics are repulsive to his spirit. Buddhism is positive, systematized and minatory; his cherished patriarchal traditions are neither. He rejects the odious perceptive portions of the Hindù creed. He offers no human sacrifices; he burns no widows; he sanctifies no abominable licentiousness, as a part of temple worship; he perplexes himself with no frequent or minute ritual; he eats, drinks and is merry; nor is he at all sensible of such sin before Heaven as to require the painful mortifications and grievous burdens so eagerly borne by the Hindù. The whole apparatus of caste the Chinese flings away as something uncomfortable and unnecessary. And so the social and political system which is built upon this pantheistic base. There are no fixed divisions in the body politic; no employments necessarily hereditary; no essential differences of nature; no permanence of rank; few offices beyond the reach of the humblest individuals gifted with talent and energy. And, strange as the declaration may appear to many who have formed

their ideas from the writings of men wholly unacquainted with the real character of the Chinese and their institutions, or of some who have only repeated the perverse or unfounded assertions of calumniators, it is yet true that few nations maintain opinions or practices on many points in politics which are more democratic than theirs.

There is not a solitary "coolie" in California in the Hindù sense of the word. The laboring classes of China in the employment of foreigners have been sometimes styled "coolies." If justly, then a porter or laborer of any nation similarly employed is a "coolie;" for there is no more essential degradation in their case than in that of others. If it be said that European or American laborers often acquire wealth and assume a more elevated station in society; so, it may be replied, does the Chinese "coolie" about the factories at Canton or Shanghai. The bearer of the sedan-chair or the porter of the tea or silk warehouse belongs to a class subject to no cincture of contempt—one from which some of the wealthiest and most influential merchants have sprung, and embracing occupations sometimes accepted in turn by their sons for the sake of learning the language and customs of foreigners who trade there. The "coolie" becomes the comprador, or butler, who is entrusted with the care of the money and other property of the foreign merchant, and in time accumulates a fortune which enables him to purchase some high and honorable position under the government. Then, as it would be justly held to be degrading to style a laborer of our own race in any country, whatsoever his particular occupation, a "coolie," so it is not right to attach to the

Chinese the odium of a social debasement which is peculiar to another country, to other institutions, and to another and most dissimilar race of people. The word is one which ought to be wholly dropped when speaking of the Chinese. It represents a class, a caste and a man, in its proper sense and original use, for which there is no equivalent in their own empire or among the Chinese in California, Peru, the West Indies or any other land.

The means to pay the expenses of the voyage are obtained by Chinese emigrants to California in the same way in which they are by our own people in similar circumstances. One sells out his little shop. Another leaves the farm on which he was born, and where his father lived before him, in the hope of bringing back money enough to pay off some troublesome debts, or to enable him to add a few acres to it, or to give to his son a good education. A third is aided, if he has been unfortunate in business or afflicted in his family, by contributions from a few of his relatives. A fourth borrows money at a high rate of interest, which is to be paid on his return. After the most careful inquiry on the subject from all classes of Chinese, I have never been able to hear that any were brought over by capitalists and worked as slaves are, against their will and for the advantage of the employer. This fiction, so often repeated to their disparagement in print and otherwise in this country, arose from the clubs or companies which the Chinese are accustomed to organize in any region where a number of them may be temporary strangers together.

Very different from the entirely voluntary emigration of the Chinese from the neighborhood of Canton,

paying their own expenses, is that to which the distinctive epithet of "coolies" has often been applied, which has been directed principally to the West India Islands and Peru.

After the abolition of slavery in British Guiana in 1838, the planters in that country anxiously turned their eyes abroad in search of free labor. In 1839 several hundred Hindùs, most of them of the coolie caste, some of them Mohammedans, were carried there from the presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. The experiment, though at first not satisfactory, proved sufficiently encouraging to lead the colonial government to send for more. It also brought their wives, when willing, without cost to them. The contracts were generally for a term of five years, the coolies to be returned at the expense of the colony. They were paid four dollars a month, and food and clothing were found them. But the length and expense of the voyage and return, the sickness of the coolies on the plantations, the shortness of the term of service, and the uneasiness of the British people lest this might lead to a renewal of what would be virtual slavery, have interfered greatly with this emigration. It has been, however, very beneficial to the colony, whose most important products were multiplied fourfold in twenty years. English missionaries have interested themselves in the instruction of these coolies, but their temporary residence and the temptations around them have made it an unpromising field for religious efforts.

About 1850 the Spaniards began to export cargoes of coolies from Amoy to the island of Cuba. The region in the first place was flooded with placards inviting men

to engage in sugar-planting and as shepherds and laborers there for terms of five to eight years. They were offered four dollars a month, which was twice the amount they could earn at home, with besides two suits of clothes, medical attendance, sufficient fixed allowances of rice or flour, beef, pork or fish, sugar and tea, land to cultivate vegetables, Sunday as a day of rest, free passage for wife and children, with pay to these also if able to work, and permission to be released from their contract in one year, if desired. Many Chinese at ports along the coast were entrapped and kept in confinement in barracoons until they could be carried against their will on shipboard. Lewd women, intoxicating drinks, debts at gambling-tables, were part of the machinery. Once on the ships, they were shamefully abused, confined like criminals, and not sufficiently fed. In a cargo of five hundred and six, two hundred and twenty-eight died; in one of two hundred and ninety-six, a hundred and sixty-three pined to death with hunger, grief and sickness.

When landed in Cuba the contract was sold commonly for about four hundred dollars to planters or others needing labor; and this was the commencement of the brutal infliction of all the wrongs of practical slavery. It was to the interest of the employer to get all the work possible out of the amount of bone and muscle put in his power for a limited time. Their death was a discharge from all debts due to them. If they survived the term, he forced them into new contracts. Friendless, helpless, their condition, as some of their friends in China said, was that of "hell on earth." Some committed suicide. Not a few of the Spanish mayorals, or

overseers, were murdered by the desperate objects of their cruelty.

The more recent accounts from Cuba show that the general impression as to the usefulness of Chinese labor is becoming more definite in its favor. And the present tendency is toward the abolition of African slavery and the employment of the Chinese. Some of these people, notwithstanding the fearful odds against them, have done well pecuniarily. They have become peddlers, gardeners, mechanics, and even doctors, and shown a native enterprise which may at some future time place the relations between them and the indolent Spaniards upon a very different footing from that in which they stand toward each other at present.

The coolie trade to Peru and the Chincha Islands, which was begun in 1849, was one which crimsoned the cheek with shame that we belong to the same race of beings which could enact all its crimes, or that we in any wise as a nation share in the proceeds of its chief end, the procuring of guano as a manure for our markets and those of other Christian countries. In the digging of the guano, which consists of the deposits of a small sea-bird like a pigeon, upon the broken cliffs of the islands, to the depth of from one to two hundred feet, the coolies were forced to prepare their food before the dawn of the day and commence work as soon as they could see. They were obliged daily to dig five tons of guano and wheel it to a distance of over one-eighth of a mile. If not able to accomplish the task, they were flogged in the most cruel manner. No Sunday was allowed for rest. Many were made sick, or disabled by sores caused by the guano on their limbs. In their de-

spair numbers of them committed suicide, some drowning themselves by leaping from the cliffs into the sea, others going beneath the masses of guano when about to fall while digging it, so that they were buried alive.

The crimes engendered by this coolie trade were as fiendish as any that ever disgraced the slave trade with Africa. I have spoken of the villanies by which the victims were first duped and entrapped. Being completely in the power of the foreign seamen, on the bosom of the ocean, ignorant of where they were going, starved, sick, in despair, life was of small account to them. They committed the most desperate acts and provoked the like upon them. The scenes enacted upon the ships which carried them there were sometimes truly horrible. The *Waverly*, an American ship, in October, 1855, put in at the Manila, in the Philippine Islands, to bury the captain, who had died of dysentery. Having anchored in the bay, the mate, who was in command, was proceeding to lower the body into a boat, when the Chinese, either because some of them wished to go ashore, or, as some thought, on account of some superstitious prejudice, interfered to prevent his doing so. The mate discharged a revolver among them, and shot one man dead. The crew then having armed themselves drove the whole of the Chinese below and battened down the hatches, and the mate proceeded on shore with the body of the captain. He returned to the ship in the evening, but took no measures to learn the condition of the Chinese who were shut down without air or light. When the hatches were opened the following morning, two hundred and fifty-one of them were found dead! Scenes as terrible occurred on several other ships about the same period.

Within the past few years they have from time to time startled the people of Christian countries. In the winter of 1865 the captain of an Italian ship, the *Napoleon Canavero*, when the Chinese became rebellious, drove them below by force of arms and fastened down the hatches. The Chinese, rather than be suffocated to death, set fire to the ship. The Italians, finding they could not extinguish the flames, abandoned the ship without opening the hatches, and the whole of the Chinese on board are supposed to have in this awful way perished.

There were acts permitted by a just God which now and then paid back upon the whites a portion of the debt of vengeance due. Chinese pirates suffered themselves to be taken aboard coolie-ships, armed with concealed weapons, and at a suitable opportunity rose and murdered the officers and such of the crew as they did not need for the management of the vessel, and then made their escape to the nearest land.

The representation of these terrible transactions to the several governments interested led our Congress, in 1862, to prohibit ships of the United States engaging in the transportation of coolies or involuntary emigrants; to conventions between the Chinese government and the English and French ministers regulating it, in 1860 and in 1866, the provisions of which were adopted by the United States, according to instructions from the Secretary of State, in August of the same year; and subsequently to the closing of the Portuguese port of Macao against this trade by a proclamation of the governor of Macao and Timor, in 1868.

The agreement between the English, French and

American authorities and the Chinese government contains some admirable points. It requires emigration agents to be responsible men, under the supervision of the consuls of the various countries, and acting through a license from the Chinese authorities, which may be revoked for abuse of its privileges; it minutely states the points which should be specified in contracts in order to protect the emigrant;¹ it provides for rest from labor on the Sabbath, that is, one day in seven, and against any man being forced to labor more than nine hours and a half in the day; the engagement must not exceed five years; the cost of the passage home of the emigrant and family is to be paid, or if he re-engage for another five years, one-half that amount shall be paid in addition as a premium; each emigrant is required to appear before the Chinese officer previous to embarking and to give his voluntary assent and signature to the contract; a list of names of emigrants is to be sent to the

¹ It may be of importance to mention these points. The article reads as follows:

“ARTICLE VIII.

“The contract shall specify :

“1st. The place of destination and the length of the engagement.

“2d. The right of the emigrant to be conveyed back to his own country, and the sum that shall be paid at the expiration of his contract to cover the expense of his voyage home, and that of his family should they accompany him.

“3d. The number of working-days in the year and the length of each day’s work.

“4th. The wages, rations, clothing and other advantages promised to the emigrant.

“5th. Gratuitous medical attendance.

“6th. The sum which the emigrant agrees to set aside out of his monthly wages for the benefit of persons to be named by him, should he desire to appropriate any sum to such a purpose.

“7th. Copies of [the most important] articles of these regulations.

“Any clause which shall purport to render invalid any of the provisions of this regulation is null and void.”

foreign consul interested and the local authorities at the place of destination, and provision is made for inspection of the vessels as to health and fitness for the voyage. At the close of this valuable document, Prince Kung, in behalf of the imperial government, formally revokes the old prohibitions and declares "that the Chinese government throws no obstacle in the way of free emigration—that is to say, to the departure of Chinese subjects, embarking of their own free-will and at their own expense for foreign countries." But he threatens punishment with the extreme rigor of the law upon attempts to bring Chinese under engagements except according to these regulations; declares death to Chinese found kidnapping, and forbids unlicensed foreign emigration-agents, or operations at other than the open ports.

The interesting question, whether contracts compelling coolies to labor for a term of years can be so made in China by one who designs to import them to the United States as to be of substantial value on their arrival here, has been decided in the negative by the Department of State of the United States, and its opinion has been expressed that anything like "the apprentice system" is not to be encouraged in this country.¹ However, Chinese laborers, like any others, are at liberty to come voluntarily, and under contracts which are assignable, and if these be violated, they are subject to action for pecuniary damages.²

¹ *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs*, etc., 1866: Part I, pp. 492-494, 506-507.

² The following is an extract from the act of Congress, passed July 4, 1864, entitled "An Act to Encourage Immigration." Having authorized the appointment of a "Commissioner of Immigration," it continues as follows:

"SEC. 2. All contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States, in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for

The extent of the emigration of the people of China to this country in the future will be largely governed by ourselves. It is true that their numbers are vast, that their wages are small, and that they love work and are capable of doing much that we need to be done. But, on the other hand, they are proud, afraid of the sea and afraid of our race, and love home and kindred. They will not come in considerable numbers without pressure on our part.

The early rush of Chinese immigration to California was largely the result of the efforts of our own people. In the year 1849 three hundred came over, in 1850 four hundred and fifty, and two thousand seven hundred in 1851. Many of these took back gold and confirmed the fact of its existence. Foreign shipping merchants hastened to take advantage of the disposition to emigrate. Those in Hong-kong and Canton circulated placards, maps and pamphlets, presenting highly-colored accounts of the "Golden Hills." Numerous ships sent out native agents to obtain passengers. The consequence was the increase of the number of immigrants in 1852 to over eighteen thousand, of whom only twenty-five were women. More than eleven thousand arrived in the months of June and July. But several of the vessels

a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States, or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the Recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the Homestead law, when the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired, until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude."

were old, filthy, rotten craft that had gone through their term of ordinary service, been used then for whalers and afterward abandoned. So much sickness was produced among the Chinese on them that those at home became alarmed, and the next year not one-fourth the number came.

The number of Chinese on this side of the ocean in 1856 amounted, as I found by careful investigations made at my request into the records of their companies, to about forty thousand men and perhaps three thousand women. Nine thousand more had returned, and fourteen hundred had died. The number of men in this country in 1868 the Rev. A. W. Loomis, who is better acquainted with them as a people than any other person on the Pacific coast, judged from his inquiries then to be about sixty-one thousand, and there had been over forty-six thousand departures and nearly four thousand deaths.

Mr. H. C. Bennett,¹ of San Francisco, at the close of last year made an examination by the aid of their companies which led him to estimate that there are now about ninety thousand in this country; that is, that there had arrived from China, since 1848, a hundred and thirty-eight thousand men, of whom thirty-seven thousand had returned and over ten thousand were dead. Of the number here less than half are in California. There is no reason for supposing that there are more Chinese than the number which this gentleman supposes now in the country. Of these ninety thousand persons, it is supposed nearly five thousand are women

¹ Secretary of the San Francisco Chinese Protection Society, an organization which was formed on account of the cruel and unprovoked injuries sometimes inflicted upon these industrious people by bad characters about the city.

and about two thousand are children. Probably two-fifths of these are females and children living in San Francisco, as it is difficult to provide for them outside of the large towns.

The stream which begins to set in from China to the New World does not remain in California. It flows wherever a channel is open for it by the discovery of new mines, by the opening of new opportunities of trade or by the requirements for human labor. It is supposed that fifty thousand Chinese are distributed over other Pacific States and Territories. Half of these are in Montana and Idaho; a fourth of them are in Oregon and Nevada; the remainder are distributed along the lines of railroad eastward and in Colorado and Utah, and a few in Mexico and in the Mississippi Valley. As the number increases, they will press on into all the States and Territories of the West and South, into all the provinces of Mexico and into all the countries of South America and all the islands of the Pacific ocean. The wants of those vast, almost untenanted portions of the globe, abounding in all the requisites of productive soil, of variety of esculent plants, of mineral wealth, of water communication to sustain a large population, can only be met by the immigration of a race so capable as the Chinese. And the Creator has prepared a treasury of labor in that empire from which those lands and islands can draw without danger of exhaustion. This only we can now foretell, that the handful of Chinese now on this continent is but the trickling of the rivulet which will swell into a river that will spread over all the New World, and over all the islands of the great ocean which fills the side opposite to that which has

been the scene of the civilization which has been our heritage.

The general subject of Chinese immigration is so broad that it might readily be expanded into a volume; but I must dismiss this chapter with some practical suggestions which it is important that our people should consider.

It must have forced itself upon the observation of most well-informed persons that the populations of different parts of the Chinese seacoast are quite dissimilar in character. Those of the province of Canton have more of that which might be supposed to result from many centuries of communication, and of conflicts too, with foreigners; they are more enterprising and intelligent. Those of the province of Fu-kien and the portions of Canton near it, who have traded more largely with the Indian Archipelago, Siam and the neighboring semi-civilized countries, are bold and energetic, but more rude; it is there that infanticide abounds, and the people are more uncultivated and ignorant than they are in any other part of China visited by foreigners. The inhabitants of the valley of the Yang-tsz-kiang river are more mild, timid and inefficient. The people of the northern provinces begin to approach the Tartar type; they are physically larger, their food, temperament and habits are those of a northern latitude. The "coolie" emigration to Cuba and in the hands of the Spaniards has been largely from Fu-kien; there has been very little from any ports of the north; the emigration to California has been almost exclusively from the districts about Canton. It is probable that these differences of temperament may exercise a considerable influence upon

the directions which the large emigrations of the future shall take.

It is a most criminal and perilous matter to attempt to treat the intelligent Chinese race after the same fashion as was formerly done with the negro, and deceive and confine them in "coolie-ships." The horrible transactions, of which I have mentioned a few, will continually recur with similar provocation. Vessels will be burned, officers and crews slaughtered, and cargoes of men will destroy themselves and all on board rather than be enslaved. The Chinese know what liberty is in their land beyond any other in Eastern Asia. They will do just what a body of Americans would do if driven to desperation.

Emigrant ships on the Pacific should be subjected to legislative requirements, in respect to the amount of room allowed to passengers, as to diet, as to ventilation, as to cleanliness and as to medical attention, and should be inspected by disinterested and capable agents of the government, just as the same class of vessels on the Atlantic ocean. There can be no excuse before God or man for the terrible mortality which has occurred on some of the vessels containing Chinese passengers. Let the government attach a legal and sufficient pecuniary penalty to the loss of life on shipboard and it will cease. The improvements in the whole matter of hygiene on shipboard have accomplished results within the present century that to many must seem truly wonderful, especially in connection with those which make long voyages. A report on the subject of quarantine, made by a committee of the British Parliament, consisting of Lord Carlisle and others, some years ago, brought out the

facts that when the system of transportation of convicts to Australia was first adopted, in some of the earlier voyages one-half of those who embarked were lost; later, on the passage to New South Wales, in the "Hillsborough," out of 306 who embarked, 100 were lost, and in the "Atlas," out of 175 who embarked, 61 were lost. In the period from 1795 to 1801, out of 3,833 convicts who embarked, 385 died, or nearly 1 in 10. But after *the principle of pecuniary responsibility* for the lives of passengers began to be applied, in 1801, out of 2,398 who embarked only 52 died, or 1 in 46. The improvement has continued up till the present time, when it amounts to only 1½ per cent., which is even lower than the average mortality of the same class living on shore. On the steamers of the Pacific mail line from San Francisco to Shanghai and Hong-kong there appears to be reasonable care exercised. But there are numerous sailing vessels, carrying Chinese passengers elsewhere, which should be made the subjects of strict supervision, and, where the laws are violated, of just punishment.

Those Chinese who make voluntary contracts, which they clearly understand, if honorably and kindly treated, will as a general rule be disposed to abide by them. But it should be a point most carefully guarded by the legislatures and courts in the parts of the country where they shall be employed that they shall be only subjected to pecuniary liabilities in cases of violations of contract. The infliction of corporeal punishment upon them will not alone be a great wrong which may lead to very grave results in the case of the parties inflicting it; it will moreover be a door to the return of those who may have them in their power to the scenes of barbarity and

tyranny for which our nation has too recently atoned to eternal Justice by a sea of blood!

An immigration which does not include virtuous females will of necessity be a vicious, unhappy, troublesome and unprofitable one in any country. It is cheaper to pay the passage of such women—wives, mothers, daughters, sisters—than for any community or any employee of a considerable number of men to be without their offices and influences. The Chinese is a race among which the affection for kindred holds a high place, and over which it exerts a powerful control. Every possible means ought to be employed to check the coming of the wretched, pestilential creatures now brought over, and to encourage the men to bring their families.

And in all the general measures, legislative or commercial, which we adopt in reference to this element of our population, we ought to remember that we are not acting for temporary, or personal, or our own national interests; but that we are set by divine Providence in a position which demands that we should be inspired by loftier and broader motives, which are derived from the suggestions of an enlarged observation of history, a sincere devotion to the best interests of humanity, and by a humble and earnest desire to be but the instruments by which the Supreme Being shall execute his great and beneficent plans.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHINESE LABOR.

IT is important before as a nation we introduce to a large extent Chinese labor that we should form some distinct conception of its character, of the probabilities of its usefulness and the objections to the employment of it.

The close observer will soon discern that several elements are fundamental in regard to Chinese labor—the antiquity of the social system, the respect for intellectual employment, the density of the population and the difficulty of obtaining subsistence. These make it peculiar in any of those respects in which it differs from labor in any other country. They imply that the institutions have become thoroughly settled; that the arts have attained a high degree of perfection; that there are broad lines between the rich and the poor, and between the intelligent and the ignorant; that the poor must exercise ingenuity, industry and thrift to support life; that the characters of men will be more definite; that the employments will be more numerous and each branch better understood; and that remuneration will be fixed at lower rates.

We may group the characteristics of Chinese labor under four heads: the industry of the people, their

habits of economy, their intelligence, and the variety of their employments. Let us consider each of these more fully.

The first impression made upon the traveler in China in relation to the teeming multitudes around him, after that of the mere novelty of forms and costumes, is the intense industry of nearly every one he sees. The river people do not wait for wind or tide, but drive vessels as large as our brigs and schooners by numerous long side-oars or immense sculling-oars behind or on either quarter of the stern; and the water is crowded with men and women and children, toiling in their vessels of various shapes, buying and selling the commodities of the loom, the garden or the shop. On the shore he looks over a landscape every portion of which except barren hillsides is cultivated to the highest degree and covered with different kinds of grain, vegetables and fruit. The narrow streets are packed with men intent upon all the varied employments of the inhabitants of great cities, and are lined on either side with shops for the manufacture and sale of the countless articles which a numerous and luxurious population can require. Abodes of wealth adorn the more retired streets or the suburbs. The rich project and push their larger schemes; the poor struggle and toil for the subsistence of the passing day. There is no Sabbath known, and few holidays are observed. No equal population of any other part of the Old World is more intently and incessantly busy than that of the cities and towns of China.

The physical system of the Arab or the North American Indian through successive generations has become conformed to his roving and predacious habits. His

blood and flesh are like those of the wild animals of the forest or the desert. But ages of toil seem to have tamed the nature of the Chinese till now patience and diligence have become elements of both mind and body. They work because they love work, honor work and maintain happiness and self-respect by work. Work is a necessity of the muscular and mental, like food for the digestive, or air for the pulmonary system.

Foreigners in China see this national characteristic exhibited in manifold ways. The tea they purchase is prepared with an amount of manual labor that is almost beyond belief. The tender leaves are separately rolled, and finished with a twist in the preparation of some kinds of it. The amount and variety of manipulation which the Chinese think necessary and cheerfully bestow upon the tea, to retain its highest flavor, is the principal reason why its culture has not become extensive in any of the numerous other countries where the plant itself thrives. Silk is wrought with a care and embroidered with a delicate and patient skill which are not elsewhere known in the preparation of the fabric. The paintings upon rice-paper are so elaborately finished in every vein and stripe and spot and tint of a butterfly's wing, or of the petals of a tiger lily, or of the bright feathers of a tropical pheasant, that one has to examine them carefully to be satisfied that they are not the article itself attached to the surface. In the ordinary employments of the household, whatever faults may be attributed to the Chinese indolence is not included among them. They are ready, at all hours, promptly and patiently to obey all orders which they understand and which relate to their own sphere.

The next cardinal virtue of the Chinese is economy. The sustenance of the masses of humanity within the limits of the empire requires the utilization of every possible material suitable for food, raiment, fuel or the mechanical arts. There is scarcely any imaginable form of matter for which some use is not found. And the ingenuity with which cheap and common materials, such as bamboo, paper, slate or pottery, are applied to purposes of necessity, comfort or ornament is remarkable and sometimes even amusing.

The employer may be sure that in any department of labor in which he can trust the honesty, or be thoroughly cognizant of the conduct of laborers, there will be care exercised as to tools, utensils, raw material and the odds and ends, the saving of which may possibly constitute the chief advantage in the business. When food is provided it will not be wasted, though it may be disposed of otherwise. Clothing will be kept, so long as the native pride is maintained, scrupulously neat, as to external appearance at least. And we may remark, as a special virtue in a people who possess so few means of accurately measuring time, the punctuality of the Chinese. They understand the value of time and are economical of it, just as they are of money. They are willing to give full measure of time in work when they are satisfied with the wages. They claim few holidays, except some days at the New Year, and possibly one in the spring and fall to repair the tombs of kindred and friends.

The wages paid for Chinese labor in this country will in the first place be cheaper than any other. The sum obtained by laboring men in their own country, from

their own people, is equal to but a few cents a day; from foreigners they expect, as cooks, coolies, etc., from three to seven dollars a month, and to find themselves. In California they are paid thirty dollars a month in factories and on railroads. In the mines they have usually been hired at about two-thirds the wages of white laborers.

Yet it may usually be expected that the wages of Chinese laborers, when they become acquainted with the work to be done and with our people and language, will rise. They are shrewd, ambitious, and will not be satisfied to be placed upon a much lower scale than others who can do no better work than themselves. They will in the future probably not command the rates paid to white laborers. They have qualities which will always make them valuable.

A third general characteristic of Chinese labor is intelligence. In the south of China the people are so generally taught to read that it is rare to meet with a man who does not know the common printed characters in books. They think for themselves, and generally perform their work in a straightforward and sensible manner. When necessary to learn foreign methods of mechanical or other work, they readily comprehend the explanations, ascertain what is essential, and learn the necessary manipulations or forms. It is however important to teach them correctly at the beginning, since their arts and methods are so very different from our own, and they have been so long accustomed to follow their old precedents, that when they take up ours and once fix them in their memory it is difficult to induce them to change.

In this feature of the Chinese there is a ground of great superiority over laborers of some other races. The painful stolidity of some of the ignorant European whites and of most of the degraded Africans of this country is rarely seen among this swarthy people.

Combined with intelligence is willingness. It amounts to cheerfulness and mirthfulness among each other and those with whom they feel at ease. But to employers generally they manifest a most refreshing promptness and willingness to do just what they are asked to do. The habit of deference and politeness is instilled with their mother's milk. The first care of a father is to teach his son the language of proper respect toward kindred and superiors. Amid all the necessary jarring and jamming of the crowded streets of a Chinese city, or of the countless boats in a swift tide upon a Chinese river, the amount of good nature, forbearance and courtesy exhibited is a constant source of pleasant surprise to those who have been accustomed to the oaths, the bad passions and the blows seen and heard in similar circumstances in our sea-coast cities or on our rivers in the East or West. Many are the times in which the missionary in China, acquainted with the language, when he hears the angry and bitter words which the presence of foreigners provokes, turns to the crowd and appeals to them in some little pleasantry, or with the inquiry whether they consider such conduct to be polite; in a moment the sound of their own tongue and manifestation of acquaintance with "good manners" disarms them, and they express regret for what has been offensive. The ordinary labor of servants is done without the surliness and muttering and reluctance which are considered by

many persons of that class to be a prerogative in virtue of their condescending to an inferior position.

One other characteristic of Chinese labor may be noticed—its variety. In an old country the employments of men are far more numerous than they are in a new one. Society, as some classes become wealthy, multiplies its demands for articles of use, comfort and luxury; and as other classes become poor, they quit the ordinary and crowded paths of industry, and ever seek to discover some which may be more untrodden and remunerative. Different as are the society and employments of China from those in America, yet it may be said that there is scarcely a generic want there which has not some counterpart here. Hence it is one of the principal elements of value in the Chinese immigration that we find men acquainted with a great variety of useful knowledge, and skill in the agricultural, mechanical and other arts.

The first aim of those who early came to this country was to work in the mines. Seeing the want of cooks, washermen and waiters, many soon were induced to adopt these less laborious and hazardous employments, and quickly amassed sums sufficient to satisfy them, at a time when cooks in families were paid forty or fifty dollars a month and washermen received three dollars a day for renovating soiled clothes. In the mining regions of Montana, Nevada and other portions of the Pacific coast the people now eagerly welcome this neat, sober, industrious race to fill these offices in the household or community. Many an exhausted and sick American wife greets a Chinese servant as a boon beyond price.

The Chinese soon after their first advent upon this

coast began to explore other avenues of gain. Some became shopkeepers of various kinds. Representatives of wealthy mercantile firms in Canton or Hong-kong established houses in San Francisco, with branches in the mining towns. Doctors and druggists opened their shops for the relief of the suffering. Butchers sold pork and poultry as in their own cities and villages. Tailors and shoemakers began to ply their trades. And thus the Chinese quarters of San Francisco, Sacramento and other places in California began to assume the appearance of the streets of their native cities. And gamblers and lewd women followed, and became even more bold and wicked than the same classes at home.

Employments useful to our own people were early established by the Chinese among us. The gardens upon the hillsides, thoroughly irrigated, manured and tilled, supplied to our towns a constant abundance and variety of fresh and cheap vegetables. A few men cut and prepared kindling and other wood for fuel. A large number found employment in fishing, and in various kinds of common labor.

The good points of Chinese labor have been enumerated. Have these people no faults? Yes. They are suspicious until they become thoroughly acquainted with us; they are often dishonest; they often lie; they feel unsettled in this country; and they are in danger of temptations to sensual indulgences.

Suspicion of whites is not to be wondered at in a people who for ages past have been plundered and harassed by Western nations as have the inhabitants of the southern coast of China. But, beyond this, suspiciousness is an attribute of all heathen races. The want of

Ploughing for Rice



the virtues of Christianity necessarily creates mutual want of confidence. But when the experience of the Chinese shows them that an American is a sincere and disinterested friend, they exhibit their esteem and gratitude in numerous pleasing ways, and are ready often to load him with gifts beyond their means.

They generally require to be watched to prevent dishonesty and pilfering. But when articles are committed to their care, and their honor and better feelings are appealed to, they are punctiliously faithful. And when they are won to unreserved confidence in employers, the most implicit trust may be reposed in them.

They are not sensible of the evil of lying like those educated under the light of the inspired word of Him who searcheth the heart and bringeth every secret thing into judgment. Yet they are sensitive to moral considerations, and may be made to feel the shamefulness and wrong of falsehood.

They feel here like strangers in a strange land; and this sometimes, as in the case of our own people in new countries, makes them unsettled and unhappy. But, on the other hand, their habits at home are just the opposite from this; and when satisfied with employers and wages, they often continue in one place a long time.

The pure and stable morality of those who know the truths of Christianity of course they lack. They are a heathen people. And yet their very heathenism is not the fantastic, obscene and bloody religion elsewhere seen in Asia, which insults the reason and the sense of mankind, and sends its stench into the heavens.

These are the chief defects of Chinese labor. And yet it requires our people a considerable time to become

accustomed to the strange-looking race who go so quietly and, as some unused to them would imagine, slowly about their daily tasks. They will not bear goading and harsh language. They abhor irritability and despise fitfulness. They rebel against irregular hours of toil and bad and insufficient food. When cruelly maltreated and wronged they become sullen, and at last burst out in acts of self-destruction or desperate resistance—not vengeance, properly, for they do not nurse revenge.

To this grouping of the better and worse characteristics of Chinese labor the remark must be added, that the individuals of it differ greatly from each other. We too much judge nations by particular people of them with whom we happen to be acquainted. There are as great diversities of temperament and capacity to be found under swarthy as under white skins.

There are some practical difficulties also in connection with the employment of the Chinese. One is, the slowness and labor with which they learn our language. Its polysyllabic character, and the combination of several consonants in a single syllable, make it hard for them to pronounce it; and the entire dissimilarity of its sounds from those by which they represent names or ideas makes them difficult to remember. It is almost as hard for them to learn English as it is for us to learn Chinese. Yet there are among them some who speak English fluently and accurately. Another difficulty sometimes arises in employing them from their clannish disposition. This leads them to act in concert for the accomplishment of their purposes, and to indulge hostility toward their countrymen with whom they are at feud.

The fields for the application of Chinese labor in this

country are chiefly those of agriculture, manufactures, mining, public enterprises and the wants of the household.

Of the capacity of the Chinese as domestic servants so much has been said that I shall add to what has been said before but a word. Their characteristics of industry, economy and intelligence must make them a treasure in many an American home. And it is the pleasant experience of their usefulness in families which has made so many of the better class of people in California and the neighboring States their warm friends, and impatient with the injuries which chiefly low white foreigners have inflicted upon them.

In agriculture we may occupy these immigrants in employments familiar to our nation, or we may use their knowledge and skill to introduce new products and processes.

In the cultivation of the cereals the farmers have been able to accomplish a great deal toward making California a great producing and exporting State. The wheat crop is now more valuable pecuniarily to the State than the gold. It was expected that the surplus alone of the produce of wheat the last season in California would be sixteen and a half millions of bushels, that there would be three and a half millions more in Oregon, and that these twenty millions would bring in from abroad not less than eighteen millions of dollars. Farmers have introduced other remunerative crops. Hops have handsomely rewarded the labors of some of them. Fruits have attained a perfection under the long-continued and unclouded sun of California such as is nowhere else seen; and the abundance of them is almost beyond belief.

Tons of delicious peaches and pears last summer went to rot under the trees in many orchards around the bay of San Francisco simply because there were such quantities that it would not pay to bring them to market. With all this boundless wealth of nature, it is chiefly Chinese labor that is, and must be, employed to carry on the various processes of cultivation and the garnering of the proceeds. By this means they can be brought within the range of successful competition with the same products in the markets of Europe and of the Atlantic States. Without this labor the contest may as well be given up. No doubt, however, the time is coming when these vegetable riches will prove a boon to the regions less favored of the skies. The fruits of the Pacific coast especially will, in a variety of ways, be prepared by careful Chinese fingers for safe exportation, and be distributed over this and distant lands.

But it is not the mere toil of these people which will profit us. They have for ages been acquainted with the cultivation of plants whose products form the most valuable constituents of the wealth of nations. Chief among these stand cotton and silk.

The most profitable production of the soil of the United States has been cotton. Southern and Eastern Asia are the original seats of the culture of cotton. It was taken from Eastern Asia to Persia and Arabia. Our common names of some of its tissues are derived from the Chinese. Nanking, or Nankeen, the ancient capital, is the region from whence the most substantial web has been obtained.

The name of this most valuable species of mallow has been, by some philologists, derived from the Arabic;

but we may look for it with more probability in the designation of the district of Khoten, in the western extreme of the Chinese dominions, one of the most ancient and fertile spots in the world. The name is but slightly changed to Kustana in the venerable Sanscrit language of India. The word *kat* has passed into the Chinese. Marco Polo found cotton and skillful artisans in that region six hundred years ago. He says that in the kingdom of Cotan "they have all things in abundance, a large supply of silk, with vineyards and good orchards. They carry on merchandise and manufactures, but are not men-at-arms." They still pay their tribute to the emperor of China in home-grown cotton, and a Chinese geographer states that the plant in that country "covers the fields like yellow clouds."

The favorite cotton region of China is the alluvial valley of the great Yang-tsz-kiang river, which is somewhat like the Sacramento in its moist, fat soil and frequent inundations. However, it is also cultivated in Canton province. I have made inquiries, and find there are some natives of that province in California who are acquainted with the process.

It has been asserted by some intelligent men that California is unsuited to the growth of cotton. The sensitiveness of the plant to cold, the dryness of the summer winds and the absence of dews have been urged as reasons for the failure of some experiments in raising it. But while these causes may hinder the cultivation of some favorite varieties, it should be remembered that other varieties have been found indigenous to that coast, and which formed material for thread and cloth before the white races visited it; others still are natives of the

island groups of the Pacific, where they grow to be stout trees a dozen feet in height and some inches in diameter, and others inhabit Eastern Asia, which though less remunerative in their yield or choice as to fibre, yet supply hundreds of millions of pounds to those nations, and are so hardy as to be cultivated upon the mountain sides five thousand feet above the sea. There are parts of the Pacific coast where superior cotton has been found to grow well, the staple being long, the texture strong and the appearance silky; and competent judges in the Southern States have declared that specimens shown them have been of a quality superior to that commonly seen there. Some remarkably fine specimens have been sent from the neighborhood of Los Angeles.

The manufacture of the cottons for the insatiable markets of China and India will certainly in the end find its centre on the Pacific coast of North America. It is a mere question of time. There the material, the capital, the laborers and the markets most naturally come together. The most far-seeing minds of Great Britain begin to regard the fact with anxiety. They are projecting English colonies upon Borneo, New Guinea and other tropical islands, where the same advantages may possibly be concentrated in the hope of retaining the predominant national advantages of this trade under their own control. The following extract is taken from an article which appeared a few years ago in the *London Times*; and it may be remarked that its recommendations have engaged the attention of practical Englishmen, who are endeavoring to carry them out in the islands of the Indian Archipelago or ocean south of it. The writer says:

“The various places hitherto suggested for the extension of cotton cultivation—such as India, the west coast of Africa, the West India Islands, etc.—may always be serviceable as an auxiliary supply, but it will never be grown in sufficient quantities to influence the market. By the plan I propose, cotton may be grown so extensively that the short and inferior qualities would be only used in the manufacture of paper, for which there is a great scarcity of material.

“A tropical climate is undoubtedly the indigenous and most suitable one for the production of cotton, the plant being perennial, and yielding two crops annually; whereas in the Southern States of America the plant is annual, one crop only being produced, which is liable to injury by the variableness of the season. The requisites, therefore, are to obtain a large tract of land of adequate fertility, at a nominal value, and a plentiful supply of laborers adapted to a tropical climate, who would work at a moderate rate of wages, and thereby render production as remunerative as slave labor. The great field for obtaining tropical laborers is *China* (India can also furnish a large number of emigrants). The low rate of wages they obtain in their own country makes them admirably adapted to compete with coerced labor, which they will eventually supersede. The natural disposition of the Chinese to emigrate in search of employment, which they cannot obtain in their own country, is well known, the sugar estates in Java, the gold mines of Borneo, etc., being worked principally by Chinese settlers; and even the wilds of Australia and California have long abounded with these enterprising people. In the British and foreign West India colonies and

Brazil many have been imported, though the expense of transporting them such a distance is very great.

“The large island of New Guinea, or one of the adjacent islands to the north of Australia, offers the greatest facility for the establishment of a cotton colony on the grandest scale. With a fertile soil, and within a few days’ sail of China and India, there can be no doubt the most extensive and rapid colonization would take place, and that in a few years the settlement would become one of the most flourishing in the world.”

This English writer assumes what facts do not support—that a tropical climate is that which best suits cotton. The cotton of tropical Asia and Africa has not been equal to that of Georgia and the American Gulf States; and in China the cotton of Kiang-su and other provinces about the mouth of the Yang-tsz-kiang river, in lat. 31° north, is preferred to that of the coast several hundred miles to the south. On our Pacific coast there are climatic conditions probably as favorable to its growth as those which exist in the Gulf States. The soil is alluvial and rich. The location is in the great line of intercontinental trade. The genius of the people, the certainty of commanding the best improvements in machinery, and the presence of capital at the fountain-head of the precious metals, are pledges of success. And the labor required for successful cultivation, manipulation and the work of the mill will be obtained from the natural source across the ocean of that which is among the cheapest and best suited to these ends. It will be our own fault if that region of our continent, through this conjunction of advantages in respect to the supply of Eastern Asia with manufactured

cotton, does not become one of "the most prosperous in the world."

There is another textile fabric which is naturally suggested to the mind in connection with cotton; it clothes millions, it is more valuable in the same amount than cotton, and its great source has been the empire of China. Were it possible to make ours a country which should largely produce, use and export silk, all the disadvantages of the Chinese immigration would be indeed comparatively incidental and easily to be overlooked. China is emphatically the land of silk—the name was probably derived from silk—and silk is its most rich, beautiful and universally cultivated production. Its exports of raw, unmanufactured silk alone are worth to the nation from twenty to thirty millions of dollars a year. Its value to it in all the countless forms of use cannot be estimated in money.

California possesses extraordinary advantages for the cultivation of silk, among which are, first, the climate. Some of the best French silk-growers, after having thoroughly examined the relative adaptation of different parts of Europe, Asia and America, have pronounced California the best country in the world for this great department of industry. The chief reason is the regularity of the long and warm summer, with the entire absence of thunder or storms during the month of June, when the worms feed. The same cause has much to do with the remarkable freedom of the worms from diseases which carry off from one-fourth to three-fourths of the entire number of them yearly in France. Another advantage connected with the climate is that the heat of the sun in summer has been found sufficient to hatch in

three days the eggs when placed under roofs exposed to its rays and properly protected, while in other countries this process must be accomplished by means of artificial heat and with much expense and trouble.

The best food of the silkworm, the mulberry, has been found to flourish remarkably well in California. The soil is so rich that it grows and leaves with great luxuriance, without the cost of the heavy manuring and the amount of cultivation required on the shores of the Mediterranean. Some of the silk-growers have also asserted that the worm in California produces from a third to a half more eggs than it does under less favorable circumstances.

The cost of land and buildings is very small in California compared with what it is in France or Italy. The rent of an acre there will purchase three acres here. And there is here no need of the heavy and extensive buildings used there.

The relative cost of labor is a principal item of advantage. It has been ascertained that in California one attendant, on account of the advantages which have been described, will suffice for the production of the amount of silk which would require in France eight attendants. And the wages for which the Chinese can be procured, who understand the cultivation of silk better than any other nation and love this kind of quiet and regular employment, renders it certain that our Pacific coast will in the future be, next to China, one of the largest silk-producing countries in the world.

At the State agricultural fair held at Sacramento in September, 1869, I saw a fine assortment of silk in all stages of advancement. The progress of this interesting

business has recently been very rapid. The number of mulberry trees in the State, which was twenty millions last year, had multiplied fivefold within three years. It was estimated that from seventy-five to one hundred millions of cocoons would be produced. The State encouraged this by the offer of a bounty of three hundred dollars for each hundred thousand good, marketable cocoons, and an award of two hundred and fifty dollars for each plantation of five thousand trees of two or more years' growth. Individuals were embarking actively in the culture of silk in the central and southern counties of the State. A firm at the Mission of San Gabriel had made a contract to hire forty Chinese families for a period of four years, agreeing to furnish to each family a small house and garden, which would become its property in case of its remaining there. Much interest is felt in the success of a Japanese colony near Placerville. A Dutch gentleman, Mr. J. H. Schnell, has purchased there two thousand acres of land and planted upon it a colony of Japanese at his own expense. He had been a resident of the principality of Aidzu, and interested in the improvement of the condition of its people. The civil war having unsettled him, he determined to emigrate to California, and induced these families to accompany him. They have built twelve houses in Japanese style for residences and places for the care of silkworms and the weaving of the fibre into various fabrics for the California market. They have set out fifty thousand mulberry trees. The cocoons exhibited at the State fair were very large and fine. These people have also introduced tea, bamboo, oil and other plants, some specimens of which were shown there.

The inquiry is often made, whether the Japanese is not a more desirable race, as relates to its subserviency to our national wants, than the Chinese? Perhaps the conception of the difference between them may be made easy to most persons by comparing it to that which exists between the French nation and the British. The Japanese are more quick, nervous, susceptible and easy in their intercourse. But they are more volatile, more petulant and quarrelsome and more licentious. The immorality of Japanese society is shocking to the better class of Chinese, and they so speak of it in emphatic language. The Japanese have taken what is best in their literature from the Chinese classics, teach Confucius in their schools and speak the Chinese as a polite language in their wealthy families. And they distinctly recognize the superiority of the empire, of which their own is but a satellite, in their writings. Some of the Japanese will come to this country, and should be welcomed, to learn here the arts and the wisdom of which Providence has made us the repository and the almoners. But it is chiefly the Chinese who can repay to our nation anything like benefits equivalent to those we may communicate.

A feature of the production of silk which has within a few years attracted much attention in Europe is that of the variety of moths which have been found to form the characteristic fibre. One of these is the ailanthus silkworm (*Bombyx cynthia*), which had been described about the middle of the last century by French missionaries in China, but was brought before the attention of the Italian silk-growers by Fantoni, a missionary from Piedmont, in 1856. M. Guérin Meneville satisfied him-

Transplanting and Sowing Rice





self of its value, and introduced it widely and successfully in France. The emperor Napoleon has exhibited warm interest in the business. The advantages of the fibre over that of the common worm (*Bombyx mori*), which feeds upon the mulberry, are that the tree (*Ailanthus glandulosa*) which sustains the worm is very common and hardy, and grows even upon sterile soil; the moth itself is not tender and subject to diseases like the other, and is not affected by wind and rain; the product is more strong and durable; and the goods manufactured from it will be much cheaper than ordinary silk, though not so brilliant in color. Another species of silk has still more recently been manufactured in France. It was obtained from the Japanese Tusseh moth (*Antheræa yama-mai*), also through the efforts of M. Guérin Meneville. It is of a brown color, wanting in lustre, but very firm and durable. It is easily wound from the cocoon, and can be worked to great advantage with cotton or wool. Experiments were made in California as to the usefulness of the *Saturnia ceanotha*, a silkworm feeding upon a shrub (*Ceanothus*) common upon the hills. Other species adapted to our use will, it is supposed, be brought to light in the course of our increased acquaintance with those empires in which the manufacture of silk was a subject of universal interest for many centuries before our forefathers and the Romans and Greeks ever knew of the existence of this royal material. We will thus discover what will be suitable to the varieties of the climate of our extended country and open up sources of wealth to every portion of it.

The English in India, having succeeded so well in the culture of cotton and tea, have turned their attention to

that of silk. Various species of silk-producing moths have been long known in that country. The following interesting description is given of those in India, China and America, together with some hints that may be useful to us, by the entomologists Kirby and Spence:¹ "The most important species known are the Tusseh and Arindy silkworms. These insects are both natives of Bengal. The first (*Saturnia paphia*, Linn.) feeds upon the leaves of the jujube tree, or *byer* of the Hindùs, and upon the *Terminalia alata glabra* (Roxburgh), the *as-seen* of the Hindùs, and is found in such abundance as from time immemorial to have afforded a constant supply of very durable, coarse, dark-colored silk, which is woven into a cloth called *tusseh-doot'hies*, much worn by the Brahmins and other sects, and which would be highly useful to the inhabitants of many parts of America and the south of Europe, where a light and cool, and at the same time a cheap and durable, dress, such as this silk furnishes, is much wanted. The durability of this silk is really astonishing, as after constant use for nine or ten years it does not show the least appearance of decay. These insects are thought by the natives of so much consequence that they guard them by day to preserve them from crows and other birds, and by night from the bats. The Arindy silkworm (*Saturnia cynthia*, Drury), which feeds solely on the leaves of the palma christi, produces remarkably soft cocoons, the silk of which is so delicate and flossy that it is impracticable to wind it off; it is therefore spun like cotton, and the thread thus manufactured is woven into a coarse kind of white cloth of a loose texture, but

¹ *Introduction to Entomology* (Phila. ed. from 6th London), pp. 224, 225.

of still more incredible durability than the last, the lifetime of one person being seldom sufficient to wear out a garment made of it. It is used not only for clothing, but for packing fine cloths, etc. Some manufacturers in England to whom the silk was shown seemed to think that it could there be made into shawls equal to any received from India. A moth allied to this last species, but distinct, has been described and figured by Col. Sykes, who met with its leather-like cocoons composed of silk so strong that a single filament supported a weight of a hundred and ninety-eight grains. There can be little doubt but that silk might be advantageously produced from it, as the caterpillars which spin it feed indiscriminately on the teak tree, the mulberry, the *bor* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) and the *osana* (*Terminalia alata glabra*).

“Other species are known in China. ‘We have obtained,’ says the writer of a letter in Young’s *Annals of Agriculture*, ‘a monthly silkworm from China, which I reared with my own hands, and in twenty-five days have had the cocoons in my basins, and by the twenty-ninth or thirty-first day a new progeny feeding in my trays. This makes it a mine to whoever would undertake the cultivation of it.’

“There seems no question that silk might be advantageously derived from many native silkworms in America. An account is given in the *American Philosophical Transactions* (v. 325) of one found there whose cocoon is not only heavier and more productive than that of the common kind, but is so much stronger that twenty threads will carry an ounce more.” The authors proceed to notice several moths known in various parts of North and South America and the West Indies whose

silk has been wrought into clothing, handkerchiefs, pasteboard and other articles.

These writers¹ make a suggestion in regard to the manufacture of other articles besides the thread and its manufactured products from the silkworm, which will be interesting to some of our own people. They say :

“It is probable, too, that other articles besides silk might be obtained from the larvæ which usually produce it, particularly cements and varnishes of various kinds, some hard, others elastic, from their gum and silk reservoirs ; from which it is said the Chinese procure a fine varnish, and fabricate what is called by anglers *Indian grass*. The diminutive size of the animal will be thought no objection when we recollect that the very small quantity of purple dye afforded by the *Purpura* of the ancients did not prevent them from collecting it.”

An English company was formed for the development of the supply of silk from India and other colonial possessions, after the attention of the people had been turned to the importance of this business by the Paris Exposition. It was styled the Silk Supply Association. Its objects are thus stated : “1. To stimulate the production of silk, by cottage cultivation and otherwise, in every country where the mulberry tree is capable of giving food to the silkworm. 2. To encourage the introduction and exchange of the eggs of the best kind of silkworms in silk-producing districts. 3. To offer practical suggestions and encouragement to the producers of silk for improving the quality and securing a better classification, and for ensuring greater care in the reeling of the silk. 4. To promote the cultivation of silk in

¹ KIRBY and SPENCE, p. 226.

the various silk-producing districts in India where the production of silk has not recently increased, and in other districts of India where the cultivation of the silkworm has almost ceased, but which are known to possess special advantages, by the growth of the mulberry tree and the habits of the people, for its propagation. 5. To promote the exportation of cocoons from countries not well able to reel them. 6. To communicate with the foreign, colonial and Indian departments of Her Majesty's Government, and to obtain the aid of the English representatives in the British colonies and consular agents in all foreign countries to promote and extend the cultivation of silk."

American naturalists in the Atlantic States have sought for such kinds of native moths as might be made useful in the manufacture of silk. Dr. Barton, of Philadelphia, made some interesting experiments upon various native caterpillars which are found in the woods of Pennsylvania. Dr. D. Bethune McCartee, an American medical missionary at Ningpo, in China, when on a visit to this country recognized an American moth as the same with one from which large quantities of pongee silk are made in the northern parts of that empire. It is the opinion of Jaeger and others that other American moths, such as *Cecropia luna*, *Polyphemus* and *Promethea*, will be employed in supplying coarse silk. The fibre obtained from them may be made into goods of great strength and durability, which may be worn for several years. It will be a strange thing indeed if the practical and inventive genius of our country will long allow sources of national wealth, which are turned to so much advantage in India and China, to lie uncultivated.

The manufacture of silk has been fairly begun in various parts of the United States. Thirty years ago much attention was directed to the subject, and a fever of speculation in a species of mulberry (*Morus multi-caulis*), which is one of the best kinds of food for the worm, swept over the country and enriched a few, but unfortunately left far more persons impoverished and disgusted.

A few factories, however, in various States were kept in operation; sufficient to show the practicability of maintaining the business in this country. One of them, which I visited with much interest thirty years ago, was that at Economy, on the Ohio river, below Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where the work was carried on by a secluded and semi-monastic sect of Germans, with entire success. The census returns of 1860 show that there were in that year four hundred and fifteen silk manufactories in the United States; of which Connecticut had one hundred and forty-four, New Jersey one hundred and thirteen, New York eighty, Pennsylvania twenty-eight, Massachusetts thirty-six, New Hampshire seven, Kentucky four and California three. The amount of capital invested in the business was estimated to be two millions of dollars. This has rapidly increased. It was supposed, in 1865, that the capital invested was about five millions of dollars.

The men and women engaged in the silk factories are at present principally Europeans. It is supposed that there are between fifty and eighty thousand of them. The American Emigration Company has agents in the seats of silk manufacture to select and forward them to this country. It is a work well adapted to females, being

clean and not laborious. In one trimming factory in New York, out of three hundred employés about fifty only are men. This factory pays six thousand dollars per month in wages. Another factory employs women in nearly all departments. They tend the looms and do most of the spinning, winding and warping. Out of fifteen hundred hands, more than two-thirds are women. The wages paid are high: to men from twenty to twenty-four dollars a week, to women from four to ten dollars.

Even at these rates, which are three times what are paid in Europe, we have been able, with the advantage of a duty of sixty per cent. and the difference of freight, insurance and exchange, successfully to compete with foreign silk. A single establishment in Connecticut now produces annually six hundred thousand yards of dress silks, comprising gros grains, poplins, foulards and pongees; of belt ribbons one hundred thousand pieces are produced, and this factory still further turns out each year sixty thousand pounds of "thrown" and an equal quantity of "spun" silk. Large quantities of silk dress goods are also made at Paterson, New Jersey, and at various points in the State of New York. Foreign sewing-silks and fine dress trimmings are being crowded out of our markets. The latter materials are at present manufactured at thirty establishments in Philadelphia, and the former article is produced elsewhere in very large quantities.

The attention of the silk manufacturers of Europe has of late been strongly turned to the advantages offered them in this country. Projects have been entered into to form colonies in the Western and other States to carry on their business. One of these, in Kansas, has so far

made progress as to authorize the French gentleman most interested to send back flattering inducements for his countrymen to join him.

But a few years will pass before the Chinese will be dispersed over the Mississippi valley and Western and Southern States, and the manufacture of the several practicable varieties of silk will be carried on, by whatsoever advantages their knowledge and capacity for such labor afford, in other portions of our country besides California. There seems to be no reason why the tens of millions of dollars which we annually pay to England, France and other European nations for this fabric may not be expended in enriching our own land.

There are other textile plants, the value of which is yet to be determined by experiment, that furnish the Chinese with fine raiment. One of them is the hemp nettle (*Urtica nivea*), which grows several feet high and yields three crops in the course of the year, between June and October. It supplies, by boiling, pounding and bleaching, the principal material for the beautiful "grass-cloth," resembling our linen, though more bright in texture and pearly in color, which the Chinese wear in the summer, and call *hia-po*, or "summer-cloth." There is a creeper (*Dolichos bulbosus*) which gives to the poor a strong yellowish fibre suitable for more common uses. But these materials of agricultural and manufacturing wealth can only be hinted at here.¹ English botanists are inquiring into the character of some of

¹ A new textile plant, the Ramie (*Boehmeria tenacissima*), is now attracting much attention. It resembles hemp, nettle and other *Urticaceæ*, and it is claimed that it is "as fine, as white and twice as durable as flax, and more productive than cotton, and will sell for twice the price of cotton." It was brought from Java to France in 1844. It grows well in the Gulf States and parallel latitudes.

them, and introducing those most suitable into their own colonies. The Chinese manufacture paper out of a variety of materials, some of which may prove useful to us. The bamboo is the most common, and I have seen beautiful paper made of it by mills in this country. There is a curious plant which has been styled the "Nepal paper plant," which has been used for centuries in China and some of the countries west of it. It has been said by a British botanist (Dr. Campbell) that it makes a paper "as strong and durable as leather almost, and quite smooth enough to write on, and for office records incomparably better than any India paper."

The practicability of introducing or cultivating through Chinese labor the numerous esculents and beverages of the Oriental world cannot be more than briefly alluded to in this volume. The question of the cultivation of tea in this country is one which has long interested our botanists and horticulturists. There is nothing to prevent it in respect to climate. The best Chinese tea comes from between latitudes 25° and 33° , but it grows down to the tropical shores of the China sea on one extreme, and in the mountain regions amid heavy snows on the other. It is the opinion of the best judges that good tea can be produced in almost any climate here south of New England. The plant loves broken hillsides, a light soil, the neighborhood of streams and a good deal of moisture. The smooth, dark-colored, leathery, serrated leaf is best when plucked from shrubs between four and seven feet in height. But the plant under the most favorable circumstances rises to five or six times that height, with leaves proportionably large, but too rank for use. There are many parts of the

United States where it could be easily grown. The preparation of the leaf for commercial uses is performed at an expense of time and labor in China which would be intolerable to any other nation. The cost of the finest tea there is more than twenty dollars a pound; but that is confined to a few fancy kinds, which our uncultivated taste could scarce distinguish from others of one-tenth the price. The results of all the manipulation by the Chinese, it is believed by gentlemen who have thoroughly examined its processes, could be readily secured by machinery, so that we could in time afford to produce our own tea.

The success of the British in raising tea in Assam is encouraging to us. In the year 1834 they began to cultivate the wild plant which had been found growing abundantly in the vicinity of the Brahmapootra river. The results induced them to form joint-stock companies for its enlargement in England and India. Chinese laborers and workmen were imported, who taught Hindù coolies. The difficulties and outlays connected with new and extensive enterprises in a wild region several hundred miles from the sea have been fully met. A few years ago sixty companies were there engaged in tea-culture. A large territory has become populous and animated with life, industry and civilization through this new source of colonial wealth. The Europeans are introducing tea into other parts of Northern India, but their families are chiefly supplied with the article from Assam; and the exports to England from the latter region have become considerable and will be rapidly increased.

The tea plant is cultivated in Java and other islands of the Indian Archipelago, and in Brazil and some

other countries. Twenty years ago it was raised in our Southern States. Dr. Junius Smith found it would grow well in South Carolina. There is no reason why so valuable a plant may not be domesticated in many other parts of our country, particularly in the South.

There have been found in various parts of Asia more than a hundred and thirty kinds of rice. Those commonly used by the people of Canton province they greatly prefer to what we raise in the Carolinas, though smaller and more yellow, on the ground that they are more palatable and nutritive. Sugar is manufactured by the Chinese in immense quantities and by economical processes, much of it by voluntary crystallization. It is never produced from the sorghum, which has been found so useful in the United States, but is there only known in a few localities, chiefly as furnishing cane for chewing. Numerous valuable fruits may be transplanted from Asia to the soil of the New World. The finest ground or peanuts sold at the stands in the streets of the Atlantic cities are from the Pacific coast, but it is not yet known here that the most abundant and cheap oil of the Chinese, used like that of the olive of Europe for food and burned in the lamps for light, is obtained from this nut.¹

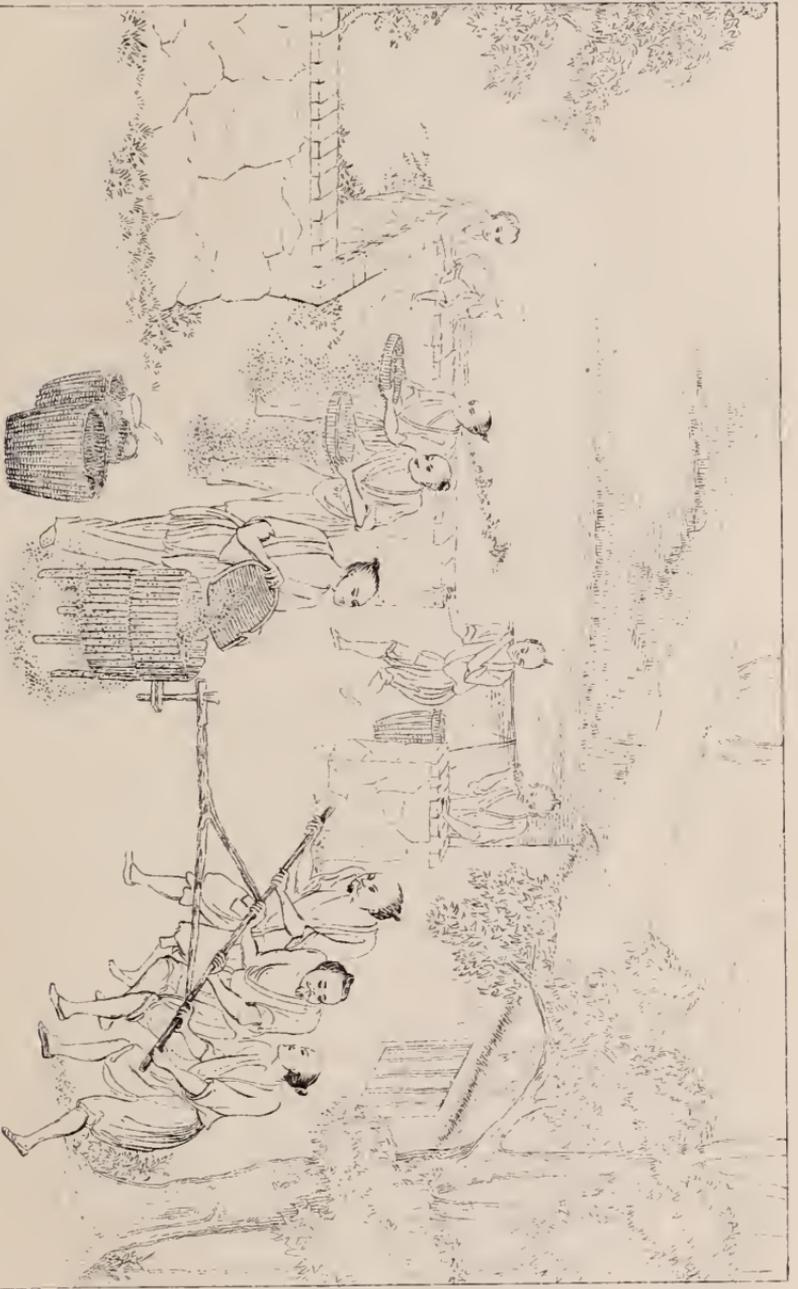
No vegetable gift of the Old World to the New will be more truly valuable than the bamboo. It will meet some of the greatest wants of the prairies and plains. It

¹ The cultivation of this plant, both for eating and for oil, is attracting much attention in the South. Portions of the lowlands of Virginia and North Carolina have been more remuneratively devoted to this than to any other crop. In 1868 it was estimated that sixty-two thousand bushels were sold and shipped; in 1869 perhaps one-fourth more than that amount, the prices ranging from one dollar and forty to two dollars and sixty cents a bushel, according to the quality.

is employed in various parts of the world for fences, grows rapidly in brakes and affords a nutritious food, when young, to cattle. There are many very different varieties, unlike in color, size and grain, and adapted to many valuable purposes. Poles, ropes, furniture, tubes, paper, cups and a thousand useful and ornamental things are made out of the bamboo. On the land and on the water its uses are almost beyond description. It has seemed to me in looking at the cane-brakes of the South that Providence has already supplied the valley of the Mississippi and our Southern States with a plant which in the hands of the Chinese must prove valuable in coming days. The "cane" (*Arundinaria macrosperma*), though of a different botanical order from the bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*), possesses some of its most useful qualities. The hard silicious surface, the long straight rods, the hollow tubes of various sizes, the edible sprouts, suggest a great abundance of applications.

The capacity of the Chinese to adapt themselves to our wants as laborers and workmen has been fully proved. In the factories of various kinds, at San Francisco and elsewhere on the coast, they work with the endurance of men united to the nimbleness and facility of our women in similar occupations. They are equal to the severe labors of foundries, brick-yards, ropewalks and tanneries. They may be seen busily wrapping the tobacco leaf into cigars and cigarettes, or plying the sewing-machine to manufacture flannel shirts, or cutting and stitching light slippers for the American trade.

The Chinese upon our Pacific coast have proved themselves admirable miners. When the hostility of white foreigners has driven them out of the better mining



Fielding Scene.

regions, or compelled them to remain satisfied with diggings which have already been washed over two or three times, they have still toiled patiently and diligently. During the dry season, while most others were lying idle, they might be seen making repairs, digging and collecting the dirt into the best situations to take advantage of the coming rise of water, or at other work. In the employment of our people they have proved of great value at quartz-mining. Rock which could not be worked by white labor, with wages at seven to three dollars a day, can be made profitable when Chinese can be got to extract the ore and deliver it at the mill at two dollars or less. Thus districts which had been almost abandoned have revived and all classes of the population been directly benefited. For although the laboring class of whites objected to the low wages paid to the Chinese, yet the possibility of carrying on mining operations furnished themselves with other and better employments, and so sustained life in the community. And the mining licenses, of four dollars each per month, which have been exacted with scrupulous punctuality and faithfulness to duty—nay, sometimes, that the collector might be sure he was on the safe side, two or three times in the same month—have in some counties paid the entire ordinary expenses of the county, whose treasury would otherwise have been bankrupt.

The public enterprises which are covering the Pacific coast with the peculiar advantages of modern civilization are to a large degree the fruit of the patient and cheap labor of the Chinese, either hired there or induced to come by the offers of a liberal recompense published in their own seaports. The roads among the mountains,

the leveling of the rugged and broken streets of various cities and towns, the introduction of pure water from distant streams into these places, the reclamation of swamp or overflowed lands and similar important enterprises, have owed their projection and success mainly to the fact that there were thousands of laborers to be procured at rates which would render the outlay of capital remunerative.

The construction of railroads has given employment to eight or ten thousand Chinese at a time. But for the opportunity to perform this work by Chinese labor, it is declared by the directors of the Central Pacific Railroad that they would not have dared to undertake it. The usual wages paid is thirty dollars a month. In the ordinary grading and other labor they are equal to whites. They work cheerfully eleven hours a day. They are never drunk one day and good for nothing the next. There is no fighting. An overseer who had had much experience with them told me that their quiet, steady way of working accomplished full as much as that of any other laborers, and without driving and bad temper. The route of the Central Pacific road, extending from Salt Lake to Sacramento, lies chiefly among the mountains, with steep grades and numerous tunnels. That at the summit of the Sierra Nevadas, seven thousand feet above the sea and a hundred and five miles east of Sacramento, is one thousand six hundred feet long. The tunnel at Emigrant Gap, near Cisco, is three hundred and fifty feet in length; there are others, longer or shorter. They are all cut wide enough for a double track. A competent engineer stated that in this heavy and laborious "rock-work," requiring patience and care,

the Chinese were the best hands that could be obtained. The vice-president of the company said that he wished they had twice as many Chinese in their employ as they had been able to get.

When one considers the immense amount of labor which must be performed in laying down the railroads that are necessary to open up the incalculably vast mineral resources of all the States and Territories on the Pacific slope and in the interior of the continent, and to transport them to the Pacific and Atlantic sea-ports, the presence of a race so accessible and so capable as the Chinese impresses the mind as a divine providence appointed to meet this national want. No other nation could furnish the supply required. And these people seem to possess just the qualities we need in such labor.

The supposition that the Chinese are a class who work for wages not sufficient to maintain laboring men comfortably, and who subsist upon cheap and refuse food, is unfounded. In the towns they certainly are fond of good living, and the costly dinners to which they have invited their friends in California have been often described in our newspapers. In frequent visits to the mining regions I made it a point to satisfy myself upon this subject. I sought also the testimony of gentlemen extensively acquainted with them. A couple of extracts from the numerous letters which I received will set the truth, which it is important for our people to know, in its proper light.

A merchant doing a large business in one of the principal cities of the interior wrote as follows: "It is impossible for me to give an accurate estimate of the amount of goods sold in this city to Chinamen. I have

conversed with several of the mountain merchants, and they give it as their opinion that more than three-fourths of their sales to Chinamen are for American products. Almost every merchant in the mines has more or less Chinese trade, and a good many of them are dependent almost entirely on them for their business. The following are the kind of goods, provisions, etc., they consume the most of: potatoes, cabbage, pork, chickens, flour and almost every article of vegetables raised in this State; they buy clothing, shoes, boots, blankets, American brandy, whisky, gin, hams, beans, lard, codfish, lobsters and almost every article of American production to some extent. As they become Americanized, the demand for American products increases with them. Their trade is valuable, being almost entirely cash. They are generally prompt in meeting their contracts. They are shrewd and close dealers, but spend their money freely for luxuries and comforts. It is said when a Chinaman does not live well it is because he has not the money to procure such as he would like. The Chinamen say that the estimate is made that they spend in the country seven-tenths on an average of all the money they make. Dealers with them in the mines are of the opinion that their estimate is nearly correct; it is the opinion, at least, of those I have conversed with."

A professional gentleman whose pursuits led him to travel widely over the State wrote to me as follows: "In frequent journeys extending from the head waters of the Feather to the Merced, I can say I have reason to believe that among the American mining population there is no other class of foreign miners who do not speak our language who sustain so high a character for industry,

honesty and direct patronage of American productions and enterprise. I have often inquired of merchants as to their business with the Chinese, and almost always been answered that their trade was very extensive and important; that while they consume large quantities of imported provisions from China, yet they also purchase much that is American, and often that which is most expensive, even luxuries, such as chickens, eggs, fresh meats in cans, pork, even when it might be twice as dear as beef, melons, fruit, etc.; that the Chinese would purchase when the expense was such as to deter Americans, for the Chinese would have what they wanted, cost what it may. They are generally free from drunkenness, quarrels and lazy habits, which characterize many others in the mines, and labor faithfully, satisfied when none others will work. I have just called upon an agent of the California Stage Company in this place, and was told by him that, to the best of his judgment, taking all their stage routes together, full one-quarter of their passengers during the last year had been Chinese; that they patronize public conveyances in proportion to their numbers more than Americans. I find also that the Chinese are often employed as cooks, and are very well spoken of as such, as also in other kindred occupations. They seem to be almost universally respected among the mining and laboring portion of the inhabitants. I can say decidedly, I believe that among the working-classes in the mountains they are truly considered as worthy of much regard, and the strong feeling is that they ought not to be taxed as high as they are; that they ought to have legal protection from those who rob and steal from them, even to murdering them, for they have

no redress unless an American is witness to the deed, and comes in with the law to their relief; and that their oath ought to be allowed in legal tribunals, at least so far that a jury or court might, if it judged best, receive their testimony. I am strongly of opinion that the opposition to the Chinese arises from prejudice, and not from their interfering with any American interests, and is almost entirely confined to the unproducing class in our country—to gamblers, loafers, liquor-dealers, etc.” Other testimonies would but serve to sustain the above. They corroborate the views which I have presented in this chapter.

I have not considered this subject now in its higher civil and moral relations. But this much is evident, that, looking at the advent of the Chinese race in the New World in the light of an accession to the sum of the physical labor which is necessary to meet our agricultural, manufacturing, domestic and other wants, both its characteristics and the partial experience of those who have tested it upon our Pacific coast show that it must be regarded as a great, opportune and valuable national benefit.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN CHINA.

THE sentiments of Americans with regard to China have hitherto been principally formed by the writings of men born and educated under monarchical institutions. The earliest and the most abundant productions which have made us acquainted with that remote and exclusive empire have been those of the Jesuits, Lazarists, Dominicans, Franciscans and priests of other Roman Catholic orders, who began vigorously to attempt the conversion of its people to their system of Christianity more than three centuries ago. The French, German and other authors who have described China have been chiefly indebted to the narratives, reports and histories of these men, which have been numerous, full and well written, for their facts and the conclusions from them. But these priests fear and hate popular liberty. "No means must be omitted," said Pope Clement XIII., "to exterminate the fatal pest, which spreads through so many works." We know how the late Gregory XVI. was infuriated by "that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state—unbridled liberty of opinion"—"that worst and never sufficiently to be execrated and detestable liberty of the press, for the diffusion of all manner of writings." The principles, the desires, the

interests of these men all disposed them to magnify the majesty, the authority, the wealth, the extent of the imperial power. They slavishly courted it in China; they magnified it in Europe. They dread the power of the people in China, as we have the evidence they do in America. There is little for Americans to learn from their books as to what exists of it in China.

The other chief source of American knowledge has been the books written by servants of the British government, or by British travelers or missionaries. There is much that is valuable in them. Yet two fatal influences corrupt most of their conceptions of the Chinese political system. The first is that of their previous monarchical ideas. The second is that of the immense stake which Great Britain has in the opium traffic. The national conscience and judgment are perverted, so far as justice to the Chinese is concerned, by the one fact that Great Britain supports her Indian government, enriches multitudes of her subjects and preserves the control of Oriental commerce, by the cultivation in India and annual sale to China of fifty millions of dollars' worth of opium. These people dare not consider the virtues of the innocent family whom they are robbing, and whose house they are burning over their heads.

Now that China is brought to be our nearest neighbor on the west and her interests and ours are so much identified, we must examine her institutions for ourselves, and from a new position.

A fairer estimate of the Chinese will take the place, on the one extreme, of the blunders or misrepresentations as to her political character which held up their empire as a model government; and on the other extreme of the

mistake and folly of those as to her moral character which painted her people as the most vicious or sensual of the heathen. A letter was published some years ago from Dr. S. Wells Williams, the Chinese Secretary to the American Legation at Peking, and author of the work entitled "The Middle Kingdom," in which he says: "The Chinese race has, perhaps, risen as high as is possible in the two great objects of human government—security of life and property to the governed, and freedom of action under the individual restraints of law."¹ The object of this chapter is to exhibit them in such a light, as the deduction from the writer's experience among them in their own country and in California.

There are few nations of the world among whom the freedom of the people is more large, more squarely founded upon their intelligence, or more carefully guarded against despotism, than it is in China.

To those who are acquainted with the history of mankind this will not seem strange. For though it flatters our national vanity to assume representative forms to be the pleasant fruit of bitter seed and of long and painful cultivation, yet this is not the truth. The first state of men in society is one of political equality. The first natural advance toward its organization is their election to authority of those most capable of protecting them and punishing the vicious. Where society has remained most peaceful and unchanged we may expect to find its original institutions less disturbed. The dispersion of great families, interferences with regular occupations, long migrations, wars, changes of circumstances, tend to break them up. The planting of mankind upon a new

¹ *New York Observer.*

hemisphere is like a new creation, in which a small number of individuals, compelled to meet the first necessities of existence, return to the primitive ideas of government.

To men, therefore, who are informed as to the past history of the nations of the earth and as to their present relative condition, it will seem credible that the oldest and most unchanged of them should not be so different as many believe from the newest of them, which has revolutionized the forms whose tyranny drove its founders beyond their reach to another hemisphere; that China should be the freest nation of the East, as the United States is of the West. Nor will it seem improbable that the notions which many entertain of the Chinese, which are gathered from the writings of Europeans as prejudiced against the one as they are against the other, and indeed very ignorant of the real condition and spirit of either, or else formed from the partial and superficial observations of some of our own people, should prove to be mistaken and unjust.

The classical student will see the force of this when he remembers the political system of ancient Rome—an empire whose history has some remarkable points of analogy to that of China. Beneath the monarchical rule, which became more and more strong until the popular liberty was at last crushed by it, there rise constantly to view institutions which display the power of the people. Thus the “tribes”¹ held their separate regular assemblies; they elected officers who at length came

¹ The English word “tribe” comes indeed from the Latin *tribus*, signifying originally one of the *three* clans, the Ramnes, the Tities and the Luceres, which at an early period embraced in one or the other of them the whole of the people.

to be represented in the Senate and even administer the government. They were governed by their own regulations or laws; they aided the state in the collection of debts and in the punishment of crimes; they had a certain control over the property of their members and over its transmission to heirs; they did not permit intermarriage between families connected with different tribes; they maintained each a particular religious worship, and they exercised a benevolent care over their own poor, supplying them when necessary with food. The members of various trades formed another class of popular associations which were possessed of great power in the state. In the time of Numa there were nine of these colleges or associations: pipers, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, girdle-makers, tanners, potters, workers in brass, and one embracing the remaining trades.

In India the despotism of successive conquering races has been checked and ameliorated by the continued maintenance from the earliest ages of the system of clans or village communities, which is described by Henry Sumner Maine,¹ a very able English lawyer, a member of the supreme council of India, to be "more than a brotherhood of relatives, and more than an association of partners. It is an organized society; and besides providing for the management of the common fund, it seldom fails to provide, by a complete staff of functionaries, for internal government, for police, for the administration of justice and for the apportionment of taxes and public duties."

A nation of Europe whose extraordinary friendship to our own has often puzzled politicians of both that and

¹ In his work on *Ancient Law*, pp. 254, etc.

our continent, who did not see the deeper principles which bind them together, Russia, which wonderfully unites the ancient with the modern and the Oriental with the European in her political and social structure, may be given as another example of the power of the ancient republicanism. It may be said that the government is more in the hands of the people than with the emperor and aristocracy. This is the key to the astonishing advancement of Russia in wealth, freedom and power within a few generations past. The empire was built upon the subjugation of numerous cities and tribes, independent and democratic in their form. And now these elements are again leavening the whole system. The communes hold triennial elections; voters must be twenty-five years of age and the elders elected not under thirty; no man can vote who has been convicted of crime; persons of any useful employment are eligible to office; the poor consider themselves equal with the rich; the only distinction in the garments is in the richness of the material, not in the shape or fashion, and they eat together at the same table; the officers elected are the elders, a number of councilors, a collector of taxes, with the necessary assistants, an overseer of the public granary and the police; provision is made for the supply of recruits for the army; and the commune is allowed, if it desire, to establish a local bank. A general council of representatives from these village councils is held in each county or district once in three years, which elects a chief elder, a permanent council, a board of arbitrators and a secretary. Thus it will be seen how much power resides with the people of Russia and how far the general government yields local affairs into their hands. Even

the mines discovered on the property of individuals are not claimed, as is the case in many countries of the West, by the government; and to this many of the great families owe their rise.

I have mentioned these ancient republican institutions, or their remains, in order to justify the comparison made between those of China and the United States. It must surprise many of our people to observe how much their features resemble those of our own forms, save that ours are overridden by no foreign conquests, and as yet by no successful ambition within our own borders; and further, that ours are more complete and extensive. But the freedom of the people in China is superior to that in either Rome, India or Russia; and I will now describe in what it consists and upon what it is founded.

Let us take up three leading features of the Chinese government: the theory of the imperial power; the principles on which the general government is administered; and the forms of local popular government which universally exist. As the latter is the most interesting subject, the first two will be discussed more briefly.

The theory of the imperial power is that the people are not subjects to be ruled by fear, but children to be inspired and controlled by affection and gratitude toward a father who with unceasing anxiety watches over and cares for them all. There is a book of remarkable interest in a moral view which well illustrates this. It is a series of moral discourses prepared by the emperor Yung-ching upon the basis of sixteen maxims of his father, the great Kang-hi (who reigned from A.D. 1661 for sixty years), for the purpose of having them read to the people of the whole empire at the beginning and

middle of every month. The first of these "Sacred Instructions" is upon "filial piety." Yung-ching says: "The definite design of our sacred Father was to govern the empire through the principle of filial piety. Upon that principle is founded the unchangeable laws of heaven, the government of providence on earth and the common obligations of all men." In the second discourse, upon the duties of families and kindred to each other, he applies the idea practically: "The kindred which spring from the same stock are like the streams which flow from one fountain, or like the branches which grow upon one tree. Though these differ, as the one may in its course flow through extended districts, or as the other in its branches may ramify more widely, yet the source of the stream and the root of the tree remain the same. Thus with the maintenance of the principle of filial piety. Harmony is promoted by it in the family, in the village and in the city; the spirit of unity is breathed abroad; general happiness is enjoyed, and a scene of peace is presented."¹ And it is but just to say that these admirable sentiments are repeated in the state-papers of each succeeding emperor of that great nation.

The comparative freedom of the people of China is, in the next place, made manifest in the political principles upon which the general government is administered. To secure an intelligent, capable and faithful magistracy, the foundation of all preferment is planted upon *education*. To this fact the admiration of the world may be boldly challenged. Hear it, nations of the West! It is not hereditary perhaps without personal honor, it is not the power of wealth, it is not the claims of

¹ SHING-YU, Discourses i. and ii.



Returning Thanks to the gods after the harvest.

favoritism, it is not pandering to popular prejudices or interests, upon which the aspiring in China are encouraged to place their hopes, but upon education! The best writings of their sages from the earliest ages are compiled into books for the instruction of the young. Schools abound, taught at cheap rates by advanced students, or supported by endowments or charitable contributions. Books in common use are much cheaper than in this country. The examinations of children in the villages are conducted monthly by the elders, at which a simple theme is proposed, upon which they write their juvenile essays. And examinations, upon given topics in prose and in poetry, chiefly moral, historical and political, are held at times and places which vary according to their importance, for scholars at successive stages of advancement until they reach the highest, which is held once in three years at the capital of the empire. The successful competitors at the higher ones receive appointments to the offices under government. I was at Canton upon the occasion of a great triennial examination of candidates for the second degree, which entitled to the best offices of the cities and districts of a province of twenty-one millions of people. Seventy-two were to be selected. For a chance among that number seven or eight thousand educated men presented themselves, some of them white with old age. Two imperial commissioners from Peking presided. The candidates were all shut up in the close rooms of a range of buildings provided for these occasions, and could not come out until their essays on the five themes given were completed. The whole city and province were in a ferment of interest. Heralds were in waiting, who, by swift

boats, horses and running, conveyed tidings of the result to every part of the province; and in their native towns the successful ones were welcomed with banners and music and feasts of joy. I have shed tears of regret that in my own dear country no such sublime and delightful spectacles are witnessed. The incorporation of this great elementary principle is the thing most wanting in the republicanism of the United States. We may not want "compulsory education," the refuge and the instrument of despotism. But we do want sound education, not alone for the children of more favored classes, but also in schools open to all, maintained at the public expense, and leavened by the fundamental truths of Christianity, to be the great avenue to social honor and to political power. Here lies the mighty secret of the stability of China. Without education founded upon the revelation of God, we have little to hope for the future of America.

The principles on which the government is administered are forcibly brought before us in the consideration of the numerous methods which have been introduced to guard against abuses and ensure impartiality and honesty. Four of these are particularly worthy of observation:

First. The officers of the general government are detached from local influences by the rule that no man shall hold office in the province of which he is a native.

Second. The dangers connected with the growth of such influences in any portion of the country are provided against by another rule which fixes a term for holding office, and that a comparatively short one—only three years. If the question be asked whether this pro-

vision may not spring from the jealousy of a foreign ruling dynasty, the reply is at hand, that it was established in the fifth century of the Christian era, and appears to be held as a fundamental idea of the political system.

Third. A Board of Review, or Censorate, at Peking, is appointed to revise all documents sent to the court and inspect the conduct of officers, from the humblest of them even to the emperor upon the throne. Officers connected with this department report from every part of the empire acts of official misconduct. The courage with which this Board and its servants expose and rebuke even the most wealthy and powerful and secure their punishment is often surprising and worthy of admiration. They do not spare even "the Son of heaven," when the welfare of his subjects seems to require his vices to be sternly reprov'd; and some of them have suffered death in consequence. The histories of the empire hand down with language of praise the names and actions of those who have been most faithful. This remarkable feature of the government has attracted the attention of the monarchical powers of the world. Sir Geo. T. Staunton, in making the translation of the Penal Code of the present dynasty, adds the note, that "The Tribunal of the Censorate has the power of inspecting and animadverting upon the proceedings of all the other boards and tribunals of the empire, and even on the acts of the sovereign himself, whenever they are conceived to be censurable."¹ But it is not a mere censorship for criticism. The French Jesuit, Du Halde, presents it in its highest office of a constant monitor of the

¹ *Penal Code*, etc., note to Section 171.

responsibility of the government to the people. He describes the censors in his work on China¹ as the representatives of the people, to whom the emperor himself is compelled to yield; for, "should he injure them he would really increase their honor, and obtain for himself odious epithets, which the appointed historians of the empire would scrupulously transmit to posterity." He says the court is compelled to degrade officers whom they persist in accusing, "to avoid disgusting the people, and sullying its own reputation."

Fourth. Another of the methods by which the welfare of the people is secured is the system of official reports to the Six Boards, or Departments,² of the government; which reports virtually appeal to the popular sentiment of the nation for its support, through the *Peking Gazette* and other means of universal publication. This Gazette (whose proper name is the *King Chau* or "Reporter of the Capital") is a pamphlet of forty to sixty pages, published each one, two or three days, as the matter is supplied. It is distributed over the whole empire in a limited number of copies to leading points, which are there rapidly reprinted by various means, and supplied to officers, to men of wealth who pay about twelve dollars a year for copies which they retain, and to circles of readers who hire them successively for sums which diminish according to the time after their publication, just as the London *Times* and other expensive newspapers are supplied in England

¹ Vol. i. pp. 71 and 250.

² These are, 1, the Department of State; 2, the Department of Revenue; 3, the Department of Rites; 4, the Department of War; 5, the Judicial Department; 6, the Department of Public Works.

and on the Continent. The officers of each province in turn publish their reports or subjects for popular information or consideration. And indeed the walls of Chinese towns are covered with placards of every kind, political, commercial, quack-medicines, etc., just as they are in this country. Thus a thinking and intelligent people keep public affairs incessantly under their own eye.

These statements as to the theory of the imperial power and the principles of the general administration possess great weight in estimating the true character of the political institutions of China, and evince an amount of popular intelligence, liberty and power which will bear comparison with that of the monarchical countries of Europe.

But an acquaintance with the structure of the general government is not the true way to comprehend the extent of the freedom which the Chinese enjoy. This is only to be learned from a careful study of their popular forms, which are distinct from that and which often successfully oppose it. I refer to the organizations of the clans; the town or district councils; the trade associations, and the clubs or companies established for occasional or special objects. The secret societies for political and other purposes are numerous and powerful, but an account of them does not come within our scope in considering the lawful institutions of the country.

The first mentioned, and, it may be justly said, the fundamental and most ancient, organization of a political nature is that of the clan.

The clan stands in China just where it did in the Hebrew commonwealth and the kingdoms of Judah and

Israel, at the foundation of the whole structure. No man thoroughly conceives the polity of the Hebrew people who looks at it through the medium of European and Western models. There are many features of it which it is most important, as illuminated by divine revelation, for the statesman, the scholar, the Christian, to examine; such are the operations and effects of the fundamental republican form, united with the primary honor accorded to the lineal representative of the founder of the clan; the conjunction of secular and religious purposes and agencies in relation to the education of the youth; the legislative and other powers of these lesser presbyteries, or of the general assemblies, of the representatives of the people; the functions of the elders, judges and other officers, and their place in the Church and State, both ancient and modern; the police regulations of villages and towns; the energy of a military system, either for defence or offence, which is built upon free and republican institutions and the affection of the people; the jealousies and quarrels of clans and tribes and their ruinous results; the regard of the general government to the rights of those of a local character, even in the appointment of the two hundred and twelve porters at the gates of the temple at Jerusalem, "according to their genealogy in their villages," and the provision for "their brethren in the villages to come, after seven days, from time to time, with them;" the careful observance of natural laws as to consanguinity and marriage, and the effects of polygamy and other infractions of them; the precise and scientific nomenclature of degrees of kindred, as throwing light on the tribal systems of the nations of the world and as an evidence of the de-

scent of the human species from one stock ; the nature, benefits and evils of frequent popular festivals ; the laws as to the entail, the conveyance and the restoration of property, pledges, pawnbrokers and the collection of debts ; the provision from the public funds for the wants of the poor and the infirm ; the reservation of a proportion of the produce of years of abundance in public granaries to meet the wants of years of scarcity or famine ; the origin and obligation of the use of sevenths in respect to time and of decimal numbers in respect to property, as seals of the divine right in them and as measures of duty in the consecration of them for religious purposes ; the fundamental principles in the punishment of criminals and the modes of inflicting it ; the exceeding reverence for the aged and the honorable ; the regard for the dead, and the use to be made of the examples of the wise and good ; the ideas as to the seminal principle of life in the human bones, the care to be exercised in preserving them and collecting them in and about the ancient sepulchres of the family, and the resurrection of the dead ; the annual religious observances connected with the repair and care of burial places ; the peculiar force of the prophecies of the Scripture, the comfort of the specific promises and the solemnity of the warnings as to "families" and "kindred," and as to the "*gentiles*," or nations whose peculiar social edifice is reared upon the relation to ancestry ;—these are some of the topics which arise in the investigation of the nature of clans as they did exist in Palestine, and as they do exist in China and to a less extent in other portions of the Old World, and among the remains of the Indian tribes on our own continent. I employ the analogy of the Hebrew clans to

the Chinese in order to simplify the idea of the latter in the minds of the people of this country and to show their democratic nature; and further, that I may suggest this as one of many kindred themes which open broad and fertile fields of remunerative research, which is of a nature to comfort the mind and strengthen the purposes of the foreign missionary of the Gospel, and to peculiarly interest and instruct the people of our country as to some relationships and bearings of republican institutions which may be new to many of them and are most important for us to understand who see the beginning, but not the end, of our national life.

The general designs of the support of the clan organizations may be briefly stated to be these: defence against the power of the general government; mutual aid and protection in business and the common transactions of life; festive enjoyments; and the maintenance of the worship of the spirits of the dead. There are about four hundred and fifty clans in the empire.¹ Branches of the most important of them are found in nearly every province. A town, however, never consists of people of one clan alone, since a man is not allowed to marry a woman of the same name. The organization of them is so complete that, while it sometimes secures justice to the innocent, it may besides thwart the designs of the government, and even of justice. In some parts of the country they keep up bitter and even bloody quarrels from generation to generation; and the chiefs of the clan at Pe-

¹ The *Pih Kia Sing* or "Collection of Family Names," a book written upon this subject, which is taught in schools, gives the whole of them, with brief notices of their origin. The foreign races, of course, are not mentioned in it, and I have been told that there are some proper Chinese who do not belong to any of the clans.

king are able to prevent the punishment of murder and violence committed by members of it elsewhere. In the country in the south of China we have seen tombs broken up and defaced, the dikes of rice-fields destroyed and property abused, through the feuds of hostile clans.

Emigrants do not generally maintain these organizations. I know of none in California.

The second class of powerful popular organizations in China is the trade associations, or guilds. They resemble those for similar objects in Europe and America, and therefore need no special description here. They are there, as here, often beneficent in their operation, and yet often oppressive. In a monarchical or despotic government they are useful as a check against its tyranny; but it is still doubtful whether they are not more of an injury than a benefit, since they interfere with healthful competition, remove incitements to industry, and provide opportunities for the arts of intriguing and worthless men, or resorts for the depraved. It is stated that there are a hundred and fifty of their halls in Canton. They spend a great deal of money in parades and acts of idolatrous worship.

The third class is that of town and district councils. This forms the highest advance toward a regular representative government. They exercise the local powers of government to such an extent that the imperial officers rarely dare to rouse them to general resistance. The local administration of justice is left almost wholly in their hands. Police arrangements and taxation for local purposes are within their jurisdiction. The elders elected are generally continued so long as they perform their duties with satisfaction to the people. They are

allowed a salary of from two to four hundred dollars a year. The elders of a district which may embrace fifty or a hundred towns and villages meet in a distinct council, which has its central hall and a president and other necessary officers, who receive sufficient salaries. The cities are divided into large wards, which have their separate councils, but act together by representatives when occasion requires. Their administration is very effective. The police of the city of Canton number about a thousand. The streets, which are only a few feet in width, have a gate at the end of each square, which is closed at night, and guarded by a watchman, who also strikes the hour upon a loud-sounding hollow piece of bamboo.

During the stormy times succeeding the Opium War, foreigners seeking to enlarge their former restrictions often came into conflict with these councils and proved the extent of the popular power. We were effectually prevented renting houses, after agreeing to pay the most outrageous, exorbitant rents, by a simple notification from the council of the ward of the city in which they were situated that if the owner admitted us to the building it would be destroyed and himself put to death. Nor was the governor-general, with the power of the emperor to back him, able to sustain us against such a decree.

These democratic bodies do not hesitate to resist the imperial officers. A mandarin who had made his name detested by his evil deeds was met one day in going forth with his retinue by an aged, white-haired coolie bearing a heavy burden. The old man was unable quickly to clear the way, and the officer commanded

him to be thrown down and beaten. The enraged inhabitants of the ward closed their shops, and did not rest until the man who treated hoary hairs with disrespect and a poor man with such cruelty was driven from the city.

A robber of desperate character was detected amidst a crowd in the court of the Wa-lam temple listening to the recitations of a story-teller. He killed a soldier before he could be overpowered. He was tried, and sentenced by the judge to be beheaded in the temple, and his vitals to be laid upon the altar as a sacrifice to the spirit of the slain soldier. So unusual a punishment created much excitement in the district. The ward councils took up the matter and prohibited the execution of the sentence, but gave permission for the head of the soldier, if he were decapitated at the execution-ground, to be hung up near the temple as a terror to evil-doers.

The imperial government is much less to be blamed than the people of Western nations have supposed on account of the disturbances which have occurred with foreigners. The local democracy was more often the offending party. And their resistance in turn was the result of the misdeeds of our people. After the conclusion of the bloody Opium War, which seemed to them a most inexcusable and tremendous crime from beginning to end, it was made one of the provisions of the treaty with Great Britain, August 29, 1842, that five new ports were to be opened for foreign trade, and it was generally understood that the same privileges would as soon as practicable be granted at Canton. The people, however, resisted, being alarmed at the idea of the introduction of British traders and soldiery within the city,

confident in their numbers, and filled also with a superstitious terror of the powers of "the foreign demons," whom they supposed to be of a constitution and nature different from their own and much to be dreaded. Their local councils proclaimed that a hundred thousand "braves" had been enlisted to carry on the war to the extermination of these "devils;" Ki-ying, a most able and intelligent governor, was completely baffled in his efforts to maintain peace; and neither the power of their own government nor the continued threatening demonstrations of that of Great Britain could subdue them, until finally Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, supported by the allied English and French fleets, bombarded the city in December, 1857, burned down a considerable portion of it, and placed it under a military control which continued for two years. The Presbyterian Mission buildings and library were among the property destroyed.

In what has been said in regard to the general government in this chapter, it is the theory of it, and its better aspects chiefly, which have been presented. If it be thought I have gone too far, I might sustain this view by quotations from the most intelligent men who have come into direct acquaintance with the Chinese. The eminent British statesman, Sir George T. Staunton, speaks with admiration of the Chinese system of law, and studied the language and made a translation of the Penal Code of the present dynasty. Concerning this translation, the *Edinburgh Review*¹ said: "The most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness and consistency; the business-like brevity and

¹ In a number published shortly after the publication of the translation—that for August, 1810.

directness of the various provisions, and the plainness and moderation of the language in which it is expressed." To this might be added the fact that this code is revised from time to time under the supervision of the emperor and in accordance with the judgment of his wisest counselors, and new editions are published and circulated over the empire. Thus it has acquired the force of a written constitution, and the lines of justice which it draws the emperor himself scarcely dares to exceed. It "savors throughout of practical judgment and European good sense." Thomas Taylor Meadows, Esq., a thorough student of the Chinese literature and politics, interpreter in the British service in China, declares that the Chinese "enjoy an amount of freedom in the disposal of their persons and property which other European nations than the Russians may well envy them." He says that if civilization should be moral and mental before material, then "the Chinese civilization has from the earliest ages been the highest in *kind*, whatever it may have been in *degree* or in the extent to which it has been practiced." He urges strongly some features of it upon the British government for its adoption, and says that in some points of it "the Chinese are practically more Christian than the Christians of the West."¹

Nor is it denied that in the administration more especially of the general government in China there have existed, and do exist, great abuses and corruption. In so far as these facts relate to the general government alone the objection built upon them does not affect the estimate we place upon the popular forms. But it will

¹ *The Chinese and their Rebellions*, pp. 28, 120, etc.

be granted that these have had a share in the universal increase of evil which the best classes of Chinese testify with great grief has grown up within the past half century. And this may be accounted for by the following reasons. The imperial power is in the hands of foreigners, the Manchu Tartars, who are hated by the people, and who have yielded to bribery to obtain means to carry on the government. The popular mind has been everywhere unsettled, the better classes held in anxiety and vice allowed to prevail, on account of the prevalent spirit of rebellion; many treasonable societies have sprung up, and the people have freely quoted the words of old prophecies and oracles, to the effect that the time has come for the overthrow of the present general government. Tremendous corruption, beggary, crime, death, have followed the vast enlargement of foreign trade; most terrible, most inexcusable, most widespread of all the sources of them has been the cultivation by Europeans and Americans of the fatal passion for opium. And one other cause of the universal increase of evil, I hesitate not to say, has been the decay of religious sentiment. The fruit of wars and rumors of wars, of men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth, is—when superadded to religious systems which are bad, worn-out and ready to vanish away—that iniquity abounds. Hence the present heart-affecting condition of China seems to hold in dark relief before our eyes this one principal thought—the stupendous national necessity for the gospel!

It is not assumed, superior as the institutions of China are to those of any other heathen countries, and to those

of not a few nominally Christian countries, that their principles bear comparison with those which are the ripened and most precious earthly fruit of Christianity. On the contrary, they will be changed; the time has come for that change; the people will enjoy a more secure, thorough, happy and abiding freedom—a rock on which their whole social structure shall be reared anew, high in the centre of which shall stand in its beauty and glory a new temple upon whose front shall shine the inscription, “Holiness unto the Lord.” And all the nations of that boundless continent shall rejoice with them.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHINESE COMPANIES IN CALIFORNIA.

ONE of the most curious features of social order in California is the Chinese companies. The quiet and timid subordination of the Chinese to our laws, however arbitrary and severe, and the pride or vanity which regards all swarthy races as almost beneath our consideration, have hidden from the eyes of Americans the features and transactions of, as it were, another world all within itself.

I have described in the previous chapter some of the numerous popular organizations which exist in their native land—their clans, their trade associations or guilds, their town and district councils, and their clubs or companies for various specific designs. Let me proceed to speak of the companies which they form here.

The Chinese “companies” in San Francisco, with their branches in the principal towns of the State and neighboring regions where that people resort in large numbers, have been a continual puzzle to Americans. They have regarded them as a degraded and stupid race, reared under a cruel despotism, and most of them brought here under the name of “coolies” to work for capitalists who owned them and received the proceeds of their labor, these capitalists being the heads of the com-

panies. The most absurd stories of this kind have been incessantly repeated to the great injury of the Chinese by newspapers and in the legislature. My acquaintance with them, and the entire confidence they reposed in me, on account of aid often rendered to them in their difficulties, enabled me to obtain information which I now proceed to lay before the reading and thinking people of the country, just as I often have spread much of it before the people of various parts of California.

Wherever a large number of Chinese from one province are thrown together in another province of the empire, or in any of the countries or islands whither they trade or emigrate, they at once form associations for the control, protection and general benefit of their members, which are analogous to the councils of their native towns and districts. Among a people of so much shrewdness and common sense, as may be supposed, these objects are thoroughly accomplished. First let us notice their houses or halls.

Upon the southern side of Telegraph Hill, which shields on the north the harbor of San Francisco from the ocean winds which rush through the Golden Gate, a large frame structure stands conspicuous, that is evidently of Chinese architecture, yet different in its appearance from the Chinese dwellings in the city. The front is painted light blue, and from it projects an airy portico. A pair of lions, carved in wood, guard the wide doorway. Above and on either side of it are gilded tablets, with upon each an inscription of several large Chinese characters. This building has often been referred to as "a temple." But its object is not religious.

It is an *Ui-kun* (pronounced *Ooy-koon*) or company

house. The large tablet over the door tells, if English alphabetic letters be employed for the Chinese characters, the name of the company,

“YEUNG-WO UI-KUN.”

The two perpendicular inscriptions on either side are poetical lines. They read as follows :

TSEUNG KWONG HÁM MÁN LI.
SUI HI P’O T’UNG YAN.

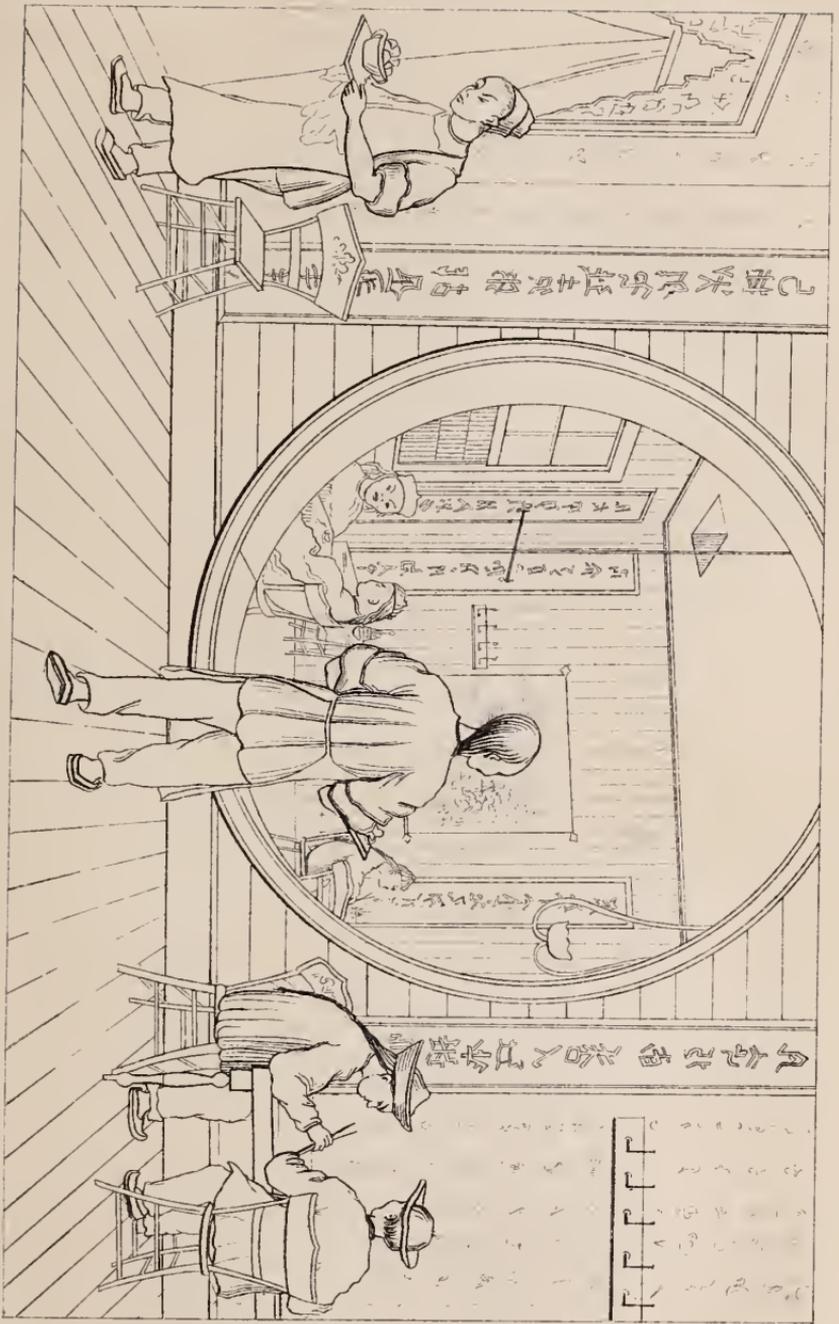
“May the prosperous light fill a thousand leagues.”

“May the auspicious air pervade mankind.”

The two smaller lines on either board contain the words, “*Set up on a fortunate day of the 8th month, 2d year of the Emperor Hienfung.*”—“*Carved by Fan Yi.*”

Upon entering the house by the side door, an uncovered area, in accordance with the Chinese custom, is seen in the middle, from which rooms open toward the front and rear, and stairs ascend on either side to the second story. The smaller apartments below are occupied by the managers and servants of the company. The largest room or hall is pasted over with sheets of red paper covered with writing. These contain a record of the name and residence of every member of the company, and the amount of his subscription to the general fund. The upper story and the attic, with the outbuildings on the upper side, are, it may be, filled with lodgers, nearly all of whom are staying but temporarily on a visit from the mines, or on their way to or from China. A few sick persons lie on their pallets around, and a group here and there discuss a bowl of rice, or smoke and chat together. In the rear is the kitchen. All is quiet, orderly and neat.

This building is the house of the company, which em-



Chinese Restaurants San Francisco

braces, since scarcely a solitary individual chooses to separate himself from association with his own neighbors and people or deprive himself of their sympathy and assistance, the entire body of emigrants from three beautiful and rich districts which lie around the Pearl river and its estuary down to the ocean. Heang-shan, at the mouth of the bay, in which the Portuguese colony of Macao is situated, is thirty miles long from north to south, and twenty-five miles wide; Tung-kwan and Tsang-ching are each larger, but have less intercourse with foreigners. The company had some years ago another building, owned by the three districts in common, at Sacramento, and the Heung-shan men had one of their own in Stockton; to these it may have since added others elsewhere as they have been needed for the accommodation of the members, especially as depositories for the baggage of miners.

For the full information of the people of our own country as to the real nature of these "companies," which has been so much misunderstood and widely misrepresented, and in order to show in a plain and convincing way the intelligence and capability of this very practical people, I procured, by a formal application to the Yeung-wo company, a copy of its constitution and rules, a literal translation of which, sentence for sentence, I now give:

"NEW RULES OF THE YEUNG-WO UI-KUN.

"Since it is necessary for the government of such associations, and the promotion of the common good, that some rules should be adopted, we, members of the Yeung-wo Company, now dwelling in a foreign country,

have established those which follow. Those which formerly existed in a general form we deem it necessary to draw up in a new and definite shape, and to publish them to all men, since successive immigrations have become less substantial in their character, and troubles have sprung up like thorns. They are in conformity with the customs of the foreign country in which we are sojourning. We trust they will be exactly observed by common consent. They were adopted in the following order on a fortunate day of the ninth month of the year 1854:

“People of the three districts of Heung-shan, Tung-yuen and Tsang-ching are required to report themselves at the company’s room; otherwise, the company will exercise no care for them in their concerns.

“The entrance fee shall be ten dollars; if not paid within six months, interest will be expected. These fees may be paid to collectors sent for the purpose into the Northern and Southern Mines, in the fourth and tenth month of each year. No fees will be required from those proved to be invalids, or from transient persons. Receipts for payment of fees must be entered on the books and bear the company’s seal. Disputes will not be settled between persons who have not paid the entrance fee. Members purposing to return to China must make the fact known to the agents, when their accounts will be examined, and measures will be taken to prevent it if the entrance fee or other debts remain unpaid. Strangers to the agents of the company must obtain security in persons who will be responsible for their character and debts. Members leaving clandestinely shall be liable to a fine of fifty dollars; and the security for a

debt for helping one thus to abscond shall be fined one hundred dollars.

“In the company’s house there must be no concealment of stolen goods; no strangers brought to lodge; no gunpowder or other combustible material; no gambling; no drunkenness; no cooking (except in the proper quarters); no burning of sacrificial papers; no accumulation of baggage; no filth; no bathing; no filching of oil; no heaps of rags and trash; no wrangling and noise; no injury of the property of the company; no goods belonging to thieves; no slops of victuals. For the weightier of these offences complaint shall be made to the police of the city; for the lighter, persons shall be expelled from the company. Baggage will not be allowed to remain longer than three years, when it must be removed; nor more than one chest to each person.

“Invalids that cannot labor, are poor and without relatives, may be returned to China at the expense of the company for their passage-money; but provisions and fuel and other expenses must be obtained by subscriptions. Coffins may be furnished for the poor, but of such a careful record shall be kept.

“Quarrels and troubles about claims in the mines should be referred to the company, where they shall be duly considered. If any should refuse to abide by the decision of the company, it will nevertheless assist the injured and defend them from violence. If, when foreigners do injury, a complaint is made, and the company exerts itself to have justice done, without avail, it ought to be submitted to. Whatever is referred for settlement to the assembly of the five companies conjointly cannot again be brought before this company alone.

“Where a man is killed, a reward shall be offered by the company for the capture and trial of the murderer, the money being paid only when he has been seized; the members of the company shall subscribe each according to what is just. If more than the anticipated amount is required, the friends of the deceased shall make up the deficiency. Complaint shall be made of offenders to the civil court, and proclamations for their arrest shall be placarded in the principal towns; but any one found guilty of concealing them shall pay all the expenses to which the company has been put. Difficulties with members of other companies shall be reported to the agents of this company, and, if justice demand, shall be referred for the judgment of the five companies conjointly. Offences committed on shipboard, upon the sea, shall be referred to the five companies conjointly. Difficulties brought upon men by their own vices and follies will not receive attention. Thievery and receiving of stolen goods will not be protected; nor will troubles in bawdy-houses, nor those in gambling-houses, nor debts to such, nor extortions of secret associations, nor the quarrels of such associations, nor those who are injured in consequence of refusal to pay their licenses, nor smuggling, nor any violation of American laws. The company will not consider complaints from a distance of a doubtful character, or without sufficient proof. No reply will be made to anonymous letters, or those without date and a specification of the true origin and nature of difficulties. Names must be carefully given in all complaints from the interior. No payments of money will be made in the settlement of cases where the rules of the company are not complied with. Where the con-

duct of an individual is such as to bring disgrace on the company and upon his countrymen, he shall be expelled, and a notice to that effect be placarded in each of the five companies' houses; nor will the company be responsible for any of his subsequent villainies, or even make any investigation should he meet with any violent death. Costs connected with the settlement of disputes shall be borne by the party decided to be in the wrong. In difficulties of a pressing and important character in the mines a messenger shall be sent thence, and a judicious person shall at once accompany him to the place. In any quarrel where men are killed or wounded the person who originated it shall be held accountable. Any defensive weapons belonging to the company shall be given to individuals only after joint consultation, and the register of their names. Those requiring such weapons for defence shall give security for their return. If any shall take them on their own responsibility, they shall be held accountable for any consequences.

“Any one using the seal of the company, or addressing a letter in its behalf unauthorized, shall be severely censured if the matter be unimportant; if a serious offence, he shall be handed over to a court of law. The parties and witnesses in cases shall be examined under oath. Representatives from the people of different counties and townships shall be notified by the agents of the company of the time of any meeting; and when assembled they shall not leave until the business be dispatched. Notices of meetings upon urgent business shall be marked with the words ‘urgent case;’ the representatives so informed shall be fined ten dollars if not present within an hour of the time. In arbitra-

tions the agents of the company, the representatives and the witnesses shall all be put on oath.

“Claims for debts, to avoid mistakes, must particularize the true name, surname, town and department of the debtor. The manager of the company shall give the claimant an acknowledgment, which shall be returned again when the money is paid. No claim can be presented for less than ten dollars. Claims presented through the company must, when afterward paid, bear the receipt of the company; else the debtor will not be allowed to return to China. Persons making false claims against an individual shall recompense him for any expenses to which he shall be put in consequence thereof. Accounts must be acknowledged by the debtor to be correct before collection. A person appointed as collector must give a receipt for the account. A creditor in returning to China must name an agent who will receive the payment of any sums due to him. Accounts sent from China for collection may be accepted by the company. The manager will not pay over collections except upon the presentation of the paper of acknowledgment he has previously given. Part payments must bear the receipt of the company. In cases of dispute about debt, the debtor may return to China if a representative from his district is willing to become his security. Debtors shall not be hindered returning to China on their pleading poverty or chronic sickness. In losses occasioned by oversight of the agent he shall be held responsible for the amount, unless he declare them upon oath to have been not fraudulent. Claims for debt, if unpaid, must be again put on record at the expiration of three years. Claims presented by a member of

another company shall be certified by the manager of that company, and when recorded shall be subject to a fee of twenty-five cents.

“This company shall elect three managers; one to attend to the internal affairs, one to attend to the business with Americans, and one to be the treasurer; and these shall mutually assist one another.

“A faithful servant shall be hired as a house-servant and porter.

“A committee of four shall be elected as counselors, who shall be allowed five dollars a month for refreshments. The monthly accounts of the company shall be counted till the last Sunday of the month, on which day the committee shall audit and publish them by a placard.

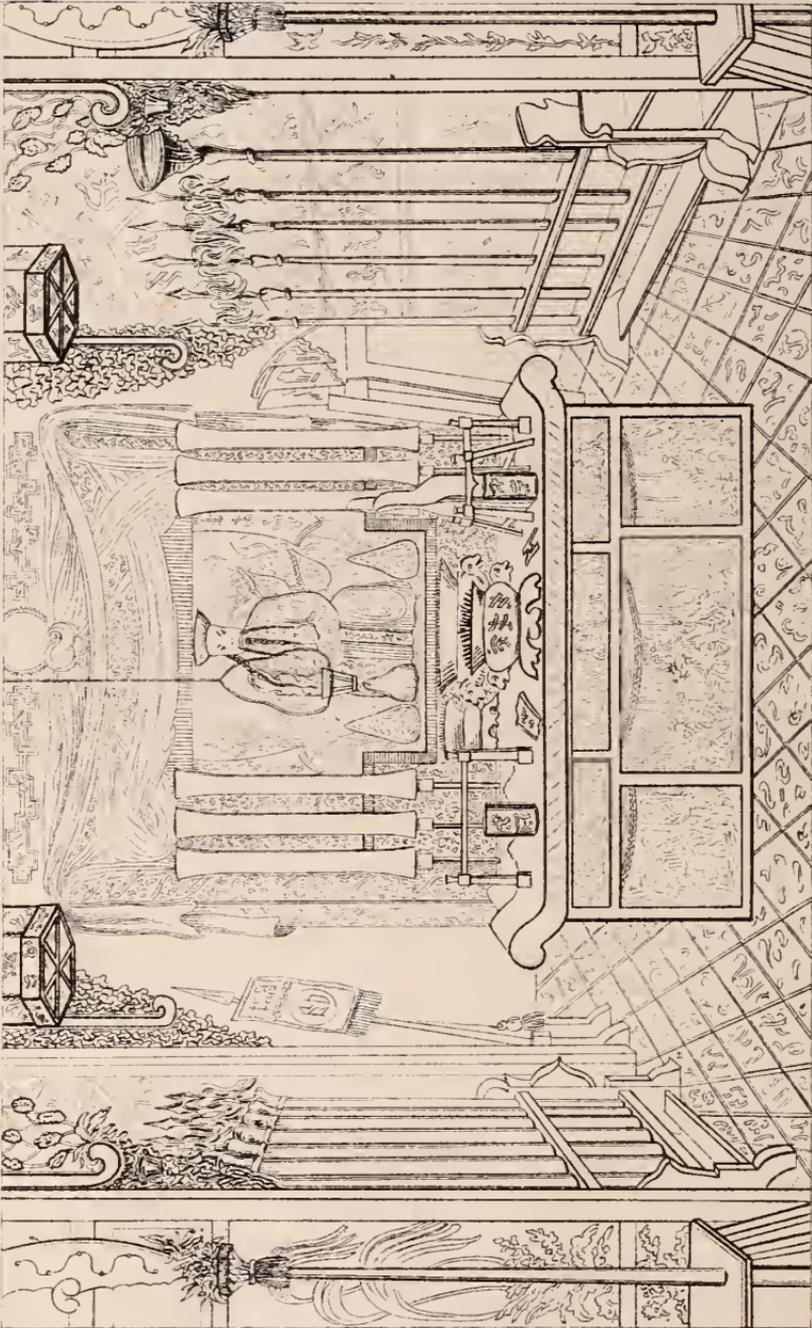
“The treasurer shall never retain more than four hundred dollars in his own hands at one time; and his deposits in the treasury, and payments from it, shall be under the supervision of the committee of four. The treasury shall have four different padlocks, and each of the committee shall have one key. The treasurer must always be present when money is taken out.

“Should the committee employ collectors who have not been duly elected by the company, they shall be held responsible for them. The accounts of the company shall be closed with each month, that there be no private or wasteful employment of its funds; and in cases of fraud a meeting shall be called and the offender expelled. When inadvertent mistakes are made in accounts, the committee shall state them to be so on oath, and the correction shall then be entered. Managers or committeemen whose accounts are not clear shall be censured. None but the managers shall have common access to the

account-books. Payments in behalf of the company shall, when made at their house, be endorsed by the committee, but in the interior they may be made by the proper manager alone. The office of the managers shall be kept open daily from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. The doors shall be closed at New Year's for three days.

“Managers shall not use offensive language toward each other; but any differences shall be settled by a meeting of the company. If lodgers at the company's house do not comply with the regulations and respect the authority of the managers, they shall be expelled by a meeting of the company. Managers who may be remiss in attending at the office shall be mulcted to twice the amount of their salary for the time lost.”

In the summer of 1854 I addressed to each of the companies a series of questions in regard to their principles and operations, in order to elicit authentic information which I could use in explaining the character of the Chinese to our own people. The answers were most clear and satisfactory. I translate one of them *verbatim* as a sample of the whole. The comparison of the company to “American churches,” which is made in this one only, and the careful detail of its benevolent purposes, had a rather amusing origin. Not long previously the superintendent had come to me with the inquiry whether it would not be possible to have their building made free of taxes, as he understood that American churches and benevolent institutions were granted that privilege. I explained to him that a club or company of its character, designed in the first place for purposes of mutual convenience, had no more right to claim such



Interior of Earl Temple, San Francisco

immunity than a hotel, which often gives food and lodging to the distressed or to beggars, or than a multitude of associations which from their nature must in some cases relieve suffering. He determined, however, to attain his object by some means or other, and made application for the release of the building from taxation, on the ground of its belonging to a benevolent institution. He put over the entrance to it a sign designating it an "Asylum;" and besides, to carry out his purpose, induced the company to order an image of the god Kwán-tí from China, and set apart a large room for the worship of it. This he told American visitors was a "Chinese church!" His efforts, however, failed, for on my furnishing the assessors with an exact account of the purposes of the company the tax was laid upon the house, much to his disgust. With the exception of this, the brief compendium given is fair and reliable. The "Four Districts," with the other two subsequently connected with them in the company, are all in the province of Canton and not remote from its capital city.

"SZE-YAP COMPANY.

"Our house is built throughout of brick. It is surrounded also by a brick wall. It is situated in Pine street, San Francisco. We have also a frame house in Sacramento. The company was originally composed of people from the four districts of San-ning, San-ui, Hoi-ping and Yan-ping; hence our name, Sze-yap (which means 'four districts'). Afterward men from the two districts of Hok-shan and Sze-ui also entered it. We did not, however, change our name on this account.

"In China it is common to have councils, and in

foreign countries *ui-kuns*, or company-halls. The object is to improve the life of their members and to instruct them in principles of benevolence. They are somewhat like American churches. The buildings furnish beds, fuel and water to guests who remain but for a short period; also a lodging-place and medicines for the infirm, aged and sick. Means are bestowed upon the latter to enable them to return to China.

“There are three agents employed by the company, also a servant who sweeps the house.

“The number of our members that have arrived in this port, according to the record made at their landing, from the first until December 31, 1854, has been about 16,500. Of these there have returned perhaps 3,700. In April of last year above 3,400 separated and formed the Ning-yeung Company. More than 300 have died. There are at present in California, altogether, about 9,200. We do not know the number who have left this for other countries.

“Except the buildings used by the company, we have no other property. This has been purchased by the members, who have subscribed of their free-will, some twenty, some fifteen, some ten dollars. A portion has been paid in; some will be paid when they are ready to return home. This is a perfectly voluntary matter; there has been no coercion used. Nor is any money required from the disabled, the sick, the aged, or those making a second voyage to this country.

“The objects to which the subscriptions of the company have been devoted are as follows:

“1. The purchase of ground and erection of the buildings used by us.

- "2. The salaries of agents and servants.
- "3. For fuel, water, candles and oil.
- "4. To assist the sick to return home.
- "5. For the bestowment of medicines.
- "6. For coffins and funeral expenses of the poor.
- "7. For the repairs of tombs.
- "8. Expenses of lawsuits.
- "9. Taxes upon our frame house at Sacramento.
- "10. Drayage and other outlays for passengers landing or departing by ship.

"The unpaid subscriptions amount to \$35,000; the names of others who have not yet stated the amount they intend to give will be good for perhaps \$6,700 more.

"The agents of the company are elected. At the election all the districts must have a voice. If from any one no members are present, it must be heard from. The agents must be men of tried honesty, and are required to furnish security before they enter upon their office. Their election is for the term of six months, of the expiration of which they must give notice and call a new election. But if they be found faithful to their duties, they are eligible to re-election.

"Our company has never employed men to work in the mines for their own profit, nor have they ever purchased any slaves or used them here."

Thus ends the exact translation of the rules of these "Chinese companies," institutions which have alarmed and distressed so many good people in California and throughout the United States; which have been made a ground of so much reproach against them, on the part of interested politicians and others inimical to them; but institutions which have no parallel for utility and

philanthropy among the immigrants from any other nation or people to our wide shores.

It has been objected to these companies that they have brought slaves to this country to work in the mines. But they have all declared that they have never owned, imported or employed any slaves. There is slavery, or peonage, of a certain kind in China, but it is very different from the bondage of Africans as formerly seen in the United States. It is said there are a few, certainly not a hundred individuals, of that class here; but they never have been employed by the companies and work probably on their own account. Americans have nothing to fear from that source.

The funds of the companies are not used for mercantile purposes, or to obtain revenue, and indeed are paid out nearly as fast as they come in. The treasuries of several of these companies are now empty or in debt. Many of their people never become able to pay their fees, and are on the other hand sources of great expense. The salaries of the managers and clerks are usually from eighty to a hundred dollars each per month; those of the servants, perhaps sixty dollars. The only property held by the companies is just what is absolutely necessary to accomplish their objects; such as a lot of ground, house and furniture in San Francisco, and a house perhaps at Sacramento, Stockton and other principal towns in whose vicinity their members mine or trade.

Conveniences are afforded by the companies' houses, for lodging and the storage of baggage, and they are a headquarters where friends and acquaintances from the same locality may meet; just as if the citizens of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania or Louisiana should

erect separate club-houses in San Francisco and other towns in California, to be places of general rendezvous for the people of those States. These companies are a great saving of expense and trouble to the Chinese, and are a remarkable illustration of their practical wisdom.

Great facilities are afforded through the companies for the collection of debts. Accounts are sent, if there be any doubt about their payment, to the agents at San Francisco. Here the people are constantly going and coming; debtors can be more easily reached; their circumstances are known; and if they refuse to pay, complaints are made to our courts of law, they are arrested and the claims are obtained.

Disputes between miners and others are settled at the company houses without the expense, delay and trouble of a resort to our courts of law. A friendly arbitration is held before a meeting of their company, or before a joint committee of the five companies, where the case is more difficult, or when persons of different districts are involved. The proceedings on these occasions are generally calm, judicious and satisfactory to the disputants. In former days, encouraged by the examples of lynching among our own people, the companies sometimes took the law into their own hands so far as to inflict corporal punishment upon offenders in their houses, but such practices are now disclaimed by them. Those doings are now past, and offenders are handed over by them to our courts in cases which their counsels cannot adjust. These associations have been of much service to the Chinese. Without them California could not have been so exempt from crime and strifes among them.

It cannot be doubted that the companies have generally

thus far been beneficial in their influence. They have been most useful in the unsettled and lawless condition of our own people in earlier days, and in districts where such a state of things now exists. It was in such circumstances right and proper that these people should make for themselves temporary arrangements and rules with a binding force even akin to law, just as the same thing is necessary among a train of emigrants crossing the plains to Oregon or California, or a party of miners upon a prospecting expedition to a remote or unknown region. These rules accomplish the ends of mutual assistance, the promotion of order and the punishment of the unruly. Yet it is, of course, understood that in all of them the laws of the country are acknowledged to be fundamental. What may be constituted by any such association is but supplementary to the laws of the country for purposes which they could not reach or particularize.

But when American society becomes more settled, itself under the influence of law and a correct moral sentiment, and the Chinese secure in the possession of the ordinary rights of humanity, it is desirable that these companies should be discouraged. They tend to perpetuate the local feuds and jealousies of the far-off communities from which these strangers come. They give cunning and troublesome men opportunities of undue influence over them in this land. The money collected is a source of corruption in various ways, and has occasioned suits in our courts in which large amounts obtained from members, many of whom were at a distance and could not prevent the wrong, have been squandered. There is danger of occasional interference

from them with our institutions, and of their being made in the future, when, at least, children born in this country shall become voters, an engine for evil in the hands of politicians. And it is in connection with these companies chiefly that the public forms of idol-worship will be maintained, and the spirit of love of country and kindred be appealed to in order to prevent their people being brought under Christian influence or conforming to our civilization. Hence it is to be hoped that, without interfering with them by legislative or public means so long as they do not violate our laws, kindly influences will be exerted gradually to win the Chinese individually from their control, and to make these people feel that their protection and welfare are to be promoted by a closer union with the better elements of the American population, and by falling into the general current of our opinions, usages and religion.

CHAPTER XX.

A REMONSTRANCE TO CONGRESS.

A STRANGE scene was witnessed in one of the principal mining counties of California. A company of Chinese had purchased at a large sum some claims covering the bed of a river, and undertaken to turn the stream, in order to reach the gold deposited there, as is often done by the Americans. A quiet little settlement was formed on the shore, and two firms of Chinese merchants set up stores there. A large amount of money was expended for lumber and other necessary articles. The work was successful. The Chinese began to reap the reward of their toil and outlay.

One dark night a band of seven armed white men suddenly appeared in the camp. Attacking the unsuspecting Chinese with unearthly yells, and firing their pistols among them, they put them to flight and chased them to some distance from the spot. They proceeded to seize the gold that could be found. Then they entered the stores and plundered them of money and such articles as were of any use to them to the value of two thousand dollars. To end the work they set fire to the buildings, and by the light thus made carried their plunder to the opposite side of the river, where they composedly set themselves down as the proprietors of the whole claim by the right of possession.

Some friends of the Chinese brought suit against these scoundrels before a neighboring justice for the restoration of the property. In defence the men set up a remarkable plea. It was simply this, that "they thought the Chinese could not work the claim to so good advantage as they could." And—what is still more remarkable—their friend, the justice, gave a decision in their favor on the ground of this plea! The friends of the Chinese next tried to bring a suit against these men at the county-seat for larceny and incendiarism. But though some Americans in the vicinity of the place had seen the fire and the carrying of the goods across the river, none were found willing or able to identify the robbers. The Chinese who knew them were not permitted, according to law, to bear witness against white men. The result was that the perpetrators of these crimes went free and remained in possession of the property which they so summarily had made their own. The industrious Chinese, beggared and in debt, were forced to leave the place.

There was a similar occurrence, which took place at a bar in another river, not long afterward. A man sold a claim to Chinese miners. They industriously began to work it. Three days subsequently he came back, asserted that it was his and undertook to drive them away. They resisted. A fight ensued, in which he struck, or kicked, one of them so as to fracture the thigh bone. Another he struck with a revolver under the ear so as to terribly bruise his neck and jaw and prevent his taking nourishment except in soup or other liquid forms. The same man received another dangerous blow upon the spine. His life was despaired of for a time. The

Chinese, however, succeeded in holding the claim. The white man escaped without punishment.

It is not necessary to continue the painful recital. Who committed these barbarous and cruel wrongs, such as it would scarcely have been imagined could occur in a civilized and Christian country? It was not often Americans. A cloud of villains of every country and complexion—English convicts from Australia, Spanish and Mexican robbers, low and vicious white foreigners of other nations—hung on the skirts of the laborious Chinese. They went in gangs and made robbery a business. They stealthily watched the Chinese miners, kept out of sight of the better class of white people who were friendly to them, and when a favorable opportunity would arrive, pounced down upon them and plundered them, sometimes those of several camps in one night. If resisted, they maimed or murdered them without scruple. It was counted rather a matter of sport, like a deer or bear hunt, to rush into a Chinese mining camp at midnight, wake the occupants with hellish yells, discharge their pistols among them and plunder the tents or cabins of whatever was valuable.

These robbers and murderers were, however, often quite conscientious. Just as in Italy the same class make scrupulous distinctions of right and wrong, honor and dishonor in their transactions, and ask the friendly help of the Virgin Mary and saints when about to engage in them, so these gentry in California satisfied their minds that it was a religious duty to rob and shoot heathen. A Mexican, who was hung at Mariposa much in opposition to his judgment of what was right in the matter, protested to the last that his case was a very

hard one. It was true that he had killed and robbed a good many Chinese. "But," said he, decidedly, "Christian people ought not to hang me for that." The Americans, however, viewed it differently and swung him to the limb of a tree, that the example might shed light as to some of the first principles of morals upon the consciences of some of his companions. A few such acts of justice have a marked illuminating effect upon the minds of men like these.

It was the saddest feature of the terrible trials of the Chinese that so many of them were inflicted in the name of the law. The license law of the State subjected all foreigners "not eligible to citizenship" to a monthly tax of four dollars. This was applied by the tax-collectors solely to the case of the Chinese. An army of them ranged continually over the mining districts equipped with blank licenses. They often compelled the Chinese in a camp to pay the mining license, though they might not be engaged in mining, and were traders, or cooks, or men engaged in other work, or transient visitors, or even sometimes though they were invalids, who were disabled by fever or rheumatism or accidents. They frequently came back before the month was out, or one would follow another, giving fictitious receipts. If the men refused to pay, they struck, stabbed or shot them; perhaps tied them to a tree and whipped them; perhaps drove them on foot with a horsewhip, the collector riding behind lashing them as they ran, to some town where they could exercise other compulsory measures. A tax-collector in the mountains once related to a company of persons, in my hearing, with great glee, how he had so "run" some Chinamen on a dark night, when

the ground was covered with snow, in which they often fell down, he yelling and lashing them from his horse. The collectors were often followed by cormorants to whom they sold for a trifle the property of Chinese which they had "forfeited" for non-payment. And when there were none so to purchase, these officials sometimes in mere wantonness destroyed bedding, boots and other articles.

The wretches who committed all these atrocities felt secure under a threefold cover. First, but few comparatively of the Chinese could speak our language, or knew how to obtain justice. In the next place, the "officers of justice" were too often under the control of the men who committed the offences. They were nominated and elected by them, and these villains were careful to let it be known that their votes would be cast against any man who favored the Chinese. And of even the poor privilege which a dog enjoys, to bark at the hand that has smitten him, these strangers have been deprived. They have not been allowed to speak out in an American court and say, "This was the man that shot down before my eyes, in cold blood, my brother, and robbed his dying body of the gold for which he had been slavishly toiling for years in order that he might send it home to make more happy the old age of our father and mother." They have not been permitted to open their lips before a magistrate against the band of foreign cut-throats who the winter through have gone from one lonely camp to another among the gulches compelling the miners to reveal the place where they had hidden their dust—perhaps by the argument of a rope round their necks, the other end of which was drawn across a beam overhead

until they had but the choice to give up or die, perhaps by that of a loaded revolver, or a sharp knife—and to declare, “I know this one by his black skin, by the scar across his right cheek, by his low forehead and malicious scowl, and by his coat and sash. I know him well—his name is ——.” They could not asseverate before a tribunal which had the power to correct the grievance, “I paid on such a day five hundred dollars to the defendant, and he has violently, by force of arms, dispossessed me of the property.” The Supreme Court of California, in 1855, made a decision, in order to exclude all Chinese testimony against white men, which briefly amounts to this: first, a native of China is an African negro; second, a native of China is an American Indian; third, a native of China has no rights which an American white man is bound to respect; therefore murderers and robbers of any nation may commit what crime they please against such without concern as to American courts.

The conduct of the Chinese under their accumulated trials was wonderfully prudent, conciliatory and respectful. They did not attempt to organize resistance to those who oppressed and injured them, even where they had the power temporarily to do so; for they knew that this would fearfully react upon them. They patiently bore what they could not avoid. If driven from one place, they quietly went to work at another. In their intercourse with the whites they were charitable to the suffering and ready to give to public claims; and they always supported their own poor. Thus they won the cordial friendship of the more respectable and moral classes who became acquainted with them, and who, notwithstanding

the repulsiveness of some of their vices, could not but become enlisted in their defence.

In 1855, after one of Gov. John Bigler's denunciatory messages to the legislature in regard to them, a very intelligent and gentlemanly merchant, Mr. Lai Chun-chuen, put in my hands a reply, in behalf of the merchants of San Francisco, with the request that it might be translated and published in our language. It attracted much attention at the time, and extracts from it were published in the newspapers of the Atlantic States. The following passages give a fair specimen of it. The reader will probably join in the conclusion of most of those who have seen it, that our Chinese friend had the best of the battle:

“We have read the message of the Governor.

“First. It is stated that ‘too large a number of the men of the Flowery Kingdom have emigrated to this country, and that they have come without their families.’ Among the reasons for this course we may mention the following: The wives of the better families of China have generally compressed feet. They are accustomed to live in the utmost privacy. They are unused to wind and waves. And it is exceedingly difficult to bring families upon distant voyages over great oceans. However, a few have come; nor are they all who may do so. But there have been several injunctions warning the people of the Flowery Land not to come here, which have awakened anxiety, so that our minds have not been satisfied as to the possibility of bringing families.

“Some have remarked that ‘immigrants from other foreign countries bring their families; their homes are distributed over your State: some engage in manual em-

ployments and amass wealth; thus mutual interests are created, mutual civilities extended and common sympathies excited; but, while in every respect they adopt your customs, on the contrary, the Chinese do not.' To this we rejoin, that the manners and customs of China and of foreign countries are dissimilar. Its ancient ideas are prevalent yet. But what if, as foreigners, we do differ somewhat from your honorable nation in hats and clothes and other small matters, while there is much that is common? In China itself people differ. In China there are some dissimilarities in the inhabitants of various provinces, or departments, or counties, or townships, or even villages. Their dialects, their manners, their sentiments, do not wholly accord. Their articles of use are not all made by one rule. Their common customs all differ. One line cannot be drawn for all. And just so it must be in all parts of the world. It would certainly appear unreasonable, when the officers and merchants of your honorable country come to our Middle Kingdom, were they to be rebuked for not knowing our language, or for not being acquainted with our affairs.

“It is objected against us that ‘vagabonds gather in various places and live by gambling.’ But collections of gamblers as well as dens of infamous women are forbidden in China by law. These are offences that admit of a clear definition. Our mercantile class have a universal contempt for such. But obnoxious as they are, we have no power to drive them away. We have often wished these things were prevented, but we have no influence that can reach them. We hope and pray that your honorable country will enact vigorous laws by

which brothels and gambling-places may be broken up, and thus worthless fellows be compelled to follow some honest employment, gamblers to change their calling, and, moreover, your own policemen and petty officials be deprived of many opportunities of trickery and extortion. Harmony and prosperity may then prevail, and the days await us when each man can in peace engage in his own sphere of duty. Such is the earnest desire of the merchants who present this.

“It is, we are assured, the principle of the government of your honorable country to assure the peace of the common people, and that it has at heart benevolence to all mankind. Now the natives of China and of other countries possess one common nature. All must agree that good and evil do not exist anywhere alone. All nations are really the same. Confucius says, ‘Though a city have but ten houses, there must be some in it who are honest and true.’ Suppose then we see it officially declared that ‘the people of the Flowery Kingdom are altogether without good in them,’ we cannot but be apprehensive that the rulers do not exercise a liberal spirit, and that they yield their own knowledge of right to an undue desire to please men.

“But of late days your honorable people have established a new usage. They have come to the conclusion that we Chinese are the same as Indians and negroes, and will not allow us to bear witness in your courts! And yet these Indians know nothing about the relations of society; they know no mutual respect; they wear neither clothes nor shoes; they live in caves and wild places. When we reflect upon the honorable position that China has maintained for many thousands of years,

upon the wisdom transmitted by her philosophers, upon her array of civil and of military powers, upon the fame of her civilization, upon the wealth and the populousness of her possessions, upon the cordial tenderness with which successive dynasties of emperors have treated strangers, deeming native or foreigner all as one, and then behold the people of other nations heap ridicule upon us as if we were the same as Indians,—we ask, is it possible that this is in accordance with the will of Heaven?—is it possible that this is the mind of the officers and the people of your honorable country?—can it be possible that we are classed as equals with this uncivilized race of men?

“Finally. It is said that ‘henceforth you desire to prevent the immigration of people of the Flowery Land.’ Hitherto our people have been interested in your sacred doctrines. We have tried to exercise modesty and reason. If we can henceforth treat each other with mutual courtesy, then we shall be glad to dwell within your honorable boundaries. But if the rabble are to harass us, we wish to return to our former homes. And we will speedily send and prevent the embarkation of any that have not yet come.”

This letter of Lai Chun-chuen, numerous articles explaining their peculiarities, the efforts of their friends in their behalf and the general sense of their importance as tax-payers and laborers, created a more just public opinion in favor of the Chinese. A law which had been passed by the legislature of the winter of 1854-'55 to exclude them from the mines was repealed by that of the winter following. But yet they were unceasingly harassed by lawless men. Sometimes a public meeting

was held in a mining district, or in a county, where they had made large investments and were quietly and industriously pursuing their callings, and under the influence of men who were generally either foreigners or unprincipled persons who were willing to follow at their bidding and help them in their iniquitous proceedings, resolutions were adopted to drive out the Chinese. Notice was immediately served upon them to leave by a certain day. If they had not abandoned the ground by the appointed time, at whatever sacrifices, losses and suffering, they were hunted out by armed men and their property seized or destroyed.

It was not alone the Chinese miners who suffered by these lawless and cruel acts. Where they were beggared, their merchants and Americans to whom they owed money for lumber, clothing, tools, provisions, etc., necessarily shared in the loss. And the prosperity of various parts of the State was materially injured by the outrages which drunken, worthless men, who were comparatively but a handful of the population, were allowed to commit. And, indeed, there was scarcely a manufacturing, mercantile or transporting interest in the State which was not more or less affected by the troubles of this large and industrious class.¹

¹ The statement of the editor of a newspaper published in one of the northern mining counties of California illustrates this point:

“For two years past, a very large portion of the gold taken from the mines has been the product of Chinese labor, and the traders in mining localities can attest that a very small portion of this has ever been carried out of the country, the assertions of city editors to the contrary notwithstanding. Chinese labor has literally kept alive the trade of most of the mining towns during the past season. The richer mines—all claimed or owned by the whites—have been poorly supplied with water; little work has been done, and little gold has therefore been drawn from that quarter; but all the time the patient and plod-

Worn out at last with their trials and losses, some of their more intelligent men took a lesson from the course of the Europeans and Americans in China, and determined to send a remonstrance to the Congress of the United States. This document was put in my hands to translate and take such steps as were necessary to have it properly brought before that body. It would no doubt have been written with a brush upon a sheet of silk and presented with due form. But some misapprehensions in it in regard to the powers of Congress, and certain temporary reasons, led me to postpone the fulfillment of their wishes. Upon the failure of my health I brought it with me to await the time, if life were spared, when the wakening sense of the importance of our national relations to the Chinese should justify my publishing it.

ding Johns are delving among the rocks and ravines of the foot-hills—in places where a white man would starve, rather than work in at all—packing water in buckets to rock out their six bits a day to buy their daily provender and pay the tax-gatherer for the poor privilege of working.”

Another editor, in a county neighboring to the above, makes the following statement in defence of the Chinese :

“Business in some of the small mining camps in our county would be wholly suspended during the summer months were it not for them. They are content to work laboriously for two dollars a day, and work claims which no others would. They make good hands, and are frequently hired by the miners. We have heard but little complaint against them by the miners, and the feeling which at first existed against them, and which was greatly exaggerated, is fast wearing away. They are a sober, quiet, industrious, inoffensive class of men, and, in our opinion, are a great benefit to our county. They pay annually into our treasury, for licenses alone, from sixty to eighty thousand dollars—a sum we cannot afford to lose. They pay our merchants promptly for every article they buy. They attend to their own business, and are rarely engaged in brawls. The mines they work would be unproductive were it not for them, being too poor to pay others for working them. Where is the miner in our county who would toil from early ‘morn till dewy eve’ for two dollars a day, with no prospect of obtaining more? A Chinaman will do it cheerfully, but other miners will not. For the last year but few of them have worked on their own account, being principally hired by miners.”

That time seems to have arrived. It does not seem proper now to send it to Congress, inasmuch as the persons who projected and prepared it are some of them not in this country; the author of the paper, I have been informed, is dead, a victim to the use of opium; and the circumstances under which it was written are somewhat changed.

The author referred to was Mr. Pun Chi, a young merchant in San Francisco, a man of good Chinese education, and who had picked up some acquaintance with our people and their institutions in his trade with them and during his attendance at the mission-school under my care.

This remonstrance is thoroughly Chinese, and will aid our people to understand the views and feelings of that people. There is an acute perception of the strong points of their position, and of the arguments which will have most weight with the best class of the American people, that is characteristic of them. They appeal to us as a reasonable people. The Chinese look upon war and the argument of the sword only as a last necessity. This paper illustrates their national character. Such is the measure, or, if the expression be preferred, the style, of their civilization that they regard military men with much the same dislike that they do pugilists or butchers. Hence they resort to diplomacy in their management of neighboring nations, and their statesmen are often, it must be confessed, adepts at bragging, fibbing and tricks equal to those of Europe or America.

It is certainly something at which the governments of the West may be astonished, and from which they might learn a lesson of the first utility, that China governs

vast territories, which more than equal in extent her own surface, chiefly by moral suasion. Every kingdom on her borders pays her tribute, receives the writings of Confucius as the best compendium of what is reasonable and right, makes her language that of its polite classes of society and the medium of communication with strangers, and imitates her arts and her usages.

It will be noticed how, therefore, with something like amazement, the Chinese who have emigrated to America find themselves regarded with dislike, their language unknown to us, their philosophers despised, and insult and wrong heaped upon them like the vagabond tribes of Indians. And it is nothing but gold, the immense difference of remuneration for every sort of labor, and gain on all kinds of traffic, or the want of gold, in failing to realize what they have expected, and their consequent debts, which makes them endure the humiliation for one day. They writhe under it, and cannot comprehend it. If the reader can put himself in their position and in their frame of mind, he will be able to appreciate the document now offered for his perusal.

It will be a source of surprise to many of our people, but nevertheless it is in accordance with the national mind, that they should dwell so emphatically upon the moral and religious considerations of the case. There is a quiet dignity, a deep sense of wrong, a freedom from a threatening or revengeful spirit, and a declaration of their entire submission to the action of our authorities in their case when deliberate and final, which must win for them the sincere respect, sympathy, and even admiration, of reflecting and honorable men.

There are, as they say, twelve topics which they de-

sire the legislators of our nation to weigh in connection with the appeal made to them for their interference to rectify the abuses of provincial legislation, and for their decision of the questions connected with the permanent residence of the Chinese here. The first three are preliminary and general. (§ 1). They begin with an appeal to our religion. They say that there is a supreme and universal government which has constituted China the most ancient, great, favored and beneficent nation of the world. We have been granted the instructions of Jesus, the Western counterpart of Confucius. Then why do we not practice them? (§ 2). They then define the principles upon which good government should be founded—upon reference to moral, not mechanical power, upon education, and upon respect for virtue. (§ 3). They represent (with some truth, but too favorably) that the conduct of their own government should be an example to ours in its care of the lives and property of foreigners, and the justice rendered to them in its courts; and it is claimed that no other foreign immigrants more deserve to be justly dealt with in this country, since no others pay so large an amount of the public revenue, or are more submissive to our laws; and this will be more clearly seen the better we understand them. There are seven matters in respect to which they desire legislative interference; that is, (§ 4) the general annoyances inflicted upon the Chinese, beginning with the time they land, and from all kinds of people; (§ 5) the outrageous cruelties and crimes of which, from the want of legal protection, they are the subjects; (§ 6) the oppression and wrongs of the miners; (§ 7) the violations of law by the appointed collectors

of taxes; (§ 8) the unjust practices of the nominal courts of justice; (§ 9) the troubles arising from the importation of abandoned women; and (§ 10) the neglect to inflict the penalties of the laws against gambling. Finally, they make two special requests; first (§ 11), that their companies may be allowed, from their universal acquaintance with all the Chinese of the country, and their responsible representative character, to take cognizance of minor offences against the law committed by their own people and report them to our courts; and second (§ 12), that Congress would, as the highest legislative authority, decide the main and most anxious questions affecting Chinese interests in this country; that is, if the previous policy of encouraging trade and immigration is to be reversed, and if they are to be for ever liable to injustice and injury, they respectfully beg that it may be plainly stated by a declaration to that effect, and that effectual measures may be adopted to prevent our traders from enticing further immigration and, by fixing a limit as to time (three years), to enable and compel the present entire Chinese population to take its departure. They demand that in justice Congress shall settle these questions, and make laws which shall either banish them from the country or else give them security and peace.

Such is the tenor of this remonstrance to the authorities at Washington. It will be seen that it exhibits a fair conception of the powers of a supreme legislative assembly, and yet is defective of necessity in not discerning the lines which divide the authority of the Federal and State legislative bodies. Some of its expressions are peculiar. But, on the whole, the doubt may be ex-

pressed whether a body of immigrants from any European nation, in some remote part of our country, who had been here but for a short time and were still ignorant of our language and constitution, would have prepared a plea more intelligent, more forcible and more reasonable.

A REMONSTRANCE

FROM THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

The sincere and gracious attention of your honorable body is earnestly requested to the consideration of certain matters important to our peace as foreigners, the following statements of which may be relied upon as certainly true and correct :

We are natives of the empire of China, each following some employment or profession—literary men, farmers, mechanics or merchants. When your honorable government threw open the territory of California, the people of other lands were welcomed here to search for gold and to engage in trade. The ship-masters of your respected nation came over to our country, lauded the equality of your laws, extolled the beauty of your manners and customs, and made it known that your officers and people were extremely cordial toward the Chinese.

¹ Such is the ability displayed in this appeal that I judged it best to prevent suspicion of its being either factitious or overwrought by submitting it with the translation to one of the most thorough and competent scholars in Chinese literature, the Rev. Dr. Nevius, author of the interesting volume entitled "China and the Chinese," recently published by Harper & Brothers, New York. He sent me, before leaving this country on his return to his labors in the North of China, the following note, with permission to publish it :

"I have examined carefully this appeal of the Chinese to Americans made through Dr. Speer, and find that this translation is a true and faithful rendering of the original.

"JOHN L. NEVIUS.

"New York, October 31, 1868."

640 CHEY LUNG & CO. 640



Store of Chey Lung & Co., San Francisco

Knowing well the harmony which had existed between our respective governments, we trusted in your sincerity. Not deterred by the long voyage, we came here presuming that our arrival would be hailed with cordiality and favor. But, alas! what times are these!—when former kind relations are forgotten, when we Chinese are viewed like thieves and enemies, when in the administration of justice our testimony is not received, when in the legal collection of the licenses we are injured and plundered, and villains of other nations are encouraged to rob and do violence to us! Our numberless wrongs it is most painful even to recite. At the present time, if we desire to quit the country, we are not possessed of the pecuniary means; if allowed to remain, we dread future troubles. But yet, on the other hand, it is our presumption that the conduct of the officers of justice here has been influenced by temporary prejudices and that your honorable government will surely not uphold their acts. We are sustained by the confidence that the benevolence of your eminent body, contemplating the people of the whole world as one family, will most assuredly not permit the Chinese population without guilt to endure injuries to so cruel a degree. We would therefore present the following twelve subjects for consideration at your bar. We earnestly pray that you would investigate and weigh them; that you would issue instructions to your authorities in each State that they shall cast away their partial and unjust practices, restore tranquillity to us strangers, and that you would determine whether we are to leave the country or to remain. Then we will endure ensuing calamities without repining, and will cherish for you sincere gratitude and most profound respect.

The twelve subjects, we would state with great respect, are as follows :

§ 1. *The unrighteousness of humiliating and hating the Chinese as a people.*

We have heard that your honorable nation reverences Heaven. .But if they comprehend the reverence that is due to the heavenly powers, of necessity they cannot humiliate and hate the Chinese. Why do we aver this? At the very beginning of time, Heaven produced a most holy man, whose name was Pwan-ku. He was the progenitor of the people of China. All succeeding races have branched off from them. The central part of the earth is styled by its inhabitants the Middle Flowery Kingdom. That is the country of the Chinese. The regions occupied by later races are distributed round and subordinate to it. Heaven causes it to produce in the greatest variety and abundance, so that of all under the sky this country is the greatest, and has bestowed upon it perfect harmony with the powers of nature, so that all things there attain the highest perfection. Hence we see that Heaven most loves our Chinese people, and multiplies its gifts to them beyond any other race.

From the time of Pwan-ku till the present, a period of many tens of thousand of years, there have been born among us a host of sages, such as Fu-hi, Shin-ning, Hwang-ti, Yau, Shun, Yu, Pang, Wan, Wu and Chau-kung. Gifted by Heaven, they attained consummate excellence. Their beneficent influence extended not alone around them, it shed peace upon all nations. In the days of Yau our people were styled the Tang, which has been a favorite designation of themselves until now.

After some centuries, Heaven again produced a sage pre-eminent and alone in his excellence, whose name was Confucius, whom it made the great teacher of China. He combined what was greatest and best in all that preceded him, and became the teacher and exemplar of all ages. As to things on high, he showed men the fear of Heaven; as to things on earth, he taught them virtue. The sages of whom we have spoken had the wisdom to discern that all men on earth are one family. Now what is meant in styling all men on earth one family? It is, that the people of China, or of countries foreign to it, are all embraced, as it were, in one great circle of kindred, with its parents and children, its elder and younger branches, its bonds of unity; the pervading principle, love; no one member debased, none treated with dislike. Again, after several centuries, Heaven brought forth one Jesus, and ordained him to be a teacher to foreign lands. Now Jesus also taught mankind the fear of Heaven. He showed that the chief end is to pray for eternal life. He comprehended the reverence due to Heaven, and the obligations of virtue. He was in accord with the holy men of China. He looked on all beneath the sky as one great family. He did not permit distinctions of men into classes to be loved or despised. But now, if the religion of Jesus really teaches the fear of Heaven, how does it come that the people of your honorable country on the contrary trample upon and hate the race which Heaven most loves, that is, the Chinese? Should this not be called rebellion against Heaven? And how is it possible to receive this as of the religion of Heaven?

§ 2. *An appeal to the principle which lies at the foundation of Chinese government and society.*

The wise men of China plant at the very foundation of government the idea of virtue, not that of physical power, just as do those professing the religion of Jesus Christ. Virtue is that which commands the intuitive submission of the human will. Great vessels of war and powerful artillery may destroy cities and devastate a country. That is physical power. But moral power is essentially different from mechanical power. The noblest illustration of moral power is the teacher at the head of his school—as much so as the locomotive and the telegraph are of mechanical skill. It is the spirit of man that deserves respect, not his form. If the spirit be noble and good, although the man be poor and humble, his features homely and his apparel mean, we honor him and love him. If the spirit be not so, though the man have wealth and position, though his countenance be beautiful and his clothing rich, we regard him with contempt and dislike. But we do affirm that the reason why the people of your honorable country dislike the Chinese is this, and no other—they look at the plain appearance and the patched clothes of their poor, and they do not think how many spirits there are among them whom they could respect and love.

§ 3. *A brief statement of the manner in which our Chinese government acts toward foreigners.*

China possesses a mutual trade with all foreign lands. When a man from another country arrives in China, none of our officers and common people treat him other-

wise than with respect and kindness. In case he be defrauded or injured, where it is a small matter the offender is fined or punished corporeally; in a graver one he forfeits his life. Even though there be no witnesses, still the local officers must thoroughly inquire into the circumstances. In murders and brawls, if the criminal be not discovered the magistrate is called to account and degraded from his office. When a foreigner commits a deed of violence against a Chinese, a spirit of great leniency and care is manifested in the judgment of the case. Not because there is not power to punish. But we sincerely dread to mar the beautiful idea of gentleness and benignity toward the stranger from afar.

Now why is it that, when our people come to your country, instead of being welcomed with unusual respect and kindness, on the contrary they are treated with unusual contempt and evil? Hence many lose their lives at the hands of lawless wretches. Yet though there be Chinese witnesses of the crime, their testimony is rejected. The result is our utter abandonment to be murdered and that of our business to be ruined. How hard for the spirit to sustain such trials! It is true some persons reply that the Chinese who come here are of no advantage to the country. Yet if a calculation be made only of the amount of licenses we pay, the value of our trade, the revenue to steamers, stage companies and other interests, amounting to several millions of dollars per annum, can it be affirmed that we are of no advantage? But, besides, it is to be considered that we Chinese are universally a law-abiding people and that our conduct is very different from the lawlessness and violence of some

other foreigners. Were it not that each so little understands the other's tongue, and mutual kind sentiments are not communicated, would not more cordial intercourse probably exist?

§ 4. *The perpetual vexations of the Chinese.*

The class that engage in digging gold are, as a whole, poor people. We go on board the ships. There we find ourselves unaccustomed to winds and waves and to the extremes of heat and cold. We eat little; we grieve much. Our appearance is plain and our clothing poor. At once, when we leave the vessel, boatmen extort heavy fares; all kinds of conveyances require from us more than the usual charges; as we go on our way we are pushed and kicked and struck by the drunken and the brutal; but as we cannot speak your language, we bear our injuries and pass on. Even when withindoors, rude boys throw sand and bad men stones after us. Passers by, instead of preventing these provocations, add to them by their laughter. We go up to the mines; there the collectors of the licenses make unlawful exactions and robbers strip, plunder, wound and even murder some of us. Thus we are plunged into endless uncommiserated wrongs. But the first root of them all is that very degradation and contempt of the Chinese as a race of which we have spoken, which begins with your honorable nation, but which they communicate to people from other countries, who carry it to greater lengths.

Now what injury have we Chinese done to your honorable people that they should thus turn upon us and make us drink the cup of wrong even to its last poisonous dregs?

§ 5. *Fatal injuries unpunished.*

Your Supreme Court has decided that the Chinese shall not bring action or give testimony against white men. Of how great wrongs is this the consummation! To the death of how many of us has it led! In cases that are brought before your officers of justice, inasmuch as we are unable to obtain your people as witnesses, even the murderer is immediately set free! Sanctioned by this, robbers of foreign nations commit the greatest excesses. It is a small thing with them to drive us away and seize our property. They proceed to do violence and kill us; they go on in a career of bloodshed without limit, since they find there are none to bear testimony against them. Let us mention some cases. In the third year of the present emperor, and seventh month, at B——, Yu Lin-shing, a Chinese, was shot and killed by an American. The murderer was apprehended and brought to the place of justice. He was released without condemnation. In the ninth month, at S——, Yu Wai-ngok was murdered by a foreigner. In the same month, at B——, one of our countrymen was killed by an Indian. In the fourth year, second month, near M——, a man named Chiu Man-sze was shot with arrows, by Indians, and killed. In the sixth month, in L——, Liu Kiu was put to death by an American; the murderer was captured and put in prison; but, as usual, was released without trial. In the eleventh month, a Spaniard robbed and murdered one of our countrymen. In the fifth year, on the fourth day of the fifth month, a collector of the mining licenses killed Ching Ping, at P——. About the middle of the same month, at

M——, the collectors of the licenses killed three men because they would not pay more than was justly due; their names were Wa Hon, A-Tang and A-Sui.

It would be impossible to enumerate the men that have been killed; we have mentioned these as a few of them. To collect a catalogue of crimes is certainly not a work of pleasure. But behold the root of them all in the prejudice and hate of your honorable nation! In cases where it is possible to procure the testimony of your people as to an injury, the Chinese may obtain reparation; but suppose there are occasions where, if none of your people know of a crime, Chinese were allowed to take up the case and to state their acquaintance with it, some of these stains of blood would not continue unwashed. Some object that the Chinese bear false witness. Do such not know that the Chinese do not understand your language?—or that within your courts of justice, too, there are corrupt men?—or that in the strifes of public litigation there may be found men of every country who will bear false testimony? Why, then, is this burden laid upon us Chinese alone? Suppose there be false witness borne, are the judges of your honorable country blind and stupid, so that they cannot discern it and estimate testimony at its value? Because here and there a Chinese or two has proved a perjurer, shall it prejudice our entire nation? Shall this degrade us beneath the negro and the Indian? This is a great injustice, such as is not heard of in our Middle Kingdom! It injures your fair name. Every nation under heaven mocks at you. Hence it is not alone we Chinese that suffer, but blessings are lost thereby to your own land.

§ 6. *The persecution of the Chinese miners.*

If a Chinese earns a dollar and a half in gold per day, his first desire is to go to an American and buy a mining claim. But should this yield a considerable result, the seller, it is possible, compels him to relinquish it. Perhaps robbers come and strip him of the gold. He dare not resist, since he cannot speak the language, and has not the power to withstand them. On the other hand, those who have no means to buy a claim seek some ground which other miners have dug over and left, and thus obtain a few dimes. From the proceeds of a hard day's toil, after the pay for food and clothes very little remains. It is hard for them to be prepared to meet the collector when he comes for the license-money. If such a one turns his thoughts back to the time when he came here, perhaps he remembers that then he borrowed the money for his passage and expenses from his kindred and friends, or perhaps he sold all his property to obtain it; and how bitter those thoughts are! In the course of four years, out of each ten men that have come over scarcely more than one or two get back again. Among those who cannot do so, the purse is often empty; and the trials of many of them are worthy of deep compassion. Thus it is evident that the gold mines are truly of little advantage to the Chinese. Yet the legislature questions whether it shall not increase the license; that is, increase trouble upon trouble! It is pressing us to death. If it is your will that Chinese shall not dig the gold of your honorable country, then fix a limit as to time, say, for instance, three years, within which every man of them shall pro-

vide means to return to his own country. Thus we shall not perish in a foreign land. Thus mutual kindly sentiments shall be restored again.

§ 7. *The irregularities of the collectors of the license.*

These occur wherever the Chinese are engaged in mining; and they are not the acts of one man. The collectors of the license have no appointed districts: one man comes at this time, and a stranger the next. They have no appointed period: some come for the month's dues to-day, and to-morrow they require them again. In collecting from the miners who have money they extort heavy amounts besides. To miners who have none they refuse to grant time, and then demand the sums which they owe from other persons. If these refuse to pay them, the collectors seize their purses and take their last grain of gold. Should the Chinese dispute with them, they assault them with pistols and other weapons, and some of the miners may lose their lives, and there is no redress. Hence, when it is reported that the collectors are coming, those who have no gold are forced to fly in terror; those who could pay are thus frightened and follow; then they are pursued and beaten, perhaps killed. Occurrences like these are common. They all arise from the rapacity of the collectors and from the want of just regulations. Now we ask, first, that, in the collection of the licenses, each district shall be allotted to a certain man; that the boundaries of it shall be clearly defined; that other collectors shall not be allowed to come within them; that the day of each month when the collector will receive the license-money shall be previously published by placards; that on the payment

of the four dollars he shall give the miner a written receipt as evidence, to prevent his being compelled to pay the money again; and that in the cases of those who are unable to pay, firstly, some extension of time may be granted; if at the second demand they still have no means to pay, security may be required from their fellow-miners, with some further extension of time; at the third demand, if neither they nor their security are ready to pay, then their property may be seized for the amount. There are none of us who would not gladly submit to such regulations as these. They would be just to both parties. And your losses from the miners running away or hiding their money would cease.

§ 8. *Usages to which we object.*

Our people have been told of the excellence of the institutions of your honorable country; but when they have come to the new State of California, they have found them to be strange indeed. We know not from what nation came the men that have taken the lead in creating this condition of things, nor where rests the obligation of reforming it, but you cannot be ignorant of some things the truth of which we have seen and known. Allow us briefly to speak of them. Causes at law are not judged according to what is true or false; the strongest faction is counted to have the truth. In contentions between men it is not considered what is crooked and what is straight; sufficient money makes a man's claim appear straight. The treatment of men is not regulated by their characters for virtue or for vice; a fine exterior is accepted for virtue. New laws are constantly published, only to be changed again in a brief time. Suits that

should be determined are postponed again and again. A person of purity and integrity appears in court and he is but ridiculed and insulted the more; a violent and wicked man, and he is paid the more respect. Cases involving money come before these tribunals, and they excite covetousness; cases of property, and they create envy of a man's abundance. Murder is allowed to escape without the forfeit of life; robbery occurs without the apprehension of the offender. False rumors are made a pretext to arrest men; officers apprehend the innocent in order to oppress and fine them. They practice neither humanity nor justice. Their ambition and their schemes terminate simply in gold and silver. Justice demands that political institutions such as these should speedily be reformed, or you will meet with the scorn of the whole world.

§ 9. *A request for the adjustment of the difficulties in regard to abandoned women.*

At first all the abandoned women who came to California from Hong-kong were boat-women from the sea-coast: one of them arrived here during the first year of Hien-fung (1851). At that time, we Chinese proper, fearing that other people would mistake these for our own females, and thus disgraceful conceptions of us be spread abroad, specially requested your authorities to banish them. But the local authorities, not comprehending the evil, would not consent to their removal. From that time the number of those coming has constantly increased, and the flood of poison has become more and more wide and deep. It is now our request that you will enact laws for the correction of this griev-

ance. We beseech you to stringently require commanders of vessels, while they carry these women away, to bring no more of them back. And a time should be fixed within which all here shall be compelled to leave, themselves providing the means, and returning to their own people. Thus will we be rid of this spreading poison and be relieved of this disgrace.

§ 10. *A petition that gambling may be severely punished.*

In our Middle Kingdom gambling is forbidden by law. Formerly, on account of its not being forbidden in your honorable country, many men learned this vice, and the results have been deeply injurious. Now we are fortunate in having a law against it passed by you and put into operation. If only men knew that they must rigidly obey it, and if from this time forth there shall be no secret granting of licenses, then we might hope that those who had learned this vice might return to honest occupations.

§ 11. *A request in regard to the management of criminal cases.*

At present, people from all nations are coming indiscriminately to your honorable country. Certainly many of them are good; but there are also bad persons among them. It constantly happens that the good are compelled to reap some of the fruits of the evil deeds of the vicious. Among our Chinese there are some bad people; and only the Chinese can know who they are. If you will permit the Chinese merchants, they will prepare private statements as to such persons, vouching for them by the signature of their names. Thus rogues

may be justly punished, and will understand that the laws are to be respected, and will be deterred from the commission of crimes; and they will return to the ways of virtue.

§ 12. *A request for an enactment appointing a time when the Chinese shall finally return to their own land.*

When we were first favored with the invitations of your ship-captains to emigrate to California, and heard the laudations which they published of the perfect and admirable character of your institutions, and were told of your exceeding respect and love toward the Chinese, we could hardly have calculated that we would now be the objects of your excessive hatred—that your courts would refuse us the right of testimony; your legislature load us with increasing taxes and devise means how to wholly expel us; your collectors, even before the law is made, begin to demand larger sums, and to compel the month's payment for shorter periods than that time; that foreign villains, witnessing your degrading treatment of us, would assume the right to harass, plunder and rob us, possibly kill us; that injuries of every kind would be inflicted on us, and unceasing wrongs be perpetrated; that if we would desire to go, we would be unable to do so, and if we desired to remain, we could not. But now if, finally, you do not will that we should mine and traffic in your honorable country, we beg that you will fix by law a limit of three years, within which we may collect our property and return to our country; and that you will strictly forbid your ship-captains to use inducements for people to come, and, if they do not obey, severely punish them. Thus we will endeavor after the

lapse of three years to leave upon your honorable soil not a trace of the Chinese population. If, on the other hand, you grant us as formerly to mine and trade here, then it is our request that you will give instructions to your courts that they shall again receive Chinese testimony; that they shall cease their incessant discussions about expelling the Chinese; that they shall quit their frequent agitations as to raising the license fees; that they shall allow the Chinese peace in the pursuit of their proper employments; and that they shall effectually repress the acts of violence common among the mountains, so that robbers shall not upon one pretext or another injure and plunder us. Thus shall your distinguished favor revive us like a continual dew.

To the translation of this Remonstrance I will only add the expression of the sincere hope that the members of the Congress of the United States and of the legislatures of those States in which Chinese are now laboring, or may do so in the future, will give a thoughtful consideration to the subjects presented in it. There is a propriety about it which should ensure their respect. There is a reasonableness and justice in the requests and suggestions which should cause them to be weighed and adopted, if only we except that of the reference of questions relating to the characters of persons accused of crimes to the opinion of "the Chinese merchants," meaning probably their Association, or Exchange, in San Francisco. Personal prejudices, jealousies among the people of different clans and districts, and their displeasure with some who leave the religion and customs of their fathers and adopt those of our country, might

make such an opinion one which it would be unsafe for our courts to follow. It would be better to accede to their final petition and fix a time within which their immigration to this country should cease, those here depart, and intercourse be, so far as practicable, suspended, than that we should go on in a descending course of oppression, rapacity and reckless destruction of property and life, which can only terminate in the greatest national calamities to us and to them.

CHAPTER XXI.

MORAL ASPECT OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

IN preparing the preceding chapters of this volume, and describing, as I have heartily done, the industry, the gentleness, the intelligence, the charity of the Chinese, a voice has often whispered in my ear, as from some thoughtful inquirer of my own nation, Are not these a heathen people whom you are so praising?—have they not the vices of heathenism? I cannot close this chapter without confessing that they are heathen, and that we discover in them the vices of the tribes of mankind without the light of God's truth to teach them, and without the power of God's truth to give elevation and strength to their moral character. They seem to occupy a superior position compared with other heathen nations, and yet, alas! they are heathen.

Then the question rises, What are "heathen?" The heathen were originally heath-ers—the dwellers among the heath; those who wandered away from the fenced abodes of knowledge and happiness and plenty; the ignorant, desolate outcasts, who are so numerous in the old countries; the gypsies, the lepers, and all that wild, despised, wretched herd. Here is the typical idea. We apply it to all the races of man who are without the Bible; to those who are wanderers from the way of life,

and are in the wilderness as respects their knowledge of the living and true God, pardon of sin, true holiness and heaven. They see the dim light of nature and of their traditions from the patriarchal age; they hear the still small voice of natural conscience; but they are without the clear light of the revelation which we enjoy.

In the religious writings of the Chinese one discerns the generic attributes of heathenism—ignorance and fear with regard to God, pride and self-indulgence as to the man. The ignorance of God is the parent of superstition, which fills heaven, earth and hell with imaginary beings and monsters; the fear excites men to the worship of them, and this consists chiefly in offerings to propitiate their anger. Pride conceals the sinfulness of human nature and puffs it up with conceit of its own powers; self-indulgence plunges the man into the gratification of his low appetites.

There are some most touching admissions of their ignorance of all beyond the reach of their own senses or the monitions of human reason and conscience to be found in the pages of the great teachers of China. Thus Confucius, when inquired of as to the nature of the gods, used language which reminds one of that of Socrates when the weeping disciples to whom he had taught so much of negative truth besought him for something positive to dispel the fears of death and “charm” away their sorrow. It is said he exclaimed, “How vast is the power of the gods! Look, and you cannot see them. Listen, and you cannot hear them. They have a personality essentially related to us. And yet how they compel the whole race of man to fast and to array themselves in their best robes, that they may sacrifice to them,

is unfathomable as the sea. They seem to be above. They seem to be on our right hand and on our left. As the ode says :

‘The influence of the gods upon the mind
What mind can measure?
To the utmost let our duty be performed.’

Behold, the secret things they bring to light! Be sincere, for you can conceal nothing. This is certain.”¹

The best lesson which Mencius, who stands next to Confucius in the regard of the wise and good of China, had to teach was only what related to the duty which man owes to his fellow-man. When the king of Wai invited the wisest men to visit his court, he condescendingly said to Mencius, “Venerable sir, since a thousand miles has not been esteemed too great a distance for you to come, will you now inform me what there is of profit to my kingdom that you can bestow?” The philosopher replied, “O king! why speak of profit? I have only benevolence and justice—nothing more.” He then proceeded to inveigh against the ambition and covetousness of all classes of society, and declare that there were two principles which would bring happiness and order to every house and fidelity to every subject of the throne; and he cried, “O king! only talk then of benevolence and justice. Wherefore speak of profit?”²

Both Confucius and Mencius saw with bitterness the utter inefficacy of truth which looks no higher than earth to reform society or to stay the power of human passions. The vices of the courts they visited too often quenched the flickering lamp of reason in their hands.

The popular faith has gradually shaped its conceptions

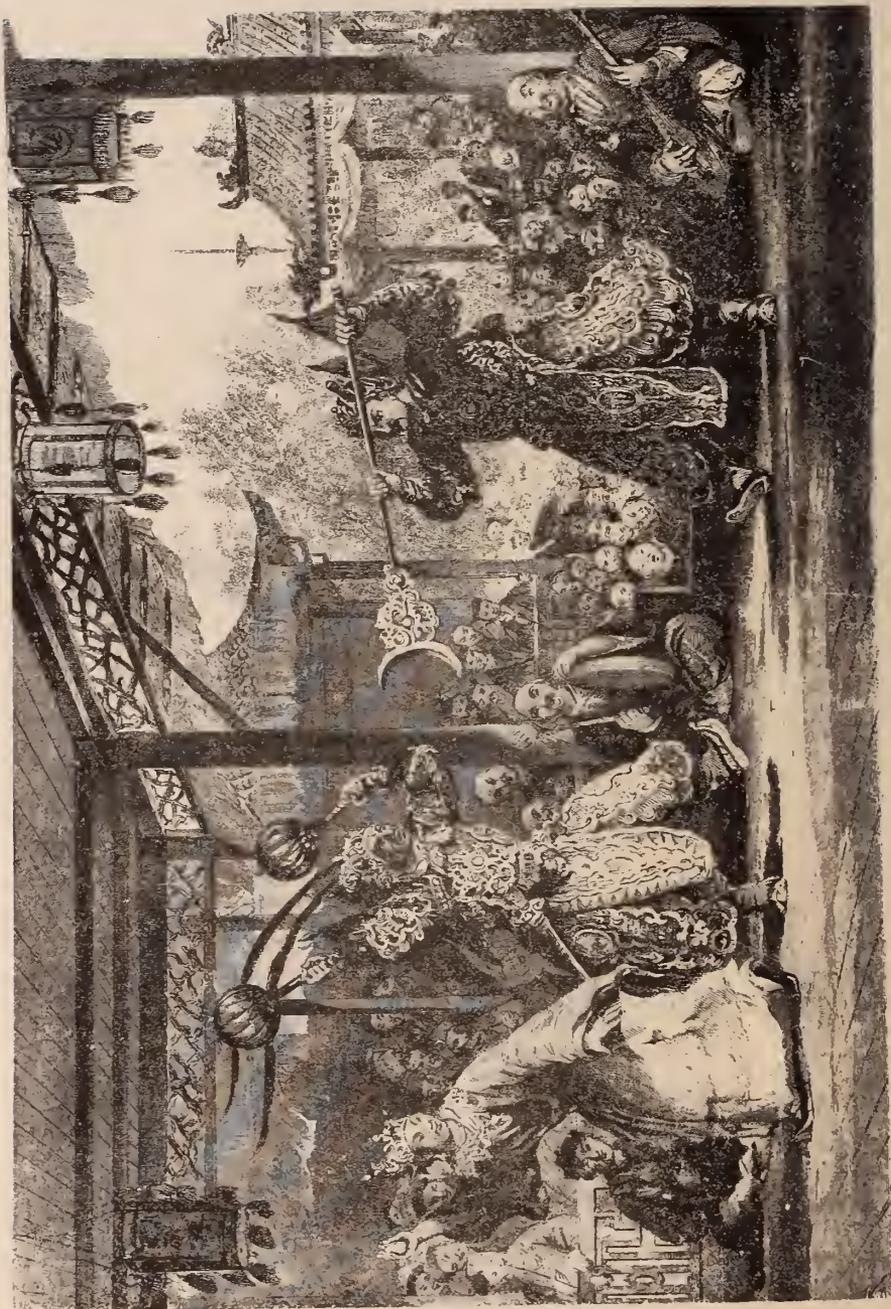
¹ CHUNG-YUNG, leaf 10.

² SHANG-MANG, leaf 2.

of things in the heavens in accordance with what is seen on earth. It is supposed that there is a chief of the gods, Shang-ti, who resembles the Jupiter of the Romans, and whose attributes are described to be infinite power and knowledge, so that some foreign missionaries have advocated the use of the name to signify the true God; a mistake, however, as great as that of using the name of Jupiter or Zeus with that sense. It is the common belief that there is a hierarchy in the heavens nearly corresponding with that of the empire on earth, the rank and power of the gods being relatively the same with those of the successive grades of civil officers. So practical is this faith that the officer in the flesh ruling over a province when traveling, if he finds it convenient to occupy the temple of a god of a celestial dignity inferior to his own, may not scruple to order the god to be put out of doors for the time being. Nor, in truth, do any evil results usually, in their experience, follow.

The theatrical performances which the Chinese have introduced into California, and with rather poor success attempted, in the employment of certain Americans, who cruelly deceived and defrauded them, to exhibit in some of the Atlantic cities, are partly religious in their nature. The Chinese have a legend in regard to their origin, which is as follows:

About eleven hundred years ago, upon the night of the annual festival in honor of the moon, Lo Kung-un, an attendant upon the emperor Hieun-tsing, was walking abroad and turning his eyes to that luminary. In a rapture of devotion he flung up into the sky the staff which he bore in his hand. It was instantly trans-



Chinese Theatre

formed before his eyes into a bridge. Having invited his imperial master to accompany him, he mounted upon it to the moon. They found there the gates of a splendid palace. Upon entering it, the two beheld beneath a spreading cinnamon tree a company of females of noble aspect, clad in white and seated upon white celestial birds, which sang with delicious sweetness. The company seemed to be amusing themselves, and their visitors heard at the same time strains of music of a wonderfully pure and majestic kind. They returned back to earth, to the palace of Si-king, but could recall, alas! scarce half the words or notes of the song which they had heard. But Yang King-tah, having formed some conception of it, wrote it down and arranged it, and presented it to the emperor. He commanded a band of more than three hundred singing girls to be formed, to which was committed the rehearsal of the music. These women having performed in the inclosure of the imperial pear orchard, play-actors have since then borne the designation of "the fraternity of the pear orchard."

The celebration of this worship of the moon in China is very striking to the eye of a stranger from a Christian land. The fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, which occurs about our mid-autumn, is sacred to this occasion, and is a day given to general festivity. The shops are closed. The air is rent by continual explosions of gunpowder. Flags of many forms and colors, most of them painted with astrological emblems, are seen waving in the south wind. Peculiar fatty cakes, the upper crusts of which are enriched with various devices in red and yellow paint, and called "moon cakes," are presented on that day by friends to each other and

by the rich to the poor. But one of the most interesting ceremonies of the day is the erection of lanterns on poles above each house at nightfall amidst the thunder of innumerable cannons, gongs and drums. Being suspended in pairs and disturbed by the wind, one sees, from an elevated place, a waving phosphorescent sea, which stretches far away to the distant hills. It is an act of idolatrous adoration from a million of souls together to the orb which is supposed to reveal herself in her full during this month with more splendor than at any other period of the year.

The worship of the god To-ti has been introduced into California. His name signifies that he is a "god of the earth;" that is, one who guards the particular localities where his image is set up. It is said that the original god worshiped under this name was once a prefect named Yang Shing, who lived during the third century of the Christian era. He ruled over a department whose inhabitants were remarkable for being small of stature and delicate in their appearance. It was the practice of the emperors of that period to annually carry off several hundred of them to the palace, where they were mutilated in their persons and made chamberlains, and thus were devoted to a cruel, perpetual slavery and separation from their homes. This humane officer having strongly represented their case to the emperor, they were relieved from that oppression. Hence after death he was deified by the grateful people with the name of To-ti and worship instituted in honor of him in Taou-chau, which has spread abroad until it is now celebrated all over the empire. He is classed among the gods of happiness and of wealth. He confers prosperity

in business. His more especial care is the protection of streets and dwellings from evil spirits and ill-fortune. It is understood now, however, that it is not this same individual who is worshiped in connection with each image and in various streets, but a mere image is erected, to which they attribute the presence of the spirit of some other man of virtue and renown whom they prefer, especially of some one who may have lived in their own neighborhood.

The god of fire, Hwa-kwang, is worshiped annually on the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month by many of the Chinese in this country, in order to secure his protection of their shops and dwellings from being burned. He is commonly represented with a third eye in the middle of the forehead, with which he is supposed to be able to see a thousand miles and to watch over the welfare of his friends even in the darkness of the night.

To guard their health many worship Pin Tseuh, who was a celebrated physician of antiquity not long after the times of Fuhi, the founder of the empire. A demi-god gave to him some medicine, which he was to take during thirty days, that enabled him to see the internal motions and disorders of all the viscera of his patients. He extensively exercised the power thus acquired, and gained great fame. It is declared that he was even able to raise the dead.

The women worship gods and goddesses, who they imagine protect them in their dangers, afford them help and comfort in their times of trial and grant them the objects of their desire. The images often seen of a goddess with a child in her arms are generally those of

Kwan-yan, "the hearer of cries," to whom they and some classes of men who are much exposed to danger, such as sailors, offer devout worship. This goddess was a virgin of the province of Fu-kien, who on account of her holiness was granted miraculous powers, which she exerted specially in behalf of those who were in trouble. In many points her worship reminds one of that of the virgin Mary by Romanists.

There are several rooms fitted up in San Francisco and other places on our Pacific coast for temples. They are chiefly connected with "company houses," are quite a source of revenue to some men who have the care of them, and will be zealously maintained on that account, and because the gods are sometimes those which are worshiped by the people of the district in China whence the members of the company have come.

The characteristic and favorite religion of the Chinese is the worship of ancestors and the spirits of the dead. The interpretation of this is very simple. It is but the affection and the reverence of children for parents following them beyond the veil of the invisible world and attributing to them the continuance of their willingness and power to aid. And the worship which is rendered to these spirits may be said to be just what human parents might be supposed to require, only in a more ethereal form.

In San Francisco each spring and autumn a noisy procession with gongs, drums and clarionets, having several wagons loaded with trays containing whole roast pigs, ducks, chickens and other meats, and pastry, confectionery, fruit and cooked vegetables, proceeds to the neighboring cemeteries. They are despatched from the

streets of the city and received at the grounds with the firing of innumerable crackers. The offerings are formally presented to the spirits in front of the tombs, whisky is sprinkled in the air for their refreshment, and paper money is burned and thus put into spiritualized currency such as they can use. The remainder of the day, after the public duties have been performed, is devoted to feasting and social enjoyment.

In the cities of China this festival is the most popular of all in the round of the year. It is celebrated with great fervor by all classes of people. Offerings are made by each family separately. In the court of the house there may be seen a heap, perhaps several feet in length, of various articles of clothing and common household use, generally made of paper, though sometimes of the ordinary materials, with bundles of silver and gilt paper for money. The court is lighted up with gaudily-painted candles in rows around the sides. The dwellers of every age all busy themselves in making the arrangements necessary. Hot rice and other substantial, nuts and liquor or tea, are brought out. When all is ready, acts of worship are performed. Then the pile is kindled, and the rice and liquor are thrown up into the air. Every scrap of paper is religiously gathered and burned, probably that the garments of the spirits may not be defective. The more savory articles of food, however, are not thus profusely scattered about, but after they have stood long enough for the worthy ghosts to abstract their essence, they seem still capable of affording considerable relish to the coolies and boys that scramble for them. Many of the Chinese believe that these provisions are insipid after the ghosts have satisfied their hunger, but

some are so bold as to say that they do not notice much difference in the taste. It is not alone what is required for food and raiment that is despatched to the unseen world. Through the agency of flames, which spiritualize them and waft them up, houses completely furnished, horses, servants, sedan-chairs and numerous articles of worldly luxury or ornament, find, as these deluded people believe, access there.

The same intense feeling of attachment to kindred leads them to offer oblations to the spirits of the deceased, to make annual visits to their tombs in order to repair them, and to carry back to the burial-places in their native villages the bones of those who die away from them. Thousands of skeletons have thus been taken from California. The people of various districts of the province of Canton have formed among themselves on the Pacific coast benevolent societies whose members pay each a fee of several dollars. This guarantees the transportation of their bones home in case of their own death, and helps to do the same for those of all the individuals who have come from the same district. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been paid by these societies for coffins, internal transportation, that on shipboard and other expenses.

These associations are purely voluntary, and may not be connected with their *ui-kuns*, or "companies." The following is a translation of a portion of the report of one whose headquarters was at San Francisco, styled the Chih-shin (or beneficial) Association:

"The benevolent purposes for which the Chih-shin Association was established were first put into effect in the autumn of eighteen hundred and fifty-four. The

work was carried on till the present time—that is, the summer of eighteen hundred and fifty-five—and now, on the second day of the fifth month (June) is completed. A vessel has sailed conveying the coffins to our native villages. There remained, however, but a balance of somewhat over four hundred dollars, which we fear would be scarcely enough to pay for their transportation from Hong-kong to Pun-sha-wan, and would not meet the expenses of the sacrifices to the dead. After consultation together, it has been resolved that those who have not paid be requested to hand over at once the subscriptions due, for remittance to China, so that the amount necessary may be made up for the sacrifices and for the erection of tombs, and that the accounts of the Association may be closed. We present the following report, and request gentlemen to notify us of any mistakes in it previous to the expiration of the eighth month. When the subscriptions have been paid the books will be forwarded to China and the tombs be put up. No provision, however, will be made for tombs for those whose friends here do not pay before the time limited expires, and record will be also made of their deficiency. We desire earnestly the payment of the sums due, that these benevolent objects may be accomplished and that they may bear their good fruits. We pray all to exert themselves to this effect, that the end may be attained, no excuse left those who are negligent, and that all may share the happiness and the merit which they deserve.”

This extreme anxiety concerning the bones of the dead is caused by the belief that their spirits will haunt the survivors if proper respect for them be not shown,

that the fortunes and the bodily health and comfort of their descendants depend largely upon the proper selection of the tombs of parents and kindred, and by the interest felt in each other by members of the same clan or neighborhood. The selection of a proper spot for the tomb is a matter of great concern. The professional diviner is employed to examine lucky sites and decide upon the one most suitable. The hills around a Chinese city are scattered over with tombs, for there are no common cemeteries. The great points in regard to sepulture are to secure high ground on either side, especially on the left—dry ground and yet proximity to a stream which curves toward the tomb at its nearest point, as this tends to direct the general good influences of nature toward it—and the absence of any large rocks on the surface. Wealthy men spend thousands of dollars in ascertaining a spot where their spirits will be satisfied and which will secure prosperity and health to their families. And bloody fights sometimes follow the interference of one clan or family with the tombs of another.

The *fung-shwui*, or powers of nature (literally, “winds and waters”), must be consulted in regard to many individual and public affairs. It is a mysterious superstition, which is universal and most powerful. All classes of society humbly bow before it. If the house be lower than some around it, or if it front unsuitably toward some quarter of the compass, or course of a stream, or the ordinary currents of wind, or if it be overshadowed by the tree of a stranger or enemy, then no expense will be spared to correct the evil. One method is, to erect a tall flag-staff which shall overpower the antagonistic influences. The direction given in an almanac for the man-

ner of doing this will convey an idea of its meaning. It is as follows :

“ For a fortunate flag-staff use a long, solid beam. To a transverse pole, at the top, suspend a wooden cover formed of four sides and an inclined roof like a house, to protect the lantern beneath from the rain. Write upon one side of the lantern, in a handsome character, the word ‘ Peace ; ’ on the opposite the name of the god *Tsz-mi-yuen*. Then the god will enter and establish himself there. If there be any evil influence exerted upon you from the neighborhood, whether it be from a large tree, from a lantern-staff, from a high residence, from a watch-tower, from an official residence or building, or from the house of an enemy, the erection of this staff will be found efficient for your protection. Should there be a house in front of your family residence higher than your own, let a staff of moderate height be raised at your back door or in the open court behind the house. If there be a dwelling-house or a high wall behind you, raise a flag-staff in your front open court, or before your door, to counteract its influence. Thus you will obtain prosperity.”

There is a slavish bondage to appointed times and seasons which are supposed to be lucky or unlucky. The almanacs are full of directions in regard to matters which may be done or which should be avoided on days which the stars, the powers of nature and the gods constitute to be lucky or unlucky.¹ Thus the lives of men and women

¹ The following directions with regard to certain unlucky days will serve as a specimen :

“ *General matters to be avoided.*

“ On *ham chi* day: to make a visit to a distance to a feast; to marry a wife.

are made miserable, families are subjected to great and unceasing inconvenience and expense, and a large class of men, many of whom are very wicked and cunning, is supported in a life of imposture and folly.

The blessings or calamities of life are referred to a multitude of influences good and evil which act upon the person, the family or the employments, and which must be traced out and means taken to propitiate the sources of them. Thus, on a given day, if a man be taken with a fever, he consults the diviner or books on the subject, and is informed that he received the evil influence in a north-east direction. It may have originated from the evil gods of the four points of the compass, from wandering gods, from injurious male or female spirits, or from the gods of the household, or from displeased spirits of one's ancestors. There will probably be, he is told, chilliness and then heat in the extremities and in the bones and muscles. It is a very serious disease. He is instructed to take five hundred sheets of a certain prepared black paper money, a horse made of paper, a cup of water, a bowl of rice and some fruit and

"On *kau lung* day: to build a vessel; to start on a voyage; to build a bridge; to finish the roof of a house.

"On *sam pat chi* day: to enter upon the discharge of official duties; to go to war.

"On *ng pat u* day: to speculate or gamble for money; to apprehend knaves; to pay a visit for consultation as to personal affairs.

"On *sz hü*: to open a granary.

"On *tsüt hi*: to build an outhouse.

"On *cheung tun* day: to make exchanges of property; to open a place of business; to make clothes; to have any new person enter the house.

"On *hut chi* day: to use moxa in the cure of disease; to kill horses, oxen, pigs, sheep, dogs or chickens for food."

On certain other days, named: "To engage in a lawsuit; to betroth a wife; to arbitrate a business; to collect debts; to lay by money; to remove to a new house; to return to a place from a distance."

wine. He must arrange and offer these in a northern direction. A return of good fortune will be the result. There is furnished to him also a form of a charm, which is to be written and pasted on the wall for his future protection.

The Chinese, in common with all the other nations of Eastern Asia, hold decided views in regard to the reward of good and punishment of evil deeds, both in this life and in that which is to come. Thus we find in a tract by Lau-tsz, the founder of the Tauist, or Rationalist, sect the following passage:

“Adversity and prosperity have no door of entrance except as men draw upon themselves the recompense of their good or evil deeds. Yet this follows our acts just as shadow follows substance. For this reason there are in heaven and on earth gods which have the oversight of crime. In proportion to men’s offences do these gods shorten the measure of their years. With shortened years is sent also poverty. Sorrow and care are inflicted upon them. Mankind are stirred up to hate them. Vengeance follows them. Prosperity flies from them. The stars of evil shed upon them calamity. Thus life is early exhausted and they perish. The gods of the constellations about the North star stand always above men in order to record their sins, and at the appointed hour to snap the thread of life. Within the body the three gods of death abide, and twice in each month ascend to the court of heaven to report the misdeeds of men. The gods of the fire-place do the same as each successive month is closed. If a man’s crimes be excessive, his years are cut off by scores; if less, they are cut off in smaller measures. But, be his sins great or small, when

they have reached a few hundreds in number he must entirely forsake evil if he would ask for length of days."

It is a doctrine of the Buddhist priesthood which is commonly accepted by the people that the spirit, on leaving the body, at once passes to give its account before the presence of "the ten judgment gods," and is there confronted with the records of all its good and evil deeds. Evil spirits stand up as its accusers and good spirits as its advocates. According to the award then given, it passes into some higher or lower form of being or place of reward or of punishment. The good are sent into some more prosperous and happy form of being, or directly into a paradise of the gods and saints. The bad are punished by being consigned to inhabit the bodies of the more wretched and suffering inhabitants of earth, or those of brutes or reptiles, or are driven by demons into some one of the numerous hells. The punishment corresponds somewhat in its nature with the character of the vices or crimes of the offender. Gluttons and debauchees, for instance, are represented as plunged in lakes of blood and filth; those that hoard grain in order to raise the price of it and wrong the poor as changed into starving brutes; those that have deceived and deluded the young as freezing in lakes of ice; those cruel to beasts as devoured by them in turn; and those guilty of lying and falsehood as having their tongues torn out by the roots or pierced through with red-hot iron daggers; the most wicked are tossed by demons into furnaces of fire. The general ideas of future reward and punishment appear to have been handed down from a very early period in the history of mankind.

Buddhist monastic institutions are common in every city. The priests and nuns make vows of abstinence from animal food, of perpetual celibacy and of poverty. They dress in long black or gray robes, and wear their heads shaved all over and their feet bare. In the monasteries they celebrate matin and vesper services, recite long liturgies in honor of various gods, which are in the Pali, a dead language. They mark the number of the prayers repeated with the strokes of bells, they illuminate the gloom with long painted candles and perfume the air with incense. There is a multitude of points of analogy which plainly indicate the Asiatic source of most of the corruptions of the Christian Church in the West.

It should be understood by all our readers that a Chinese does not consider himself connected with any one sect unless he be a regular priest or formally associated with it. Men and women worship where and when they think proper, and just such gods or goddesses of any sect as may please them. A god of one temple may be preferred to-day, that of another for a different object, or the same object, to-morrow. The officers of a city are accustomed to select a variety of deities and publicly announce acts of worship to them at convenient seasons, in order to secure habits of reverence for religion in the popular mind.¹ And this is done by men of great intel-

¹ The following appointments for the "sacrifices of the eighth month" were made at Canton:

2d day. To Wan-chang (a god of literature) at his own temple; offered by the commissary of grain.

6th. The provincial treasurer will offer at the temple of Wan-chang.

7th. To the gods of the soil and the gods of grain.

8th. To the gods of the wind.

12th. To the god of war, Kwan-ti; by the provincial judge.

15th. To the dragon king.

ligence, who privately laugh at the follies and superstitions to which they have given public sanction.

In comparing the Chinese systems of superstition with those of India, we observe some very marked differences which indicate the superior mental character of the former. Caste, while Buddhism is accepted as a general creed, is stricken from it in China, along with all its burdensome and odious precepts as to food, clothing and the intercourse of men. In the public worship of the gods there are no acts of indecency or licentiousness. And there are no exhibitions of cruelty, like hook-swinging, the terrible car of Jugernaut, the burning of widows or systematic murder. There are many features of Chinese idolatry which are absurd, painful and offensive, but none so revolting or terrible as those.

The very summary view which I have presented of the superstitions of the Chinese is sufficient to show plainly that they possess important portions of the revelations made by God to the first members of the human family, or distributed from their seat in Palestine, by the agency of the surrounding commercial nations, into

16th. The prefect of the department of Kwang-chau will sacrifice to Chau-chung.

21st. To the god of Nan-hai district, Hung Shing-wang; by the provincial treasurer.

22d. To the Queen of Heaven; by the salt commissioner.

24th. At the temple of Yen-lang; by the prefect of Kwang-chau.

25th. To the gods of fire.

Besides the above, there are celebrated during this month the birth-days of nine gods; among them, the gods of the moon, of the fire-place, "Buddha of the kindling-lamp," the spirit of wine, gods of thunder, etc. The tenth day is the anniversary of the birth-day of the emperor, on which divine honors are paid to him in all the provinces. From the 3d to the 27th the gods of the constellation Ursa Major descend on a special visit to the earth to inspect and settle the affairs of men, over which, since those stars never set, they are supposed to keep incessant vigil.

all the ancient world, and that God follows them with the voice of conscience and his Spirit. Yet this truth they have corrupted, so that now all the praise and honor which belong to God they give to their idols, to imaginary beings, to the spirits of sinful men like themselves, to the stars of heaven, or to evil spirits.

The stories of their special worship of Satan under the name of "Joss" are utterly untrue. It is strange that they should have been so often repeated of late, even in respectable magazines and in religious newspapers whose editors and contributors have had abundant access to books which give correct information on this subject. They do use charms and other superstitious means to avert the anger and prevent the malicious injuries of themselves and families by evil spirits. But it is wholly unjust to class these among their acts of religious worship.

Outside of the realm of what could be designated religious worship, there exists in the Chinese mind a multitude of imaginary monsters, bred in air, earth and sea, which hold them in constant dread of their power. Their books speak of multitudes of nameless things of terrible shapes which haunt the streets, the hills, the rivers. When traveling on boats, I have sometimes sat listening at night to the stories of strange sights and sounds which the boatmen had to tell—how in the lonely watches they had heard the flapping of unseen wings which rushed by their heads, and heard noises which filled them with terror. They set up in our streets and mines the images of the gods of their native land, because they know nothing of the only true God, in the hope of protection from the injuries which malicious

beings inflict, to shield them from influences poisonous to health and harmful as to their pursuits.

Thus it will be seen that Chinese idolatry is the same essentially with idolatry in other heathen lands—a strange mixture of ignorance and fear; a bowing before sun, moon, stars, spirits of dead sages and dead kindred, and imaginary beings of good and evil; blind anxiety to avert judgments for conscious guilt; the possession of light, but refusal to follow its guidance; the distinct knowledge of right and wrong, but the obedience of the great mass, with here and there some noble exceptions, to the impulses of nature and of sense. In China, the character of the people, their physical circumstances, the peculiarities of their history, have saved the race from the utter and fearful debasement which is seen in the case of some other heathen nations. Still, the elements, the tendencies, the penalties, of Chinese heathenism are the same.

It has been maintained by some unthinking persons that the universal toleration of religion in America requires equal respect to be paid to Buddhism as to Christianity, and this interpretation has been put upon an article in the Burlingame treaty. It is freely acknowledged that there must be no persecution for religious opinions; no interference with religious worship which does not publicly violate our laws; no disabilities on account of their faith which shall exclude these people from security of person, peaceful possession of their property and the defence of their natural rights before our courts of justice; no exclusion of their children from the advantages of public education. But it must be remembered that a multitude of decisions have established

the legal maxim that "Christianity is the basis of the common law." Chancellor Kent says, "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land."¹ This means specially Christianity as a system of morals. The reason of this is that the revelation which God has given to us

¹ The reflections of the profoundest foreign observer of American institutions are very weighty in regard to this subject. A. DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, vol. i., pp. 332-335:

"The Americans combine the notions of Christianity and of liberty so intimately in their minds that it is impossible to make them conceive the one without the other; and with them this conviction does not spring from that barren, traditionary faith which seems to vegetate in the soul rather than to live.

"In the United States religion exercises but little influence upon the laws and upon the details of public opinion, but it directs the morals of the community, and by regulating domestic life it regulates the state.

"I do not question that the great austerity of manners which is observable in the United States arises, in the first instance, from religious faith. Religion is often unable to restrain man from the numberless temptations of fortune, nor can it check that passion for gain which every incident of his life contributes to arouse; but its influence over the mind of woman is supreme, and women are the protectors of morals. There is certainly no country in the world where the tie of marriage is so much respected as in America, or where conjugal happiness is more highly or more worthily appreciated.

"I do not know whether all the Americans have a sincere faith in their religion—for who can search the human heart?—but I am certain that they hold it to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions. This opinion is not peculiar to a class of citizens or to a party, but it belongs to the whole nation and to every rank in society.

"Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must nevertheless be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of that country; for if it does not impart a taste for freedom, it facilitates the use of free institutions.

"It may be believed, without unfairness, that a certain number of Americans pursue a peculiar form of worship from habit more than from conviction. In the United States the sovereign authority is religious, and consequently hypocrisy must be common; but there is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America, and there can be no greater proof of its utility and of its conformity to human nature than that its influence is most powerfully felt over the most enlightened and free nation of the earth."

in the Bible is the infallible standard of moral truth, of moral right and of moral duties; and that every other system of teaching is human, defective and more or less perverse of morality.

Christianity and paganism are radically and for ever irreconcilable. The one adores, worships and serves the true God; the other adores, worships and serves false gods and devils. The one is founded on eternal truth, the other on the delusions of the father of lies. The one civilizes, elevates, blesses men, families, nations; the other bestializes, fosters ignorance, prejudice and deception, fills society with fanaticism or its opposite, skepticism and contempt for all religion, degrades woman, blights the spirit of scientific inquiry and stops the improvement of the useful arts. The one leads to virtue and morality, the other to loathsome vices and abounding crime. The one to prosperity, to national influence and power; the other to decay, contempt and final overthrow, if there be an almighty God who rules the world and is a righteous judge.

A necessary conclusion from these premises is, that the morality of Christianity deserves certain political immunities in favor of the maintenance of its teaching; which means chiefly that its edifices should not be taxed by law, on the ground that its influence is worth far more pecuniarily to the government than the amount of money at which its property would be assessed for taxation. It is cheaper, that is, to remit twenty millions of dollars to teach men principles which will make them honest, industrious, merciful and chaste, than it is to pay a hundred millions to punish them for murders, violence, robberies and licentious crimes. But it seems to be a

just conclusion that idolatry, which tends to blind even the natural light which God has given to man through tradition and conscience and nature, should at the least not enjoy similar immunities. It should not be persecuted. But its property should be counted, the same as that devoted to all ordinary purposes, subject to taxation. On the lowest ground of consideration, its moral influence is not pecuniarily equivalent in value to the amount of taxes which its property should pay.

Should the testimony of the Chinese be admitted against white persons in our courts of justice? The decision of the supreme court of California, that they shall be excluded on ethnological grounds, is simply contemptible in the eyes of men of science. The Chinese is as far removed from the Indian or the negro as is the Indo-European family. The numerous westward migrations of portions of the Turanian family indeed have made ourselves to be more closely allied with the Indian than the Chinese are. The only conclusion from such a method of reasoning is that if the Chinese are Indians, then *we* are Indians; if the Chinese are negroes, then *we* are negroes. But, without reference to the origin of the races, this confusion of what is distinct, this dangerous mode of construing law by expediency and policy, meet with the severe reprobation of every sound lawyer. "Statutes, for any cause, disabling any persons of full age and sound mind to make contracts, are to be construed strictly; for, though founded in policy and a just regard to the public welfare, they are a derogation of private rights." And "statutes made in derogation of the common law are to be construed strictly."¹

¹ CURTIS, *United States Digest*, iii., p. 486.

Nor is it right to exclude Chinese testimony on the ground of religion. They have rights of humanity which must be protected. They should be held to be *competent* to bear witness where those rights are affected; the only question can justly be as to the degree of *credibility* to be allowed to them. The question arises, Should their oath be received in our courts? The English common law grants that it shall. Starkie (on *Evidence*) says: "All persons may be sworn who believe in the existence of God, a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the obligation of an oath." This is generally understood to include pagans, especially those of the Buddhist and Brahminic creeds, who acknowledge a Supreme Moral Governor above all the gods, and one or more tribunals before which an exact account must be given of every act in the body; and who appeal to him and to other deities by oath. In the case of *Omichund v. Barker* it is laid down as a principle that any belief other than Christianity, which acknowledged a supreme and future Judge, justified the admission of an oath, and that it is to be administered in any mode that may be binding on the conscience. An atheist may not be sworn. "But," says the report of the case, "at this day it seems to be settled that infidelity of any kind doth not go to [against] the *competency* of a witness." Redfield says, "This must mean infidelity as contradistinguished from *Christianity*." The case of *Omichund v. Barker* referred to the depositions of certain Hindùs, a people more swarthy in color than the Chinese, and inferior to them in intelligence and in moral and religious character. Lord Mansfield, alluding to this and others similar, says that since that time "the nature of an ap-

peal to Heaven, which ought to be received as a full sanction to evidence, has been more fully understood." An American jurist says, "All that is now required is, that the oath should bind the conscience of the witness." "It is obvious that a sincere Deist, a Mohammedan, or a pagan of any name, if he believe in the existence of God, as above defined, may feel the sanction of an oath as binding on his conscience as the most devout Christian."¹ Pagans of perhaps every important nation of Asia have been admitted to testimony in English and American courts. Lord Henry Brougham, and other most enlightened judges, have sanctioned the admission of the testimony of Chinese, who have of late years been often brought into the courts by the now extensive commerce with their empire. It must be held to be a right in common law until changed by statute.

It is a right which the State of California, following the examples of several others in the Union, solemnly recognizes when it says: "No person offered as a witness shall be excluded on account of his opinions or matters of religious belief."² And allowing the exceptions which its most illustrious commentator does, of those who have committed crimes which made them technically "infamous," or are "interested," the great motto of the common law, as given in words, should be blazoned on the walls of every hall of justice: "All witnesses, of whatever religion or country, that have the use of their reason, are to be received and examined."³

There has been much doubt as to whether it is better to allow Chinese witnesses to swear by their heathen

¹ *Vermont Reports*, xiii., p. 367.

² *Practice Act*, 1856, § 192.

³ BLACKSTONE, *Com.*, iii., 369.

deities. In California I resisted this, and prepared a form of oath addressed to the Supreme and Only True God, which was used in some of the courts. I think such an oath will have as binding a force upon the witness as most others; and, besides, it does not give the solemn sanction of our courts of justice to their superstitions, and can be, and should be, more justly and severely punished as perjury.

At the present time, it must be confessed, the Chinese opinion of our courts of justice is not high. This is brought to view in the Remonstrance to Congress. It is a subject of common conversation with them. An amusing expression of it occurred at Sacramento. A Chinese went into an intelligence-office in search of a situation. While there the conversation turned upon the case of one of his countrymen, named A-Chung, who had been arrested a few days before for murdering a Chinese woman. The proprietor of the intelligence-office expressed his opinion that A-Chung would be hung. The man instantly replied, "He no hang. He all same as Melican man. He got two thousand dollars! You sabe! no hab money, he hang. Hab plenty money, no hang."

The character of their women in California has been an objection constantly urged against the Chinese there. Among the better class of that people this is a very bitter subject. One of the first of their people who came to California was a woman from Hong-kong. She was a bold, cunning, bad woman, who saw at once the profit which might be reaped from the importation of abandoned women. She had several brought over. The respectable Chinese in San Francisco used their

utmost efforts to compel their return, but in vain. The matter was brought before our courts, and these men were compelled by our laws to submit to what they saw would be a cause of untold injury to their and our people. In my conversations with them and admonitions in regard to this vice, I was often met with this reply: "Well, if there are bad women here, it is the American courts that are to blame." It is hard to see how we could have kept them from coming, but this the Chinese could not understand.

There are now in California probably about eight thousand Chinese females. The most of these are from the *tan-ka*, or "boat-people," an ignorant, vicious race, inhabiting the boats upon the rivers and in the harbors of Canton province. They are considered by the people on shore to be foreigners from the neighboring countries. These women have been bought generally from their parents, guardians or owners at sums varying from thirty to two hundred dollars each, according to their age, personal appearance and accomplishments. Some of them have been taken by the Chinese who are in circumstances to do so to be their secondary wives, the Hagers and Zilpahs of their Oriental domestic life. There are now several hundred Chinese children at least on our Pacific coast; some persons have even affirmed that there are three thousand. The Chinese men are anxious to have children. They are fond of them; and they desire sons, whom they may carry back home to take care of them in their old age, and to maintain the family name and the sacrifices to the dead.

The majority of these poor women lead a dreadful life. We prescribed for many of them in our dispen-

sary. The diseases which are the consequence of their depraved life are too terrible to describe. Young and pretty girls presented masses of putrid and poisonous rottenness. And yet the haunts of crime where they were found were partly supported by the money of profligate Americans.

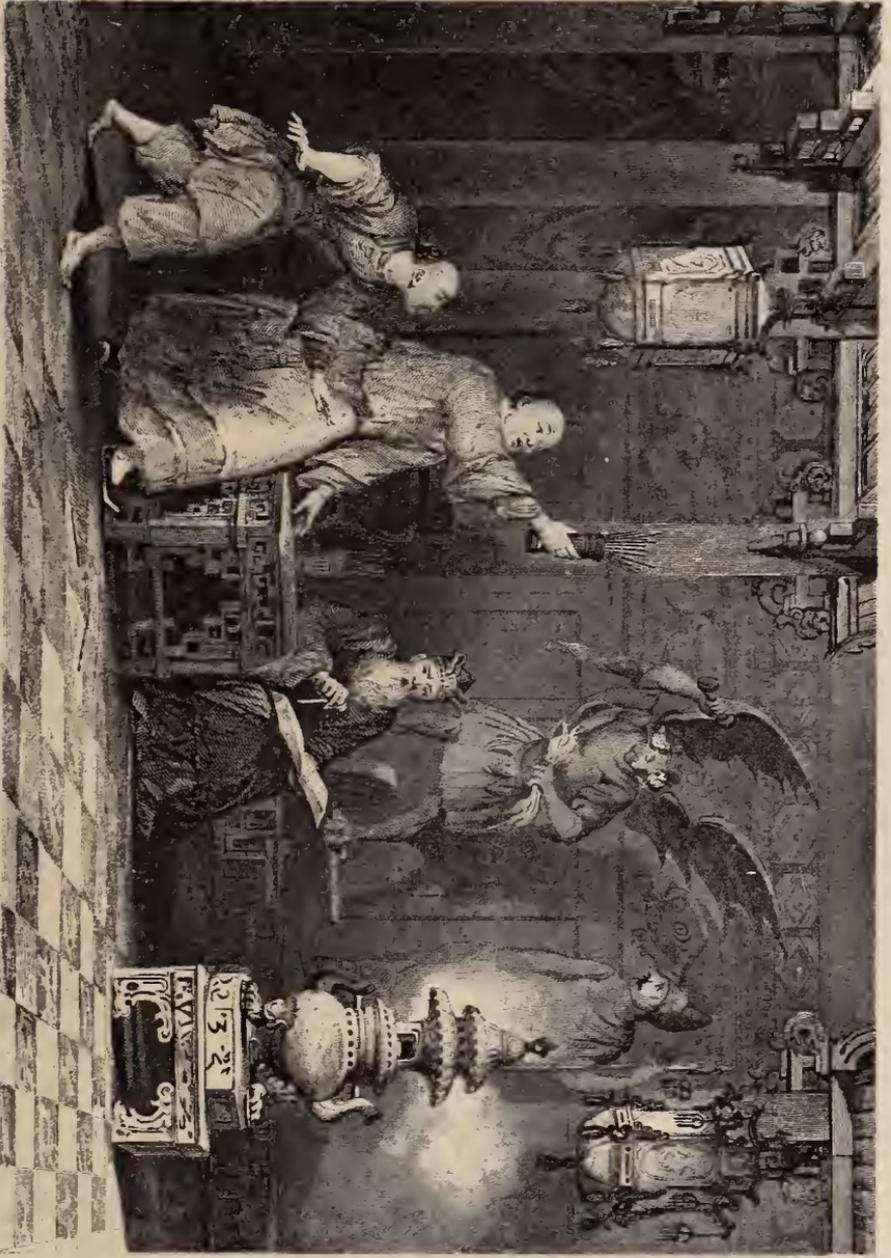
The testimony of some Americans who go to China as seamen and traders as to the general tone of female character in the Chinese ports is sometimes bad enough. And indeed many of these men possess the first qualification of competent witnesses, so far as their acquaintance extends. But those who have had intercourse with the better classes of society, and with the population removed from the debauching influence of the ports, testify decidedly that woman occupies a more elevated position in China than in any other heathen country. Women are never allowed to take part in theatrical exhibitions. The wives are generally chaste, the sanctity of domestic life is rarely invaded, and the relation of even the secondary wife, when one is taken in order to increase the number of children, is not abused to general licentiousness. When women advance in life they are treated with great respect and tenderness by their children and grandchildren. The empire is now virtually ruled by the widowed empress of Hien-fung during the minority of her son Tung-chi. Some of the best fruit of missionary labor in China has been among the women. Several missionary ladies have informed me that the estimate of female character in China by some of our earlier missionaries was a mistaken one; that the more they had become acquainted with the women removed from intercourse with foreigners the more they found that was

interesting and pleasant in them, and the more that was hopeful in respect to the influence of the gospel upon them, and upon their families and kindred.

Upon principles of Christian morality the Chinese should be induced, by every possible means, to bring their wives and families to this country. They must be corrupted and their influence corrupting so long as they do not bring them. The difficulties in the way are great. Their prejudices, the expenses of living here, the wants of parents and of children in China, and many other excuses, will be given. But inducements should be offered by employers and ship-captains toward bringing their families with them. Their moral improvement would be thus greatly accelerated.

Gambling is a passion with the lower classes of the Chinese. They are brought up to the habit of playing games of chance and investing their juvenile pocket-money upon the results. They bet upon dice, lots, tosses of coin and of marked pieces of wood, the whirling of pointers to mark letters and figures on a card, and many other methods of appeal to the gods of fortune. When they grow to adult years the majority of them superstitiously hope for prosperity through their favor. In California, the favorite game is that of "squaring cash." A handful of *tsin*, the common small copper coin, larger than a silver dime, with a hole in the middle, is taken from a quantity in a large bag, laid down upon a table and quickly covered with an inverted cup. Bets are then made as to the number which will be left after all the multiples of four have been taken away. With a pointed stick the counter separates them by four at a time. Each one round the table is at liberty to bet

whether there will finally be a remainder of one, two, three, or none. Over this simple game they hang entranced the night through, watching, after their bets have been put on record, the slow act of division by the pointer which is to decide the balance. The sad results are the same among them as with our own people who follow such practices—fevered excitement, heavy losses, treachery and dishonesty to friends in business, remorse, suicide. Many a poor fellow has destroyed himself with opium rather than endure the penalties of his folly. There are among the Chinese, and especially among the more wealthy and educated class, a large number who hold such games to be exceedingly disreputable and immoral. They rebuke them in the severest language, and give away small printed tracts which exhibit their bad results. The penal code of the present dynasty declares that persons convicted of gambling for money or goods shall be punished with eighty blows of the bamboo, and that the money or goods staked shall be forfeited to the government. It condemns gambling-houses to similar forfeiture. If an officer of government be found guilty of the offence, he must be punished more severely than other persons. I have seen, in China, the officers, though sometimes they are bribed to keep their eyes shut, yet often pounce down upon these establishments and clean them out thoroughly. There is far more gambling in California than among the same number of people in China. Inviting signs to try their luck, and promising wealth, meet the eyes of the strangers from the mines at every turn. Many a man who has borne a reputable character in his native town is there beguiled into evil, beggared and ruined.



Consulting a god, as to luck

The national vice of opium-smoking is enfeebling and destroying many of the Chinese in California. There is none the influence of which is more to be regretted in regard to its future influence upon Chinese industry in this country. Its effects have been described elsewhere in this volume (chap. xiii.). They need not be recited again. I have had some sad experience in connection with the abuse of opium. Some of the brightest young merchants who entered my school fell victims to it. A fine young man, who had been thoroughly educated at our boarding-school at Canton, became a slave to it. It seems often to select the brightest and noblest. Like a serpent, it winds around them its slow and fatal coil and strangles them to death.

The heavy duty upon opium leads to innumerable devices to smuggle it. Thus another source of corruption is opened. The whole effect of this abominable poison upon all who touch it seems destructive of the first principles of morality.

But, while we dwell upon the public vices of the Chinese, let us not forget that they have been remarkable in California for some excellences.

Though they have occasional fights between men of different companies, who cherish the old animosities of their native villages, yet they are the most industrious and peaceable race in California. There are fewer murderous brawls among them than among any other people.

It is a matter of wonder to Americans that there is so little drunkenness among the Chinese. It is their universal custom to take a small quantity of their rice-whisky, our American article, or of brandy, after dinner.

They sometimes become somewhat merry at the table, and some even intoxicated. But while drunken men of every other nation may be seen reeling, swearing, behaving indecently, in the streets of the cities and towns of California, a drunken Chinese is never seen.

Their own poor are provided for out of the funds of the companies and by subscriptions among those who have the means. They manage to bear what is a heavy burden. And many a sick man has been sent back to China in the same way. I have heard of cases of sick Americans and white foreigners in the mines to whose relief the Chinese had contributed handsomely.

In their native land the Chinese are accustomed to give money freely to religious and benevolent objects. The structure of society there, the denseness of population, the number of the poor, and the distinct Buddhist promises of reward to the benevolent and specifications of punishment upon the cruel, the selfish and the avaricious, have a powerful effect in stimulating acts of charity and liberality. An immeasurable amount of poverty and suffering meets the eye of the foreigner in China. But yet those who have the means dispense money with much generosity. Our missionaries, particularly during the scenes of famine, sickness and general distress which have accompanied the recent wars and rebellions, have often witnessed the most liberal efforts made to feed the hungry with rice and other food, to supply clothing to the destitute, and to provide medicines for the sick and coffins for the dead. In some cases charitable Chinese gentlemen, who were not Christians, seeing the benevolent labors of missionaries, have voluntarily put considerable sums of money into their

hands, to be used in connection with them. At Canton there are large native hospitals for aged persons, for lepers and for foundling children. Within a few doors of my house was a warehouse where coffins were gratuitously furnished to the poor. We often saw bridges or other conveniences erected by persons of fortune for the accommodation of the public, and tea given gratuitously on the street to the thirsty coolies and laboring men.

This summary view of the moral aspect of the Chinese immigration to this country suffices to show of what strange and diverse elements heathen morality is composed. It is like the conglomerate rock in which fragments of what is solid and beautiful are imbedded in a soft and worthless mass, from which they easily fall out; the whole of which crumbles under the assaults of the winds and rains and is unfit for the walls of a house. It is hard to convey to a Christian mind the idea of how so much knowledge of what is right can be mixed with so much uncertainty and perplexity; so much of effort to do right with such want of correct principles and motives in it; so much of beneficence to the suffering with so much of selfishness; such a sense of the evil and destructive nature of sin with such helplessness in resisting its temptations; such flashes of light to show the narrow path of life and the rewards and penalties of the future world, with such indifference to follow their guidance and willful turning to ways of their own choice. It is our encouragement to know that in this mass there are elements which, when pulverized and wet and moulded, and subjected to the power of fire, will come out in forms which will be valuable and enduring.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE GLORY OF AMERICA.

FOR America there is reserved a peculiar glory in the history of mankind.

We seem to see starting from the fountain-head of history two great streams of civilization. One tends westward. Its course is marked by a succession of empires, each arresting its flow and spreading its waters out into a wider area, yet existing but for a few centuries. Such were Babylon, Egypt, Phœnicia, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Arabs, Venice, Spain. There is a distinct progress through a succession of forms of political life, intellectual culture, advancement of the arts and religious experience. At last it is barred by the shores of the Atlantic. The leading purposes of the great Ruler of nations were chiefly accomplished in it four hundred years ago.

A second stream tends eastward. In two great reservoirs, in the South and in the East of the continent, it collects its waters. Each of these, China and India, develops within itself a characteristic and vigorous, but entirely different, style of life, sentiment and religious worship. Whatever the empires of the West have boasted of themselves, no one of them has equaled in all respects either of these two. To-day England styles

India one of her colonies, but the mistress contains forty millions of people, the colony a hundred and sixty. China contains four hundred millions. And with the exception of the advance which the West owes to the power of Christianity, purifying and sweetening all the relations of man to man, as well as of man to God, and to that of the more true and penetrating scientific acquaintance with the works of God and its direct practical fruits, it is questionable whether European society has on the whole excelled that of China.

The world four centuries ago was ready for the final expansion of the Divine purpose. The navigators Diaz and De Gama open the way to India and China; precisely at the same time Christopher Columbus opens that to America. Spain, enticed by its riches, presses forward to occupy this immense new field which God has manifestly prepared in harmony with his designs. She performs her allotted part, and is set aside. France in turn attempts, in vain, to occupy a large place here. England sends tardily, carrying in their hands an open Bible and the articles of political and religious liberty, a handful of humble believers in Christ. Now the English language and institutions control the whole continent. A homogeneous, free, mighty republican nation stands prepared for whatsoever work the Almighty, whom she spiritually serves, calls upon her to perform.

The past few years have witnessed a mighty acceleration of the great end. A series of events more strange than any romance suddenly compels our nation to colonize the Pacific shore, enriches her with unprecedented wealth in all the precious metals, exposes the vast agricultural capacity of the soil, spans with railroads and

telegraphs the breadth of the continent from ocean to ocean, and connects the western shore with China by regular mail steamships. It seems like a hurried and startling dream, but a dream in which the voice of God is heard.

Let us look at what the almighty Worker is doing at the same time on the opposite Asiatic shore. The series of recent events there is as full of meaning—the termination of the East India Company's charter, the Opium War, the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, the Tai-ping rebellion, the second war, the severe pressure of European powers on every border and coast, the opening of the whole empire to commerce and the preaching of the gospel, the Burlingame embassy to the West, and the steps toward the acceptance of Western and Christian civilization.

It was in that year of marvels, 1848, when the thrones of half the kings of Europe were successively shaken to the foundation, and the pope of Rome fled from his seat in the disguise of a footman, that the sovereign Ruler of the nations unveiled his plan upon our Pacific coast. Unnoticed at the moment by the multitudes who were intently gazing upon the commotions of Europe, he commenced there a more wonderful work. The sudden uncovering of the gold of California was the means by which the immigration of the Chinese was to be turned to this New World. For centuries past the most philosophic minds have predicted the vast consequences which should ensue when the two opposite currents of empire, going the one eastward, the other westward, since the beginning of time, should at last meet and flow together. Upon our Pacific coast this consummating event of the history of the world has now commenced.

The immediate political effects must be very great both to Europe and to Asia. Humboldt said a result of this nature was "important to all Europe." "The problem of the communication between the two seas . . . is of the greatest interest for the balance of commerce and the political preponderancy of nations." It must revolutionize the character of the governments of Asia. The Isthmus of Panama, a mere "neck of land, the barrier against the waves of the Atlantic ocean, has been for many ages the bulwark of the independence of China and Japan." He says, in relation to the subject of the free communication between the two oceans, "Then only can any great change be effected in the political state of Eastern Asia."¹ But it does not seem to be necessary, because caste-ridden India could only be regenerated by European conquest, that the same should be the case with China and Japan. We may rather expect that the interests of both America and Europe will be better subserved and the renovation of those empires be most peacefully accomplished by the maintenance of their independence and the application of such stimulus as they need to their own capacities and resources.

It is the appointed office of America to be the ground in which the best benefits of European institutions shall be planted and be improved and indefinitely multiply, but which the toil, the experience and some of the peculiar products of Asia shall assist to enrich and to beautify. ✓✓

The religious results of this final commingling of the opposite courses of civilization we can only conceive or describe by taking the language of inspiration. That

¹ *Political Essays on the Kingdom of New Spain*, book i., chap. ii.

plainly reveals the prospect of a period when there shall be a great coming together of nations, spiritually all believe and literally most scholars also concede, which shall cause the heavens to sing, the whole earth to be joyful and the mountains to break forth into songs of gladness.¹ And a large share of this rejoicing of the worlds above and below shall be because "these shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and the west, and these from the land of Sinim," or China, the last and largest and stoutest nation among all that have resisted the truth.

The office of the continent of America in the Divine plan for re-ennobling humanity and planting again on earth the reign of holiness and innocence, as that plan has in recent ages become more plain to us, has powerfully affected many of the greatest minds both in the Old and in the New World. Berkeley was one of whom Sir James Mackintosh wrote: "His works are, beyond dispute, the finest models of philosophical style since Cicero. Perhaps they surpass those of the orator in the wonderful art by which the fullest light is thrown on the most subtle of human conceptions." Nor was he liable to the charge of being a mere visionary speculator and scholar. The same eminent critic says of a brief tract of his of a political character, "Perhaps the *Querist* contains more hints, then original, still unapplied in legislation and political economy, than are to be found in any equal space."² His whole character was so elevated that even the cynical Pope ascribed "to Berkeley every virtue

¹ ISAIAH, chap. xlix.

² *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, sec. vi., pp. 147-151. The tract is contained in BERKELEY'S *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 237-280.

under heaven.”¹ The conclusion to which the learning and the piety of this extraordinary man brought him is embodied in his famous “Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America,”² of which the following are the first and last stanzas :

“The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

“Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
TIME’S NOBLEST OFFSPRING IS THE LAST.”

In the full possession of these ideas, he dedicated his life to giving them practical effect so far as lay within his power. The noble critic before quoted says: “It was when thus beloved and celebrated that he conceived, at the age of forty-five, the design of devoting his life to reclaim and convert the natives of North America, and he employed as much influence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized objects in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and his revenues, to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends and to bury himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert. After four years’ residence at Newport, in Rhode Island, he was compelled, by the refusal of Government to furnish him funds for his college, to forego his work of heroic, or rather godlike, benevolence.” Berkeley specially determined to found a college which would grow to be a great institution and be a light to the colonies from Europe and to the aboriginal races. As to the former, he said: “In Europe, the Protestant religion

¹ *Epilogue to the Satires*, Dial. ii.

² *Works*, vol. ii., p. 294.

hath of late years considerably lost ground, and America seems the likeliest place wherein to make up for what has been lost in Europe, provided the proper methods are taken." And he expected great results from the spread of knowledge among the native tribes. He said, "Many, it is to be hoped, may become powerful instruments for converting to Christianity and civil life whole nations, who now sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and whose cruel, brutal manners are a disgrace to human nature." In truly grand and powerful language he appeals to the people of England to give him the means which he needed to establish and endow such a college. "A benefaction of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, extending it to distant places and to future times; inasmuch as unseen countries and after ages may feel the effects of his bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the blessed society of all those who, 'having turned many to righteousness, shine as the stars for ever and ever.'"¹

He pled the importance of the conversion of America with great effect. On a certain occasion, in London, a number of witty noblemen and scholars laid a plan to turn his missionary zeal into ridicule. The Christian philosopher, having patiently listened to them, "begged to be heard in his turn, and displayed his plan with such an astonishing and animating force of eloquence and enthusiasm that they were struck dumb, and after some pause rose up together, with earnestness exclaiming, 'Let us set out with him immediately.'"²

¹ *Proposal for the Better Supplying of the Churches in the Foreign Plantations, and for Converting the Savage Americans; Works*, vol. ii., pp. 288-293.

² WARTON on *Pope*, quoted by MACKINTOSH.

When Berkeley's plan of a college at Newport failed, he took a very warm interest in the prosperity of the institution already planted at New Haven, and on his return to Great Britain, in 1732, left to Yale College a tract of land, with his dwelling-house, to found three scholarships, and his library, which President Clapp said was "the finest that ever came together at one time to America."¹

In the New World, high above any other intellect which it has produced, stands that of Jonathan Edwards. Well as his history is known in this country, I may here recall to mind his interest in the missionary work of the Church on this continent. "However small the propagation of the gospel among the heathen here in America has been hitherto, yet I think we may well look upon the discovery of so great a part of the world as America, and bringing the gospel into it, as one thing by which divine Providence is preparing the way for the future glorious times of the Church, when Satan's kingdom shall be overthrown, not only throughout the Roman empire, but throughout the whole habitable globe, on every side and on all its continents."²

And Edwards was no less sincere than Berkeley. This man, of whom Mackintosh declares, "his power of subtile argument was perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men,"³ spent six years in his prime, commencing with the forty-eighth year of his life, as a missionary among the Housatonnuck Indians on the mountainous frontiers of Massachusetts, and it was in

¹ E. BALDWIN, *Annals of Yale College*, pp. 45-48.

² *History of the Work of Redemption; Works*, vol. i., p. 469.

³ *Dissertation*, etc., p. 129.

the intervals of the humblest missionary labor that he wrote his masterpiece, the "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will." From this employment he was called to be president of Princeton College. Yet so great was his humility that he earnestly and "with tears" resisted the pressure of the trustees and his friends toward that position.

Could the leaders of public sentiment in America be led to climb to a point from which they could form some conception of the grand, comprehensive views of an Edwards or a Berkeley, to share some of their boundless sympathy with all human kind, as fellow-creatures of one heavenly Father, as possessors of the same imperishable nature, and as fellow-seekers of a rest to come, far away as some of them, bewildered and perishing, have wandered from the knowledge of the truth; and also to put on some of the angelic readiness of those men to forget self and to seek and save those lost members of our race,—then how easy would it be to settle all the questions which have been started in respect to the coming here, the employment and the relations to us of the Chinese.

America can be regarded, by those who look at its geographical position and relations, at the history of its populations, at its discovery and colonization by Europeans, and at the providential management of the concerns of our nation, only as divinely designed to be a School of the Nations.

We would consider now specially why the Chinese race have been brought here, and what lessons they are to learn.

The first lessons which deeply impress the thoughts

of these strangers are those connected with *the arts*. Men that have been passengers on the huge junk which drifted helplessly before the wrath of the tempest and was in continual danger in difficult places, find themselves upon a swift and magnificent vessel which does not need a pair of big, staring eyes on the bows to find her way, nor charms upon the rudder to enable it to act; they learn to look for help and safety not to a dumb wooden idol, but to a mighty power which surpasses all they have ever imagined. It has limbs of iron, heart of fire, lungs of steam, ravenous appetite and thirst, with the strength of a thousand horses, and yet tractable to the touch of a man's finger. What a teacher is the steam-engine, in all its thousand applications in this country, to the strangers whose nation never till recently possessed one!

They commence work upon one of our railroads. In what a domain of wonders do they live! The thundering locomotive and cars, instead of the train of weary coolies—the sweep of the road, setting at defiance all the superstitions as to winds and waters and hills—the punctual and daily requisitions, without respect to stars, or gods, or luck. And instead of the miserable, jagged, broken copper coin, the only one of China, the mint lays in their willing hand the golden eagle, which is worth twelve thousand of the other, and represents, in recompense for a few days' work, as much as they would have saved in a whole season among their kindred.

They had lived in abject terror of the gods of lightning, with bodies like leopards or like birds of prey; now they learn that this mysterious power is seized and compelled to carry our verbal messages of business or of

affection thousands of miles, in an instant of time, over mountains, rivers, continents and oceans.

Their best weapon of war has been the ancient match-lock gun, with its slow fuse of nitrous rope and uncertain results; the repeating pistol and rifle, the bomb, the iron-clad monitor, tell them the necessity of new means of protection and warfare for their nation.

The magic finger of the sewing-machine, armed with its powerful needle, waiting without weariness or repining to perform, regularly and beautifully, the work of twenty of themselves, speaks to the minds of the women.

There is an impressive message to distant friends in every photograph, in which the subtle and fleeting shadow itself is caught and fastened upon the paper, and the definite and expressive features of the countenance of the absent one are represented as no human pencil or graver could do it.

Thus in our numerous arts there are lessons taught to wondering, attentive, reflecting pupils which will be repeated in tens of thousands of little centres of influence upon another continent.

When the Chinese have become sufficiently acquainted with our language, they desire to go to our schools, to read our books and to learn something of our *sciences*. What a new world expands before their mental eye! They realize now why it was they had seen first on the ocean the tops of the masts of an approaching ship—the world is round, and China cannot therefore be the central country of it. They discover that each planet is also a distant world, and cannot therefore be a palace of a god suspended above the clouds. They ascertain the laws of nature which they had imagined to be the opera-

tions of dark and terrible influences connected with spiritual powers which must be propitiated at every step. From what bondage are they liberated! How different the spirit which this blest tuition breathes into their whole nature! The men who are thus disenthralled form a new race. They are a different order of beings from their fathers. The fruits of modern discoveries are borne in a thousand beneficent applications to the requisitions of human life. Men's homes become more comfortable, their cares less exhausting, their relationships more happy, their pleasures more refined and more connected with the mind. Those who have tasted these fruits can nevermore sit down content under the shade of the antiquated customs of their native villages. They must teach in turn what they have been taught, and kindle lamps which shall be multiplied and shine no man can tell how manifold or where.

The Chinese learn in this country lessons of incalculable importance in *politics*. They behold the amazing spectacle of an emperor chosen each fourth year and the uttered will of every adult subject counted, in order to decide who shall sit as the "Son of heaven," the chief executive of the laws affecting the life, pursuits and peace of men. They witness the expansion of their own village and limited republicanism into a colossal and vigorous national form. They learn principles as to equality, freedom and the rights of man; as to the fundamental importance of a general and elevated system of popular education; as to the rock of moral and revealed truth upon which sound civil law must be founded; as to the relation of a free and universally circulated newspaper literature for the information of

the common people upon all the questions which affect their interests, and many others which will most surely be borne in their minds, work themselves out in applications to society after their return to China, and be the beginning of a leaven which will in God's time affect the whole lump of the social order of China and the nations which imitate its institutions.

But the great end for which the Former of the world planned and built this continent, introduced its successive tenants to the occupancy of their apartments, or for their appointed terms, was that they might be instructed in the highest of all knowledge, that of his attributes, claims and promises of grace. This *divine knowledge* is imparted to the Chinese by various methods. They are detached from the myriad superstitions of their native homes and streets and streams and hills. They behold here places of worship in which there are no images, no symbols, no idolatrous pomp and noise. They are informed of an eternal, almighty, omnipresent Creator and Judge. The expiatory sufferings of Christ, the simplicity of his teaching and his mercy to the afflicted impress their minds when they read of them in the Scriptures or hear them narrated. They feel the powerful influence of the Sabbath and its arrest of all the ordinary current of business and amusement; some of them are gathered into its delightful, precious schools. They are distributed into families where they associate with Christian parents and with children who win their affection and talk to them of Jesus and heaven. The first effect of residence in this country is to loosen the religious sentiments of the past. In this process some float away to irreligion and immorality and are lost.

The next effect is that of the collection of others around the rock of truth and their salvation.

The initiatory stages of this moral training are slow. The conversions of individuals are but the drop here and there of the shower of the early dawn. But they will be followed, in due time, amidst the great revivals of which this New World appears to be the appointed field, by simultaneous multitudes—the floods of “the rain in the time of the latter rain” for which the prophet tells us we may “ask.”

How animating is the spectacle of all the various agencies by which the great Teacher carries on the education of a race which he has inducted into this School of the Nations! How potent the influence of its members when again he restores them to their native continent and sets them to scattering to vast provinces, remote colonies, dependent nations, and even to distant portions of the continent and to barbarous islands, the precious seed of knowledge with which here their bosom has been filled!

From the elevation which embraces in the sweep of its view all these grand outlines, movements and tendencies of human history, let us look at the political questions which have been started with regard to the Chinese who come to America. Shall they be allowed to immigrate to this country? Shall they be encouraged to bring their families? Shall they be permitted to engage in mechanical occupations? Shall they be admitted to testify in our courts against white persons? Shall they be granted the right to vote in our elections? Shall their children have a place in our public schools?

There is a generic principle running through the

whole of these questions. It is that of the maintenance of the political inequality of races in the New World. The fruits of this principle are these efforts to expel, to restrain, to trample upon and to degrade the Chinese who have chosen to immigrate to America. There are objections to their immigration, and so there are objections, which have sometimes risen to become party issues, to the immigration of some classes of Europeans. But it has been wisely ordered that the great principles which shall govern the treatment of all who choose to make this continent their temporary or permanent home have become firmly established, so that no efforts of men can now move them. As they relate to the questions under consideration, they may be grouped under the following heads:

First. The grand designs of Providence in the establishment of this nation, some of which have been sketched in this chapter.

Second. The announcement of the principles upon which our government was founded. The Declaration of our Independence stated: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they were endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These comprehensive words seem almost an inspiration of the omniscient God, penned, as they were, in the interest of those resisting oppression, to anticipate the case of nations which possess the same self-evident and inalienable rights, but whose residence on this soil was then

not contemplated and who might become the subjects of oppression at our own hands.

Third. The principles of the Constitution of the United States, which was ordained and established "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity;" and whose latest amendments have secured these rights and blessings to men without distinction of race or color.

Fourth. The late explicit national covenant¹ that "Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation"—which follows a provision in the same terms applicable to citizens of the United States in China.

Fifth. The spirit of the men who make this opposition. The most of them are ignorant foreigners, at first actuated by ignorance, prejudice and selfishness, but now excited and led by their priests, and by demagogues, in a spirit of opposition to humane efforts for the good of the Chinese and with the purpose of thus obtaining greater control over them for other ends.

Sixth. The ordinances of the law of God, "Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your country."² This principle was applied to the civil law, and, in case of the adoption of the Hebrew faith, to the ecclesiastical law.

Seventh. The eternal principles of right which the Governor of the world has written in the chambers of the human heart and made deeper and more authorita-

¹ *Treaty of 1868, Art. vi.*

² *Lev. xxiv. 22; Num. ix. 14.*

tive than any statutes of human appointment. Alexander Hamilton presents their nature with the clearness of the light of the sun :

“The Deity has constituted an eternal and immutable law, which is obligatory upon all mankind, prior to any human institution whatever. He endowed man with rational faculties, by the help of which to discern and pursue such things as were consistent with his duty and interest, and invested him with an inviolable right to personal liberty and personal safety. Natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race ; civil liberty is only natural liberty modified and secured by the sanctions of civil society. The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of Divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power.”¹

Eighth. The stern assurance that there is a supreme government of the Ruler of nations which looks simply at the great principles of right and wrong in the conduct of nations, takes no account of their prejudices and excuses, and in due time asserts and displays to the universe the divine justice and power by the terrible punishment of oppressors and wrongdoers, and the compensation of those who have suffered from them. The history of African slavery and the judgments it brought upon us is surely a lesson which this nation should never forget. If we choose to inaugurate a similar course of wrong in the case of the Asiatic pupils whom God has sent here to be taught from the book of knowledge which he has

¹ *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 43, 61, 80.

put for the purpose in our hands, then we and our children must make up our minds to receive a similar or even a more tremendous retribution than that which has filled the land with blood, with ashes and with tears.

The general abstract right then of the people of the continent of Asia to participate in the benefits which divine Providence has previously conferred in the New World upon those of European and African stock is as plain as the sun in the heavens. The Chinese cannot be refused the rights which every other race save the barbarous Indian shares, and which have been granted to him when civilized. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Chinese, like the European and the African, needs a preparatory discipline. He is not qualified for immediate advancement to the higher forms of the school.

The question of the preparatory qualifications necessary for citizenship in the case of the Chinese is one of the most serious that has come before the people of the United States. The continent will in the course of time be occupied by millions of them. They are naturally one of the shrewdest races of the world. Scarcely any other race can compare with them in capacity for organization and in adroitness in political management. This is manifest in their astonishing control over all the nations contiguous to them, with comparatively little resort to force, and by their dexterity in undoing by strategy what the European powers forced them to concede at the mouth of the cannon. Men like Mr. Meadows, who are thoroughly acquainted with them, confess, as he does, that the Chinese possess that "power of combination for common purposes which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxons

among Western nations.”¹ Such a people, holding the balance of power by a compact minority, may sway the politics of a State, may decide a presidential election or the supremacy of a political party in some crisis of the nation. No question relating to the African race is a hundredth part so important as that which fixes the political power of the coming Chinese.

There are three chief elements of danger—their paganism, their ignorance of our language and laws and simplest education, and their temporary residence.

Paganism and its mass of superstitions is in its essence a denial of the elementary principles of that great and eternal system of truth on which the political systems of all the countries of the West hitherto represented in this republic are reared. It is in its nature subversive of morality, even though the Chinese have maintained a comparative purity of morals and social freedom, because their great common sense led them to resist the introduction from abroad of many of its worst features. Christian America cannot unsettle the foundations of her wondrous history, her present power, her future hopes. “Christianity and civilization,” said a most able statesman, “have labored together; it seems, indeed, to be a law of our human condition that they can live and flourish only together.”² There must be the utmost care taken, in the case of this unprecedented and unanticipated infusion of materials into the processes of a chemistry which has hitherto produced the most beneficent results, that they shall not precipitate all of good, and end in combustion, explosion and ruin. The judiciary

¹ *The Chinese and their Rebellions*, pp. 27, 114. *

² DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech on Greek Revolution, *Works*, vol. iii., pp. 74, 75.



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of this country will abide by our treaties with China and will enforce the provisions of the recent amendments to the Constitution of the United States which guarantee to all men "equal protection of law," and that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law," whatever may be his "race or color."¹ But in the interpretation and execution of all treaties and laws affecting persons, property, forms of oaths and education, the principle of the civil toleration of moral evil should be most carefully discriminated from the sanction of it, and the endurance of it from the maintenance of it.

An intelligent acquaintance with our institutions and principles should be made imperative where application is made for the privilege of naturalization, and the converse duty is obligatory upon us of affording all possible aid in the way of schools and other educational advantages. And the warning cannot be given in language too strong, that if these claims of reason, humanity and patriotism be despised, the hereditary jealousies of their native districts and clans, the unavoidable control of the masses of them by those most acquainted with our laws and customs, the tricks of our politicians, their untaught passions and their uncorrected fears, will inflict upon us severe and not unmerited retribution.

Few of the American people and far fewer of the Chinese went to the Pacific coast with a purpose to remain there. They, like ourselves, have migrated voluntarily, in the hope of speedy fortune, leaving families, mortgaging, it may be, property to obtain money loaned at excessive rates of interest, and expecting to return within a

¹ So Judge SAWYER decided at San Francisco, in October, 1869.

few years. Not one in every ten thousand of them thinks near so much of us as we think of ourselves. They have no idea that the American eagle is so grand in his aeronautic displays as the Chinese dragon. Their hearts are tenderly fixed upon provision for aged parents; a peaceful decline for themselves, in some village shaded by the orange, the bamboo and the mulberry; and to be laid at last to rest by the graves of their fathers. Their residence is essentially transient. If left to themselves, few will seek naturalization. And since our laws relating to it contemplate strictness as to the abjuration of foreign allegiance, evidence of fixed purpose to make this new world their home, and the security of the asseveration of one or two citizens to that effect, peculiar care is justifiable that, with reference to them, the evidence of sincerity be sufficient. Let us be faithful to the great principles of Christian truth, let us act wisely and yet generously, in all our transactions with the people of China. Upon it our prosperity and peace depend more than is now conceived.

The tenor of this volume must have made it plain that the beneficent work of guiding the Chinese people in the United States to the knowledge of Christian truth may be directed and led by the missionaries who are set apart by boards and societies, but the great ingathering of the Chinese into the Church must be the result of the efforts of Christians brought in contact with them in the family, the farm, the shop, the factory, the mine, the highway. It must be done by the kindness of men and women and children, by teaching them our language and knowledge useful to them, by tender and prayerful Sabbath-school instruction, by the distribution of Christian

tracts and copies of the gospels with patient efforts to acquaint them with their meaning, by interesting them in the house and people of God, by exhibiting to them the virtues of Christianity, and showing them that Christians are just, truthful, honest, charitable and merciful. A tree which brings forth fruit so sweet and good they will desire to possess, to cultivate and to propagate. ✓

The first religious body to send the gospel to the Chinese in California was the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. The writer of this volume went in 1852 to San Francisco to meet the thousands of those people then pouring monthly into the country, some of whom he had known in the course of his previous residence in China. His labors were begun among their sick, of whom there were great numbers on account of their crowded condition during their long passage over upon the old and rotten ships which were engaged in transporting them, and the bad and insufficient food given to them on ship-board. These labors were continued, while he remained there, in a dispensary, with the assistance of some medical friends. Regular preaching in their own language was commenced during the winter, which was well attended. A church was organized November 6th, 1853, composed of several men who had been members in China. This was the first Chinese church in the New World. The first elder, Mr. Lai Sam, was the brother-in-law of the well-known Leung A-fah, so often mentioned in the Life of Dr. Robert Morrison, who was the first native Protestant preacher of Christ in connection with modern missions to China. The next step was the opening of a night-school, with which was often connected lectures on astronomy, geography, chemistry and

other sciences, illustrated by proper apparatus or a magic lantern. The American population was addressed at suitable opportunities in sermons and courses of lectures in San Francisco and the principal towns of the State, the object of which was to explain the character, customs and wants of the Chinese, to remove misapprehensions, and to enlist Christians of every name and benevolent persons in efforts to instruct and befriend them. An excellent brick building was erected for the use of the mission, furnished with chapel, dispensary, school-room and a dwelling for the family, from contributions chiefly obtained in San Francisco. To reach both Chinese and Americans throughout the State and outside of it, a newspaper named *The Oriental* was commenced, and published, at first weekly, afterward monthly. Mr. Lee Kan, who had received a good English education in China, was the assistant editor. It was lithographed in Chinese on the one side and printed in English on the other. The information disseminated in this sheet was of material benefit to the Chinese. Twenty thousand copies of it were distributed the first year. The Chinese during the second year paid for the lithographing of their side by contributions from the companies. The influence of this paper, of pamphlets addressed to the legislature and largely circulated over the State, and of other agencies—to which many of the most influential gentlemen of the State, connected with various departments of enterprise which were benefitted by the presence of the Chinese, and many intelligent and Christian people, lent their aid—were the leading means by which the combination of powerful enemies, who had succeeded in having a law passed in 1854 designed to expel the

Chinese from the mines and from the State, or to degrade them to a condition of peonage or slavery, was defeated, and a repeal of the law triumphantly carried during the next session of the legislature. Five years of this excessive labor brought the missionary to the borders of the grave, and he was compelled to quit the field.

In 1859 the Rev. A. W. Loomis, formerly of Ningpo, China, resumed the work of preaching and teaching in the Mission House. His faithful and incessant efforts for the good of the Chinese have been followed with success. Converts from time to time have been added to the Church, some of whom have been men of most sincere and active religious character and very useful in Christian labors among their own countrymen. From this centre an influence has been exerted over thousands coming and going through the port of San Francisco by tracts and other means. Frequent contributions from the pen of Mr. Loomis in American periodicals have served to enlist a general interest in the missionary work.

The Rev. J. L. Shuck, of the Baptist church, during several years, commencing with 1854, performed a considerable amount of missionary labor among the Chinese at Sacramento, in connection with his pastorate over an American congregation. The Rev. E. W. Syle, of the Episcopal church, spent usefully in the same cause parts of the years 1855 and 1856, in San Francisco. Each of these gentlemen had previously resided in China, as had also the Rev. O. Gibson, of the Methodist Episcopal church, who began to labor in San Francisco in 1868, and promises to be the means of engaging that numerous body of Christians in effective Sabbath-school and other instruction of the Chinese.

Within two years past numerous American churches in California have been roused, by the enlarged communication with China and immigration of the Chinese, and the public attention to them, to establish efficient Sabbath and other schools for their benefit. This we may hope will prepare the way for that general popular interest in them as individuals which must be the chief hope of good for them.

These are the small beginnings of the effort of American Christianity to perform the duty assigned to it by Providence in this great School of the Nations. The beginnings of this movement of the Chinese race are in themselves but small. But wherever the members of it in coming days shall be scattered, among the Christian homes or fields or factories of all our country, let us hope that the Divine design in bringing these strangers from far will be kept in diligent remembrance. Our land has been chastened by affliction to prepare it for a great work for the good of mankind. Let us not, like the vain king of old, display our precious things, our silver and gold and spices and armor, and forget the "wonder that was done in the land," to inquire of which was the chief end for which the ambassadors of a neighboring powerful empire had been moved to come to him. God, who in judgment made the disappointed pilgrims to be the scourge of Israel, will visit kindred folly and sin in us with some kindred penalty. The most noble and imperishable memorial of even a Berkeley or an Edwards is the love which leads to the consecration of intellect, learning and influence to a species of work which is most of all on earth like what was assumed by the incarnate Son of God.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FUTURE OF THE CHINESE RACE.

THREE empires fill the vision of the future—the United States, Russia and China. Great Britain alone compares with them in the extent of her colonial possessions; but hers are remote and widely scattered, and will when ripe as to the Divine purposes fall away from her, as the United States has done, and become centres of independent influences. Each of the three nations named has vast contiguous colonies; each is wholly in the northern hemisphere; and each is animated throughout by the same general spirit, and possesses a certain unity in aims, laws, language, social habits and religious sentiments; and there are some peculiar features of resemblance and mutual interest existing between them all.

The rapid and mighty growth of the first two of those nations, and the prospect of the development of the long-treasured resources of the third, have deeply moved the prophetic minds of the latter days. They were pondered by that extraordinary man, born in a little island of the Mediterranean sea, who held at one time the continent of Europe at his feet, with whom we can compare no other as to the energy and capaciousness of his mind and as to his acquaintance with the secrets of European power. He anticipated confidently the time when the

Russian emperor "would make an irruption into Europe at the head of some hundred thousand of those barbarians on horseback and two hundred thousand infantry, and carry everything before him;" when Russia would "become mistress of Constantinople, get all the commerce of the Mediterranean and become a great naval power;" when she would take India from the British, and when, through the influence of America and Russia, all Europe would become "either republican or Cossack."

Napoleon looked forward also to the future power of China. He foretold the influence of the wars which England has continued to make upon that empire as an education of it in the art of war which was "madness" in a European government. He said to his Irish surgeon: "It would be the worst thing you have done for a number of years to go to war with an immense empire like China and possessing so many resources. You would doubtless at first succeed, take what vessels they have and destroy their trade, but you would teach them their own strength. They would be compelled to adopt measures to defend themselves against you. They would consider, and say, 'We must try to make ourselves equal to this nation. Why should we suffer a people so far away to do as they please to us? We must build ships, we must put guns into them, we must render ourselves equal to them.' They would (continued the emperor) get artificers and ship-builders from France and America, and even from London; they would build a fleet, and, in the course of time, defeat you."¹

An American statesman, distinguished above others for comprehensiveness of intellect, said with regard to

¹ B. E. O'MEARA; *Voice from St. Helena*, ii. 55-70, 179; i. 472, etc.



Chinese Barber Shop.

the great movement which is now bringing China and America into close relations: "Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary and ancillary to the more sublime result now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilizations, which, parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and traveling ever afterward in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific ocean. Certainly no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society and the restoration of the unity of the human family.

"Who does not see that henceforth every year European commerce, European politics, European thoughts and European activity, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter? Who does not see that this movement must effect our own complete emancipation from what remains of European influence and prejudice, and in turn develop the American opinion and influence which shall remould constitutional laws and customs in the land that is first greeted by the rising sun? Although I am no Socialist, no dreamer of a suddenly-coming millennium, I nevertheless cannot reject the hope that peace is now to have her sway, and that as war has hitherto defaced and

saddened the Atlantic world, the better passions of mankind will soon have their development in the new theatre of human activity.”¹

The past twenty years have developed most rapidly the plans of the Almighty with regard to the great nations which skirt the Pacific. We can now look forward more clearly than Napoleon, or than Mr. Seward could when he spoke the words quoted, to their probable future. The Asiatic Russia will excel in time the European division of that empire; and so the course of empire in this continent will westward take its way, until the Pacific shore shall bound its advance and the civilization of its States exceed that of the rest of the continent, like that of the western shores of Europe exceeds that which remains upon the Black sea and the Adriatic. The exuberant forests of the Amazon, the Orinoco and the Paraguay shall be subdued, and that magnificent southern continent imitate the arts and the institutions of the northern. The islands of the Pacific, which are now rapidly expanding their agricultural and commercial wealth, will be covered with plantations of sugar, coffee, cotton, tea and rice, and their ports be the places of rest and refreshment for fleets whose sails shall whiten the surface of that great and mild ocean, like clouds floating in a blue sky, or like doves flying through it to their windows.

The manifest beginnings of this change are seen in some of these fields. Thus in the Sandwich Islands, where two generations ago Captain James Cook found four hundred thousand naked cannibals and scarcely a single useful production, there are now but one-eighth that

¹ WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Speech in the Senate of the United States on *Commerce in the Pacific ocean*, July 29, 1852, pp. 12, 13.

number of natives, and they are rapidly passing away. But they have obtained all that is most valuable in our manufactures, education and Christianity. The stores in Honolulu and Lahaina are as well filled and handsome as those of an American town. These islands export now yearly a surplus of twenty million pounds of sugar, one and a third million of rice, one-third of a million of coffee, one-quarter of a million of wool, a third of a million gallons of molasses and considerable quantities of fine sea-island cotton, hides, goat-skins, salt beef, tallow, pulu (a fine, yellow, cotton-like substance, which grows upon the stalks of a species of fern, that is suitable for mattresses), whale and sperm oil, whalebone, oranges, bananas and other fruits, various vegetables and salt. They raise, in addition, wheat and other grains, figs and other delicious fruits and numerous domestic animals. But the chief dependence of these products and exports is based upon Chinese labor. This was first introduced about 1854. For some years the planters and laborers did not understand each other. But within a few years past difficulties and misapprehensions have been overcome. Chinese labor is now highly prized. And some of the Chinese have cordially embraced Christianity; one of them, named A-heung, has been licensed to preach in Hawaiian and Chinese, and is esteemed an eloquent and useful minister. The office of the Hawaiian race is accomplished; the American and Chinese will henceforth occupy its place. In the Sandwich Islands is illustrated a course of things which will be repeated successively in time all over the numerous island groups and upon the shores and in the interior of America and elsewhere in the world.

This contact with American and other foreign influences is designed by Providence to benefit America by the supply of labor which is the prime want of the continent; and He will regulate its coming and its relations here for the good of a nation whom he has so peculiarly kept and favored hitherto. But his appointment of the design of this School of the Nations will be ever kept in view. China will be educated by the return of her emigrants, but she will need our direct assistance in a thousand ways. She needs able, liberal, sincere diplomatists, like him whose energetic efforts have recently for the first time given to her a respectable position among the great powers of the West;¹ translators to transfer the treasures of our sciences, law and religion into that widely-used language; teachers of Western literature; Christian and philanthropic merchants; intelligent and moral artisans and engineers to make the nation acquainted with the improvements of later centuries; botanists and geologists to explore her flora and mineral deposits;² and, above all, fervent, well-educated, self-sacrificing and energetic missionaries of the gospel.

¹ The recent loss of Mr. Burlingame at this juncture in the history of China is one which the whole world feels. The sealing of the work, which he was in the act of perfecting, by his death has had some parallels within our remembrance as a nation which should make that work more memorable and honored.

² The two works of Mr. R. PUMPELLE, entitled *Geological Researches in China, Mongolia and Japan* and *Across America and Asia*, are valuable contributions to the knowledge of the countries named. The spirit of them is most liberal and honorable. Mr. P. says, in respect to his more extended knowledge of the Chinese nation, "I learned to free myself from the prejudices which every traveler is apt to contract upon the coast, and during my subsequent travels to look upon the people, with whom I was thrown much in contact, from an entirely different standpoint." He fully sympathized with the just and "broad-minded policy" of Mr. Burlingame and Sir Frederick Bruce, and dated from its establishment "a new era in the history of Eastern diplomacy."—*Across America and Asia*, p. 269.

As Napoleon prophesied, the events of the last thirty years have thoroughly waked the Chinese government to the necessity of fitting itself to cope with the powers of the West. It has introduced our military discipline among the Manchū soldiers and has established four great arsenals, one of which, at Shanghai,¹ employs a thousand men, is manufacturing arms and has built several vessels of war after foreign models. The first of these was a side-wheel steamer, launched in 1868, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length, carrying six twenty-four-pounder brass naval howitzers and three other guns, with every foreign appliance in the best style. Some larger vessels have been built since then. Mr. Falls, an American, is the superintendent of this arsenal. The government has sanctioned the opening of coal-mines for the supply of fuel to steamers. It has granted the right of inland navigation on the Yang-tsz-kiang river to an American and Chinese company, which last year owned six fine steamers running each alternate day to Hankow, and six others sailing regularly to Ningpo,

¹ The good fruits of our Mission-school at San Francisco have been often brought to the observation of the writer. One of the leading Chinese officials, named Lam Tai-sam, connected with this arsenal, was a young man for whom I obtained a situation in the machine-shops of the Pacific Mail Steamer Company. He built in California a small model steamer, which worked admirably, an engine for other purposes and a small locomotive, from patterns shown him. This he attached to a little car and ran it round a little track, at Sacramento and elsewhere, as an exhibition. This *Chinese* locomotive and railroad were, I believe, the first on the Pacific coast! This enterprising man will make his mark in the future of China.

It may not be out of place to mention that Mr. Fung Tang, the able representative of the Chinese in California before the Congressional Committee of Ways and Means and on several other important occasions, took occasion, at the grand banquet in honor of the inauguration of the Pacific Mail line across the Pacific, in January, 1867, to express in a handsome manner his indebtedness some ten years previously to the same school.

Chefoo and Tientsin.¹ It has opened its coast trade—which has been immensely increased on account of the injuries done to the Grand Canal during the Tai-ping Rebellion—to foreign ships. It has given license to telegraphic communication between its seaports. It will by degrees introduce railroads, though these will be much interfered with by the superstitions in regard to the *fung-shwui*, or powers of nature, fear of disturbing the tombs of the dead, and apprehensions of opium-smuggling and foreign violence and crime. It has established the university at Peking and schools at Shanghai and Fuh-chau for the instruction of its ablest young men in Western science. It has encouraged the introduction of the divisible and fine metal type and of printing by machinery from our missions. And several of its leading statesmen have publicly declared that they are not afraid of Christianity; inasmuch as Buddhism and other idolatrous sects of China are foreign, and they see no reason why the doctrines of Christ may not have their day.

The good and the bad influence of our civilization has already been powerfully felt in every portion of the empire. Missionaries and travelers say that whatever provinces they visit they find opium, foreign goods, Christian books and a surprising general acquaintance with the leading ideas of Christianity; the latter the result of the vast distribution of Christian Scriptures and tracts from the missionary stations on the coast and by the Tai-ping rebels, and of the curiosity as to the doctrines of them created by the strange events of recent years. The changes of the generation past in China are

¹ There are about fifty other steamers, American, British and French, and four tug-boats running to and from ports in the north and several at the south.

amazing; how much more so will be those of the next one, and of each successive one, as the tide of a new social and moral life shall rapidly rise and roll over the land!

The eye of implicit confidence in the fulfilment of the promises of God stretches forward to the time when China shall be all and completely Christian. The giant pagodas, built to concentrate the favorable influences of deified Nature upon the surrounding gardens and villages, no longer crown the lofty hills. The innumerable altars, beneath every green tree and at every crossing or division of the ways, and at every gate and corner and open place among the habitations of man, no longer reveal the delusion of souls by the prince of evil. The flags, fluttering with symbols and inscriptions, the carved pillars, the glaring inscriptions about the front doors and entrances of the streets, the processions of bald and long-robed priests, the white smoke of incense from every house, the massive temples crowded with gilt and painted idols, the monasteries and nunneries embowered in groves even in the heart of populous cities, the theatres, the dens of crime, the smuggling and piratical boats, the cruel filthy prisons, are for ever cleansed away. The din of gongs, the scream of wind instruments, the roar of gunpowder in crackers, guns and cannon, the clamor of the intoxicated crowds of worshipers, all the discordant and painful noises of idolatry and superstition and folly and vice, are silent. The Holy Spirit has breathed over the scene of moral corruption, and of the debasement by the powers of hell of what is most holy and wise and heavenly among men. Life has taken the place of death; light prevails instead of darkness.

Lift up your eyes! . See the white spires of Christian

churches and schools rise from those cities and towns. See the Sabbath spell stop the furnaces of factories and mills, which during the week enrich the inhabitants with all the products of Christian civilization, but now release their weary toilers to enjoy a holy rest and to throng with their swarthy faces the ways that lead to the houses of God. Yonder lie steamers waiting at the wharves for liberty on the morrow, panting to bear their vast and varied freight from city to city where they thickly border the mighty rivers. The iron railways, the telegraphic wires, stretch from valley to valley. You survey the same loveliness, the same peace, the same prosperity, which charm and satisfy the mind and the heart in a summer landscape of favored America or Britain. How complete, how wonderful, how delightful the transformation! Simply the faithful and unwearied preaching of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ has done it all. Men believed in him as the only Lord and Saviour; they cast away their idols; the blessings of modern Christian civilization all followed in their turn. It began feebly and slowly but progressed with ever multiplying rapidity and volume. And these changes which a few years have wrought in one nation are but a part of universal transformations, such as it were idle to attempt to conceive or to picture, which shall extend to all the race of man, and make this whole earth seem like a new earth, and these heavens above us like new heavens. Then shall Jesus' kingdom be come; then shall his will be done in earth as it is in heaven.

THE SPEECH

OF THE HON. ANSON BURLINGAME, THE HEAD OF THE CHINESE
EMBASSY TO THE WESTERN POWERS, DELIVERED IN NEW YORK,
JUNE 23, 1858.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND CITIZENS OF NEW YORK:—Our first duty is to thank you for this cordial greeting; to say to you that it is not only appreciated by us, but that it will be appreciated by the distant people whom we represent; to thank you for this unanimous expression of good-will on the part of the great city of New York; to thank you that, rising above all local and party considerations, you have given a broad and generous welcome to a movement made in the interests of all mankind. We are but the humble heralds of this movement. It originated beyond the boundaries of our own thoughts, and has taken dimensions beyond the reach of our most ardent hopes. That East which men have sought since the days of Alexander now itself seeks the West. China, emerging from the mists of time, but yesterday suddenly entered your Western gates, and confronts you, by its representatives, here to-night. What have you to say to her? She comes with no menace on her lips. She comes with the great doctrine of Confucius, uttered two thousand three hundred years ago, "Do not unto others what you would not have others do unto you." Will you not respond with the more positive doctrine of Christianity—"We will do unto others what we would have others do unto us?" She comes with your international law. She tells you that she is willing to come into relations according to it; that she is willing to abide by its provisions; that she is willing to take its obligations for its privileges. She asks you to forget your ancient prejudices, to abandon your assumptions of superiority, to submit your questions with her as she proposes to submit her

questions with you—to the arbitrament of reason. She wishes no war; she asks of you not to interfere in her internal affairs; she asks you not to send lecturers who are incompetent men; she asks that you will respect the neutrality of her waters and the integrity of her territory; she asks, in a word, to be left perfectly free to unfold herself precisely in that form of civilization of which she is the most capable to judge. She asks you to give to those treaties which were made under the pressure of war a generous and Christian construction. Because you have done this, because the Western nations have reversed their old doctrine of force, she responds; and in proportion as you have done that, in proportion as you have expressed your good-will, she has come forth to meet you. And I aver that there is no spot on this earth where there has been greater progress made within the past few years than in the empire of China. She has extended her business and reformed her revenue system. She is changing her military and naval organizations, and is establishing a great school, where modern science and the foreign languages are to be taught. She has done this under very adverse circumstances. She has done this after a great war, lasting through thirteen years—a war out of which she comes with no national debt. You must remember how dense is her population, and how difficult it is to introduce radical changes in such a country as that. The introduction of your own steamers threw out of employment one hundred thousand junkmen, and the introduction of several hundred foreigners into her civil service embittered, of course, the ancient native employés. The establishment of a school was firmly resisted by a party led by one of the greatest men of the empire. Yet, in spite of all this, the present government of China has advanced steadily along the path of progress, sustained, it is true, by the enlightened European and Western Powers now at Peking, and guided largely by a modest and able man—Mr. Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs, at the head of the foreign employés of China. Yet, notwithstanding this manifest progress, there are people who will tell you that China has made no progress; that her views are retrograde; and they tell you that it is the duty of the Western Treaty Powers to combine for the purpose of

coercing China into reforms which they may desire, and which she may not desire, to undertake to say that these people have no rights which we are bound to respect. In their coarse language they say, "Take her by the throat," using the tyrant's plea. They say that they know better what China wants than China herself does. Not only do they desire to introduce new reforms born of their own interests and their own caprice, but they tell you that the present dynasty must fall, and that the whole structure of Chinese civilization must be overthrown. I know that these views are abhorred by the governments and countries from which they come, but they are far away from their countries. They are active, brave, and unscrupulous, and, if they happen to be officials, it is in their power to complicate affairs, and to involve ultimately their distant countries in war. Now it is against the malign spirit of this tyrannical element that this mission was sent forth to the Christian world. It was sent forth that China might have her difficulties stated. That I happen to be at the head of it is, perhaps, more an accident than any design. It is perhaps because I had been longer there than my colleagues. It was because I was about to leave it. It was because, also—and probably more than all—because my humble name was associated with the establishment of the cooperative policy which, cooperating with abler men than myself, was established not many years ago. It is to sustain that policy—which has received the warm approval of all the great Treaty Powers, and which is cherished by China—that we are sent forth; and it is in behalf of that generous policy, founded upon principles of eternal justice, that I would rally the strongest thing on this earth—the enlightened public opinion of the world. Missions and men may pass away, but the principles of eternal justice will stand. I desire that the autonomy of China may be preserved; that her independence may be maintained; that she may have equality, and that she may dispense equal privileges to all the nations. If the opposite school is to prevail, if you are to use coercion against that great people, then who is to exercise the coercion? Whose forces are you to use? Whose views are you to establish? You see, the very attempt to carry out any such tyrannical policy would involve not only

China, but would involve you in bloody wars with each other. There are men of that tyrannical school who say that China is not fit to sit at the council-board of the nations, who call them barbarians, who attack them on all occasions with a bitter and unrelenting spirit. These things I utterly deny. I say, on the contrary, that that is a great and noble people. It has all the elements of a splendid nationality. It has the most numerous people on the face of the globe; it is the most homogeneous people in the world; its language is spoken by more human beings than any other in the world, and it is written in the rock; it is a country where there is a greater unification of thought than in any other country in the world; it is a country where the maxims of the great sages, coming down memorized, have permeated the whole people until their knowledge is rather an instinct than an acquirement. It is a people loyal while living, and whose last prayer when dying is to sleep in the sacred soil of their fathers. It is a land of scholars and of schools—a land of books, from the smallest pamphlet up to voluminous encyclopedias. It is a land, sir, as you have said, where the privileges are common; it is a land without caste, for they destroyed their feudal system two thousand one hundred years ago, and they built up their great structure of civilization on the great idea that the people are the source of power. That idea was uttered by Mencius more than two thousand years ago, and it was old when he uttered it. The power flows forth from that people into practical government through the coöperative system, and they make scholarship a test of merit. I say it is a great, a polite, a patient, a sober, and an industrious people; and it is such a people as this that the bitter boor would exclude from the council-hall of the nations. It is such a nation as this that the tyrannical element would put under its ban. They say that all these people (a third of the human race) must become the weak wards of the West; wards of nations not so populous as many of their provinces; wards of people who are younger than their newest village in Manchuria. I do not mean to say that the Chinese are perfect; far from it. They have their faults, their pride, and their prejudices, like other people. These are profound, and they must be overcome. They have their con-

ceits, like other people, and they must be done away; but they are not to be removed by talking to them with cannon, by telling them that they are feeble and weak, and that they are barbarians. No; China has been cut off by her position from the rest of the world. She has been separated from it by limitless deserts and broad oceans. But now, when the views of men expand, we behold the very globe itself diminishing in size; now, when science has dissipated the desert, and when it has narrowed the ocean, we find that China, seeing another civilization on every side, has her eyes wide open to the situation. She sees Russia on the north, Europe on the west, and America on the east; she sees a cloud of sail on her coast; she sees mighty steamers coming from every quarter; she feels the spark from the electric telegraph falling hot upon her, and she rouses herself, not in anger, but for argument. She finds that by not being in a position to compete with other nations for so long a time, she has lost ground; she comprehends very well that she must come into relations with those civilizations which are pressing all around her; and feeling that, she does not wait, but comes out to you, and extends to you her hand. She tells you she is ready to take upon her ancient civilization the graft of your civilization; that she is ready to take back her own inventions, with all their developments; that she is willing to trade with you, to buy of you, to sell to you, to help you strike off the shackles from trade. She invites your merchants, she invites your missionaries, and tells them to plant the shining cross on every hill and in every valley, for she is hospitable to fair argument. She offers you almost free trade to-day. Holding the great staples of the earth, tea and silk, she charges you scarcely any tariff on the exports you send out to exchange for them. She is willing to meet the interior questions which are arising now as to transit dues; and if you will only have patience with her and right reason on your side, she will settle these to your satisfaction. The country is open; you may travel and trade where you like. What complaint have you to make of her? Show her, I say, fair play; exhibit that to her, and you will bless the toiling millions of the world. That trade, which has in my own day in China risen from eighty-two millions to three

hundred millions, is but a tithe of the enormous trade that may be carried on with China in the future. Let her alone, give her her independence; let her develop herself in her own time and in her own way. She has no hostility to you. Let her do this, and she will initiate a movement which will be felt in every workshop in the civilized world. She says now, "Send us your wheat, lumber, gold, silver, goods from every where. We will take as many of them as we can; we will give you back our tea, silk, and free labor, which we have sent so largely out into the world, which is overflowing upon Siam, the British possessions, Singapore, Manilla, Peru, Cuba, Australia, and California. What she asks is, that you will be as kind to her people as she is to yours. She wishes simply that you will do justice. She is willing not only to exchange goods with you, but to exchange thoughts; she is willing to give you her intellectual civilization for your material civilization. Let her alone, and the caravans toward the North and Russia will swarm larger than they are now. Let her alone, and the great steamers of the "Peninsular and Oriental Co." and the "Messagerie Imperiale" may multiply their coming; let her alone, and that great line which is the pride of New York—the Pacific Mail—may increase, or as many other lines as you choose to form, may increase their tonnage tenfold, and they will still have to leave their freight uncarried, as at present, on the wharf at Hong-kong and Yokohama. The imagination kindles at the future which may be, and will be, if you will be just and fair to China.

THE LATE TREATY WITH CHINA, SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE
TREATY OF 1858.

ART. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of China, being of the opinion that in making concessions to the citizens or subjects of foreign powers of the privilege of residing on certain tracts of land, or resorting to certain waters of that empire for the purposes of trade, he has by no means relinquished his right of eminent domain or dominion over the said land and waters, hereby agrees that no such concession or grant shall be construed to give to any power or party which may be at war with or hostile to the United States, the right to attack the citizens of the United States or their property within the said lands or waters; and the United States, for themselves, hereby agree to abstain from offensively attacking the citizens or subjects of any power, or party, or their party, with which they may be at war, on any such tract of land or waters of the said empire; but nothing in this article shall be construed to prevent the United States from resisting an attack by any hostile power or party upon their citizens or their property. It is further agreed, that if any right or interest in any tract of land in China has been or shall hereafter be granted by the Government of China to the United States or their citizens for purposes of trade or commerce, that grant shall in no event be construed to divest the Chinese authorities of their right of jurisdiction over persons and property within said tract of land, except so far as that right may have been expressly relinquished by treaty.

ART. 2. The United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of China, believing that the safety and prosperity of commerce will thereby best be promoted, agree that any privilege or immunity in respect to trade or navigation within the Chinese dominions which may not have been stipulated for by treaty shall be subject to the discretion of the Chinese Government, and may be regulated by it accordingly, but not in a manner or spirit incompatible with the treaty stipulations of the parties.

ART. 3. The Emperor of China shall have the right to appoint

consuls at ports of the United States, who shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities as those which are enjoyed by public law and treaty in the United States by the consuls of Great Britain and Russia, or either of them.

ART. 4. The twenty-ninth article of the treaty of the 18th of June, 1858, having stipulated for the exemption of Christian citizens of the United States and Chinese converts from persecution in China on account of their faith, it is further agreed, that citizens of the United States in China of every religious persuasion, and Chinese subjects in the United States, shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship in either country. Cemeteries for sepulture of the dead of whatever nativity or nationality shall be held in respect, and free from disturbance or profanation.

ART. 5. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and his allegiance, and also the mutual advantages of the free migration and immigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties, therefore, join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary immigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or a Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or a citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country without their free and voluntary consent respectively.

ART. 6. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; but nothing

herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon the citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

ART. 7. Citizens of the United States shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the Government of China, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the Government of the United States which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations. The citizens of the United States may freely establish and maintain schools within the empire of China at those places where foreigners are by treaty permitted to reside, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects may enjoy the same privileges and immunities in the United States.

ART. 8. The United States, always disclaiming and discouraging all practices of unnecessary dictation and intervention by one nation in the affairs or domestic administration of another, do hereby freely disclaim any intention or right to intervene in the domestic administration of China in regard to the construction of railroads, telegraphs, or other material internal improvements. On the other hand, His Majesty the Emperor of China reserves to himself the right to decide the time and manner and circumstances of introducing such improvements within his dominions. With this mutual understanding, it is agreed by the contracting parties, that if at any time hereafter His Imperial Majesty shall determine to construct or cause to be constructed works of the character mentioned, within the empire, and shall make application to the United States or any other Western power for facilities to carry out that policy, the United States will, in that case, designate and authorize suitable engineers to be employed by the Chinese Government, and will recommend to other nations an equal compliance with such application, the Chinese Government in that case protecting such engineers in their persons and property, and paying them a reasonable compensation for their services.

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