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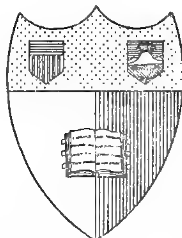

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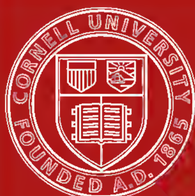

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THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

"FEW PEOPLE THINK THEMSELVES INTO THE STATE OF THE EASTERN MIND"

BISHOP PATTESON

"THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN US DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF MUTUAL UNACQUAINTANCE"

LI HUNG CHANG

THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

THEIR COUNTRY, HISTORY, LIFE, IDEAS, AND RELATIONS WITH THE FOREIGNER

BY

J. W. ROBERTSON-SCOTT

WITH A MAP

METHUEN & CO.
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PREFACE

THIS little Handbook is published at a lower price than has yet been ventured upon in any publication of a comprehensive character about China. Its object is to supply, in as compact and interesting a form as possible, the kind of information about the Country and its Peoples, and their Relations with the Foreigner, which an intelligent newspaper reader would be likely to seek from a friend who had lived in the Far East.

What does China look like? (the inquirer would ask). If one found oneself in a field or on a river boat or in a street or house, what would one see? How do the Chinese strike the Foreigner? Is a Mongol a Chinaman or a Manchu, or only a Mongol? As to the long eventful History of the Oldest Nation in the World—which looks so very dry—cannot some flesh be put on its bones? How do we Westerns appear in Chinese eyes? What is the truth about the Opium Traffic and habit? What does one Chinaman say to another about Relations with Europeans, the Wars that have been waged with them, the vexed Missionary Problem, Treaty Ports, Spheres of Influence and the Open Door? The Chinaman's Way ot Government, Customs and Prejudices, his Ideas, Character, and Religions—there have been many statements and generalisations on these heads, but does he accept them as true? Can his point of view, which seems so difficult to reach, be approached by calling to mind any of the facts of our own social, moral, and political development? There are four

hundred millions of people in China and as their existence certainly cannot be ignored,—but must rather, sooner or later, exercise a tremendous influence on the rest of the world,—surely the best thing for the comfort and peace of the Globe, on which we all have to live together, is to try to understand them?

The present attempt to portray, as dispassionately as possible, the Chinaman As He Has Been, As He Is, and As He May Be, has necessarily sent the writer—who has not been himself in China—to gather facts, incidents, and opinions from as many sources as practicable. As Confucius said of himself, he is but a "transmitter"! To the various authors whose names are mentioned in the text he is under the greatest obligations. To them he ventures to dedicate his modest effort to promote a better understanding between John Bull and John Chinaman, and in a small way those British interests in the Far East which he has watched somewhat closely for several years in the course of his journalistic work.

No little care has been taken to avoid slips, but the pitfalls before the hurrying traveller in so wide and difficult a field as China are many. If further excuse be necessary, the haste with which the Handbook had to be sent to press must be pleaded.

J. W. R.-S.

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THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

The Vastness of China and What the Country Looks Like

The Babel of the Far East.—When Captain Younghusband returned to India by crossing China from Peking to the Indo-Chinese frontier he traversed a distance nearly as great as that which would be covered on a journey from the west to the east coast of Central Africa and back again. Were China to lose the immense outlying dominions of Manchuria (the kingdom of the reigning house), Mongolia, Tibet, Jungaria, and Turkestan, space could still be found within the borders of her own remaining Eighteen Provinces for France more than half a dozen times over. They are fourteen times larger than the United Kingdom, and one of them, Sze Chuan, can number more able-bodied men than Germany. In extent of territory and density of population, China Proper and her dependencies surpass the whole of Europe. The Empire occupies, in fact, nearly a twelfth part of the land surface of the globe. "Transport all the people of Chili into China," said a Chinese Minister lately,

"and they would fill only a city of the first class." So vast is the Middle Kingdom—a recent Governor of Yarkand had never been to Peking!—that the languages and dialects spoken within her frontiers are numerous enough to furnish, as has been humorously said, a new tongue for every day of the year. Between many of them there is a difference as great as that between English, German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish; some are absolutely distinct from one another.[1] Coolies taken no farther from Canton (in which, by the way, half a dozen dialects are in use) than Amoy have thought they had reached a foreign country. It is not only an unfamiliar language and a changed landscape which are met with in passing from one district to another. The habits, customs, and characteristics of the people are quite as likely to be different. Few writers about China can have had more than a small proportion of its people and limited tracts of its territory under observation. Hence when a

[1] An illustration is furnished by the fact that nearly every traveller who writes a book on China renders the Chinese phrase for "foreign devil" differently: in other words, he uses the language or dialect of the district he is describing. The most widespread language is Mandarin (Pekingese and Nankingese). Coast Chinamen who are strangers to one another not infrequently have recourse to Pidgin English. Pidgin is composed of English words (with a slight admixture of Portuguese, Hindustanee, and Malay) pronounced in the way easiest to the Chinese, *r* for example not being sounded. The vocabulary is a very small one—verbs are not conjugated, nouns and pronouns are interchangeable, and most words have a variety of uses. A boatman's reason to an Englishman for painting the customary eyes on his boat was—"No got eye, how can see? No can see, how can walkee?" "To be or not to be, that is the question," is "Can do, no can do, how fashion." If a Chinese "boy" failed to understand his master's visitor's Yankee drawl, he might say, "Moh bettah you flen talkee Englishee talk; my no sabbee Melican talk." A crew on an Englishman's boat warned the traveller against landing at a particular point on the river bank in the phrase, "Plenty piecee bad man hab got this side; too muchee likee cut throat pidgin."

statement is made that the Chinese do this or that, or that China is such and such a kind of country, it should, no doubt, be understood as meaning, in many instances, simply that some Chinese act in the way mentioned, or that there are parts of the Empire which are correctly so described.

Loess and Rivers.—All China, like Gaul, is divided into three parts. They are—Mountainous Country (say, half), Hilly Country, and the Great Plain (about 700 miles in length and from 150 miles to 500 miles in breadth, stretching between Peking and the mouth of the Yangtsze, an area as great and as densely populated as the plain of Bengal drained by the Ganges). A quarter of a million square miles of the country are covered with loess, a strange fine, friable, yellow earth (hence, possibly, the "Yellow Emperor"), often reaching to a great depth, and so rich as to need little or no manure. All precious stones and "minerals" are believed to be found within the Empire —part of the Yangtsze is called the "River of Golden Sand," and coal, which exists in every Province, usually near iron, is so plentiful in Shansi alone that the world's supply could be taken from it for 3000 years. No country can compare with the "land of great rivers" (and many canals and ferries) for natural facilities for inland navigation;[1] it has been said, indeed, that there are more boats in China than in all the rest of the earth.

In the Fields.—Something not unlike the scene which it has been attempted to picture on the famous "willow

[1] The Yangtsze and Hoang-ho are each 3000 miles long. The former is fully described in the chapter on the Yangtsze Valley; the latter, which has changed its course nine times, offers few facilities for navigation. The West River, the traffic of which is almost wholly British and Chinese, has deep water for 130 miles. The Grand Canal is 600 miles long, but is blocked in places by silting up or broken banks.

pattern" plate may be met with in some parts of China. Generally speaking, the country has "a very old look," not however due in many cases to ruins, for owing to the materials of which buildings are constructed and the nature of the climate, there are comparatively few of them. Water and boats are seldom out of sight in China Proper. The aspect of the country has been modified as greatly by human labour as our own. The way in which the patient agriculturist has terraced rising land from the water-side to hill-tops has often been described. The water-covered rice-fields with their low embankments suggest magnified fish-hatching ponds. The millet grows to a great height, completely hiding the country round from view from the field-paths. The crops are accordingly watched from raised sheds. Rows of stones ordinarily take the place of hedgerows, fences, and walls. They are used because they are less expensive and do not occupy so much of the precious ground, every yard of which in the populous regions is cultivated. Where the country is rocky, tiny crops are sometimes obtained from patches of soil no larger than bathing towels! The Chinese are the fathers of "intense culture"—

At the rate of production and consumption on the land near Swatow (says the author of *A Corner of Cathay*) the arable land in the State of New York, with a reduction of one-half its returns on account of its more northern latitude, would support the total population of the United States at the present time; and the occupied arable land of the United States, with its producing power diminished, on account of climate, to one-half that of land at Swatow, would feed a population equal to that of the whole world, or over 1,400,000,000.

The fields are tilled indeed with the care usually bestowed on flower gardens. Every scrap of substance which will serve as a fertiliser is utilised. In the Spring many villagers' chimneys and kitchen walls are pulled down so that the old

soot-covered mud slabs composing them may be taken away and powdered for the stimulation of the crops. The farmers of certain Provinces also build free rest-houses for wayfarers, and compete with each other in keeping them clean and attractive-looking, for no other reason than to obtain waste products and night-soil for the fields. Reclaimed land is not liable to taxation until five harvests have been gathered from it. In most parts of China oxen and buffaloes are seen in use in agricultural operations instead of horses. Poultry is kept to a great extent, and artificial incubation of eggs (as well as fish spawn) has been practised for centuries. Ducks are taken up and down the watercourses in duck boats to feeding grounds, and are trained to obey certain calls. On the rivers, which support an immense floating population from childhood to old age,[1] men are seen at work fishing with the assistance of tame cormorants.

Roads and Rains. — Though there are some fair Imperial main roads in China, the number of waterways and the fact that the smaller roads do not belong to the public but to the farmers whose land adjoins them, make against their being well cared for. Rains constantly cut off one village from another. Some of the roadways become so deepened by traffic and wash-outs that there is a saying that in a thousand years a road becomes a river. Travellers either walk, or ride on mules or horses, or are carried in open or closed chairs, in the covered heavy Chinese carts, or on wheelbarrows. There are two seats, back to back, on a wheelbarrow, and the wheel is between them. Con-

[1] "The great water-population have their shops and marts afloat, each trading-junk displaying its trade emblem or a sample of its specialty at the masthead. A bundle of firewood dangled from one mast; buckets, brushes, stools, barbers' bowls and plaited cues, hanks of thread, garments, and candles advertised other floating ships."—*China, the Long-Lived Empire*, by Miss E. R. Scidmore.

spicuous on the main roads as well as in towns and villages and the approaches thereto, are commemorative arches (often of beautifully carved granite) erected to the memory of upright officials, good sons or widows, or betrothed women who remained single when their destined bridegrooms died. Hills and rocks are topped by pagodas.

The "Land of Surprising Bridges."—The beauties of the architecture of the temples and bridges have been often admired. In different chapters of *An Australian in China* there are the following particulars of what the writer saw in "the land of surprising bridges":—

> We entered nearly every city under a fine arch formed of blocks of granite cut to the curve of the bridge. Or there are straight bridges, the piers being monoliths, 13 feet high, and the roadway massive blocks of stone 30 feet high.
>
> The bridge [at Lu-feng-Nsien] would arrest attention in any country in the world. It crosses [what is in summer] a broad and powerful river. It is of seven beautiful arches; it is 12 yards broad and 150 yards long, of perfect simplicity and symmetry, with massive piers all built of dressed masonry; and destined to survive the lapse of centuries. Triumphal archways, with memorial tablets, and pedestals of carved lions, are befitting portals to a really noble work.
>
> We crossed the river by a wonderful suspension bridge, 250 feet long and 12 feet broad, formed of linked bars of wrought iron. It shows stability, strength, and delicacy of design, and is a remarkable work to have been done by the untutored barbarians of this land of night.

Some regions are rich in trees, among which the villages sometimes nestle. Elsewhere may be seen districts where almost all the trees have disappeared, as in some parts of Essex, and the country suffers from drought accordingly. The cost of land carriage prevents coal being much used in places not in touch with a waterway. It is often transported in the form of briquettes. Charcoal and the tall thick millet stalks are common forms of fuel.

Scenery in Different Provinces.—The scenery no less than the climate varies, of course, according to the latitude.

Blagovchensk, where the Chinese attacked the Russians in July, is as far north of Pakkoi, a treaty port in the Gulf of Tongking, as Iceland is north of Gibraltar. Forest-covered Manchuria may be described as a Far Eastern Canada. Mongolia, largely desert, is in part a rolling plain of grass, over which in Spring the larks sing, and geese and duck fly on their way still farther north. Turkestan is a barren region shut in with a U of snow-covered mountains, but possessing oases with "cool shady lanes," between which, "as far as can be seen, are field after field of ripening crops, only broken by fruit gardens and shady little hamlets." In the beautiful Provinces of the Upper Yangtsze—at its mouth and at the mouth of the Canton River tamer regions suggesting the Netherlands are met with — one sees "cereals and the universal poppy; pretty, thriving little villages; a river half a mile wide thronged with every kind of river craft, and back in the distance the snow-clad mountains." A traveller afoot in Yunnan tells how "doves cooed in the trees and the bushes in blossom were bright with butterflies." "Lanes," he said, "led between hedges of wild roses, and wherever a creek trickled across the plain, its willow-lined borders were blue with forget-me-nots."[1] In other Provinces the fair prospect of the countryside has a dark background of disaster and misery wrought by famine and floods. If the rain fails to fall, as has happened this year, the painful scenes with which we are familiar in famine-stricken India are witnessed, for the food and money reserve of the population is scanty; it is difficult to transport grain for long distances;[2]

[1] "And everywhere," he adds, "a peaceful people who never spoke a word to the foreigner that was not friendly."

[2] As to the railway panacea, Indian experience has shown that even with a considerable network of railways it is not always possible to cope with famine when it is really severe and widespread.

and, irrigation expert though the Chinaman is, his aqueducts and trenches cannot secure water for his crops if streams and springs are dried up. The floods which from time to time have drowned thousands of people and placed areas as large as English counties under water are caused by rivers which flow at a higher level than that of the land (and are, therefore, of great service in irrigation) bursting their banks owing not only to the quantity of water which they contain but the mass of solid matter which they bring down from the highlands. In some districts, as in Egypt, the floods are carefully managed, the yellow water enriching the fields after the same fashion as the Nile.

In the Villages and Towns.—Both cities and villages have usually walls, and in town and country alike it is the general custom for houses to be of only one storey. Most villages, except such as are Mahommedan, possess at least one temple, from some peculiarity of which it may possibly take its name, as "Red Temple" or "Double Temple." In the single street may be noticed the local store, and perhaps a company of itinerant blacksmiths or a primitive theatre erected by a party of those strolling players who are to be found all over an Empire of lovers of the drama. The roofs of Chinese houses, however imposing, are built before the walls, that is, rested on posts or pillars, the spaces between which being afterwards filled up with soft blue bricks, or in the case of many village houses, with mud slabs. Stone is not usually employed for more than the foundations. The doors of village houses have often a hole cut in them for the convenience of the family dog or cat.

Town Scenes.—In the cities the streets, which are paved, —the sewer in the middle (which bursts occasionally) being flagged over as was until recently thc fashion in many small

places in England and Scotland,—are sometimes not more than eight feet broad, but owing to the houses being of not more than the single storey hardly suggest alleys. In the broader streets the barber, shampooer, chiropodist and ear-cleaner, the cobbler, broken dish and china riveter, and cheap tailor are at work, and the sweetmeat, ballad and book hawker, and Punch and Judy proprietor ply their callings; while in narrow and broad streets alike the magistrate's sedan chair, the coolie's wheelbarrow, and a variety of beasts of burden jostle past. The colour of the tiles—green, yellow, and brown—not a difference in the style of building, indicates the uses to which the different edifices, official, mercantile, and residential, are devoted. The most prominent buildings often seem to be the well-managed pawnshops, which are large and prosperous establishments, built with high walls and towers. The shops, which have valuable gay sign-boards,—set upright not lengthwise,—are many of them without fronts, but possess shutters—horizontal not perpendicular—for putting up at night.

Indoors.—The fittings of the better-class shops in the cities exhibit good taste, and compare well in this respect with the best that New Bond Street and Regent Street have to show. The windows of the rooms of private houses do not open on the streets, but upon a courtyard or succession of courtyards. A feature of the garden behind is the artificial pond, which is regarded as essential. By way of ornament in the houses there is on the supports of the roof, which is not hidden by a ceiling, and at the windows and doors, much exquisitely carved woodwork. Books, carefully tended flowers in stands, and scrolls suspended from the walls, bearing either extracts from the Classics or drawings of scenery or portraits by clever artists, may also be seen. A Chinaman accustomed to the simplicity of his own apartments feels flurried in European

rooms, which he thinks much too crowded with furniture, etc., for artistic effect and comfort.

The Records of Ages.—Before, however, making closer inquiry into the composition and condition, the social, political, and religious ideas, the foreign dealings and future prospects of the People of China, now brought into such painful relations with Europe, it is desirable to notice some of the salient points in their long and eventful History. The examination of the records of a Nation, the fathers of which invented the compass shortly after the death of Aristotle; discovered the manufacture of porcelain, lacquer ware, and silk; printed their Classics five centuries anterior to the time of Caxton; established the coinage of the square-holed copper cash, which are still, practically, the only currency in the Middle Kingdom,[1] several hundred years before the Christian Era; used carrier pigeons for bringing home news from ships, and voyaged to Arabia before Vasca da Gama flourished; a Nation which represents a fourth of the human race and has millions of its sons in all parts of the earth; a Nation which, after "witnessing the rise to glory and the decay of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome," apparently feels sufficient confidence in its strength to throw down the gauntlet to the whole Civilised World, cannot be without interest, or fail to influence to a considerable degree our judgment as to its true character, and of what the Twentieth Century may have in store for it.

[1] The silver used in trade is usually in the form of bullion or foreign dollars, of which there are five varieties in circulation, in addition to some Chinese dollars which have lately been struck. The "taels" of accounts have no more actual existence than our guineas, and are of four kinds, a haikwan tael being about 3s. Copper cash, nearly two dozen of which go to a penny, are manufactured in twenty-nine different mints.

THE HISTORY OF CHINA

CHAPTER II

From Confucius to Lord Macartney

Where the Chinese Come From.—The origin of the Chinese is no less obscure than their future. A distinguished savant, who produced an interesting body of evidence in support of his guess, invoked the "blessed word Mesopotamia." The first tribes, he believed, started from that region for China some twenty-three centuries before Christ. The annalists of what is undoubtedly the Oldest Nation in the World record the names and high achievements of many sovereigns of even an earlier period than this. Let us be content, however, on the present occasion to begin with the monarchs who figure in the History of China as it was compiled by Confucius. The first Emperor of the "black-haired" race mentioned by the Sage flourished 2085–2004 B.C., or some seven or eight centuries before Moses. Mention is made of a petition in writing having been presented in the eighteenth century before Christ, and a knowledge of hieroglyphics probably existed at an earlier period.

"**That Fellow Chow.**"—Many of those who wrote were seemingly in the habit of speaking their minds in respect of the mighty ones of the earth in a fashion in striking contrast with the subservience which characterised the works

of no small proportion of Western scribes many centuries later. The philosopher Mencius referred to the death of the cruel Emperor Chow as "the cutting off of the fellow Chow," and, eighteen centuries before Pym and Hampden, insisted that it was the duty of the people to rebel when their ruler persistently defied the laws of Heaven. Of Confucius the following story is told. Seeing a woman crying by a tomb as if she had experienced "sorrow upon sorrow," he spoke with her, and found that her father-in-law and then her husband and now her son had been killed at that spot by a tiger. "Why, then, do you not move from this place?" asked the great Teacher. "Because," she replied, "there is here no oppressive government." "My children," said Confucius, calling his disciples together, "remember this, oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger." Seventeen hundred years before Tyndale was burned five hundred men of letters gave up their lives, and many thousands more were banished, rather than submit to an Imperial edict decreeing the destruction of all historical records and works of literature.[1]

The Wall and the Library.—By 300 B.C. the Chinese who had entered Eastern Asia at the headwaters of the Yellow River (or Hoang-ho) had reached the Yangtsze. Emperor followed Emperor and Dynasty succeeded Dynasty, but it is only a few of the outstanding events in the more remarkable reigns, rather than a jargon of Imperial "names and dates" or a picture of the phantasmagoria of border civil wars and Palace plots and poisonings, which claim

[1] In the next reign, "from the sides of caves, from the roofs of houses, and the banks of rivers, volumes were produced by those who had risked their lives for their preservation, and history states that from the lips of old men were taken down ancient texts which had everywhere perished except in the retentive memories of veteran scholars" (Professor Douglas).

our attention. It was to keep out a Tartar horde that an Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty built not only roads and canals which still survive, but the Great or "Myriad Mile" Wall across a twelfth of the circumference of the globe. The first Han Emperor, who began to reign 206 B.C., caused the earliest suspension bridge in the world to be built. Those who sat on the throne after him so fostered letters that the Imperial Library soon contained 7000 works on philosophy, poetry, and the classics. The territory of the Empire grew as steadily as the Library, and many years before the birth of Christ the victorious banners of a Chinese general waved on the sands of the Caspian. The T'ang Dynasty distinguished itself by employing cannon which threw stone shot, and by edicts driving the Buddhist monks back to civil life and ordering them to abandon their vows of celibacy.

An Imperial Tragedy.—An incursion of Tartars (whose name, K'itan, survives in the old name of China, Cathay, and in the modern Russian one of K'itai) followed the death of the last of the T'angs. Two hundred years after, these particular Tartars who had possession of the country only as far south as the Yangtsze, gave place to the Kin Tartars, from whom are descended the present Manchu rulers of the Land of Han.[1] At first the Chinese had some success against the Tartars, and it was then that the Chinese Monarch, in ruling the nomadic tribes, assumed the title of Khan of Khans, an appellation which is preserved in the present Russian name for the Emperor of China, Bagdo Khan. Both the (Tartar) Kin in their turn and the (Chinese) Sung were destined to go down before the Dynasty set

[1] Chinamen look back with pride on the period of the Han Dynasty, sometimes calling themselves "Sons of Han." One of the names of the Hoang-ho, the bursting of the banks of which has wrought such destruction, is "Sorrow of Han."

up by Jenghiz Khan. The Mongols first allied themselves with the Sung State against the Kin, the story of the tragic end of whose last Emperor has been told by Professor Douglas in the following passage:—

> The presence of the Emperor gave energy to the defenders, and they held out until every animal in the city had been killed for food, until every old and useless person had suffered death to lessen the number of hungry mouths, until so many able-bodied men had fallen by the hand of the enemy that the women swarmed the ramparts, and then the allies stormed the walls. The Emperor, like another Sardanapalus, burned himself to death in his palace. With him ended the Golden Dynasty, which disappeared from the country's annals until the Manchu family now reigning came, nearly four centuries later, to claim the throne as heirs of the defender of Joo-ning Foo.

"**Practical Socialism.**"—The Sungs whom the Mongols next attacked and eventually conquered deserve to be remembered for a remarkable experiment in what is called "practical Socialism." One of their statesmen named Wanganchi was permitted to give effect to his belief that "the State should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture into its own hands, with the view of succouring the working classes, and preventing their being ground to the dust by the rich." He eased the poor of taxes, distributed free seeds and agricultural tools, and called into existence various local boards to give the peasantry such help and advice as they needed. But lack of skill and organising ability on the part of the workers, and storms, droughts, disease, and civil commotion interfered with the success of the scheme, the area of land under cultivation decreased, the last state of many of the people seemed worse than the first, and the reforms of Wanganchi—"aimed," in his own phrase, "at preventing there being any poor or over-rich persons in the State"—ended in the Minister's disgrace. "His memory," says

Mr. Boulger in his *Short History*, "has been aspersed by the writers of China, who have generally denounced him as a free-thinker and a nihilist, and although, twenty years after his death, a tablet bearing his name was placed in the Hall of Confucius as the greatest thinker since Mencius, it was removed after a brief period."

Jenghiz Khan.—The Mongol "curse of God" came of a people the founder of which had exhorted them to hardihood and activity of life in the saying, "What is the use of embarrassing ourselves with wealth? Is not the fate of men decreed by Heaven?" He swept through the very region in which the forces of the Powers have been operating, laying a hundred "cities" waste, and set in motion hordes which carried fire and sword from Peking across Asia and half Europe to Poland. Jenghiz's original tactics and skill in moving troops in unknown country have excited the admiration of the greatest military commanders of the West, and the service which his forces performed in arresting the current of Mahommedan fanaticism is not perhaps, as has been pointed out by a competent student, "as fully recognised as it should be."

Jenghiz (says one of his biographers) is said to have destroyed by wars and massacres no fewer than five or six millions of human beings. His conquests were generally accompanied by acts of appalling barbarity, yet we seem to trace through the dreadful history of the man some indications of a civilising tendency. Himself a monotheist, he nevertheless tolerated all religions; exempted from taxes and military service physicians and priests; made obligatory the practice of hospitality; established severe laws against adultery, fornication, theft, homicide, etc.; organised a system of postal communication throughout his enormous dominions (mainly, no doubt, for military purposes); and so thoroughly organised the police and civil authority, that it was said one might travel without fear or danger from one end of his empire to the other. He would also appear to have had a respect for men of learning and virtue, and to have retained several of such about his person.

The First Glimpse of the Chinese.—It was at this period, strangely enough, when the Eastern Continent of the Old World was wet with blood and strewn with ashes that Europeans penetrating into Mongolia obtained at the court of the ruthless conquerors the first authentic glimpse of their Chinese subjects. The brave friar Carpini reports them to be in 1246 (time of our Henry III.)

> indeed kindly and polished folks. They have a peculiar language, and no beard. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by man are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is very rich in corn, in wine, in gold and silver, in silk, and in every kind of produce tending to the support of mankind.

Friar Rubruqius is equally impressed.

> Those Cathayans (he writes) are first-rate artists of every kind, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse. The common money consists of pieces of cotton paper about a palm in length and breadth, upon which lines are printed.[1] They do their writing with a pencil such as painters paint with, and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word.

Both accounts are as true to-day as when written.

Kublai Khan.—Jenghiz's successor is made familiar to us by the adventurous experiences of Marco Polo. Kublai Khan, who had accepted Chinese customs and etiquette, extended Mongol conquests southwards in China —albeit the people offered, as Professor Douglas points out, a much stouter resistance to the invaders than the inhabitants of Western Asia and Eastern Europe had been capable of doing[2]—until he reigned over an empire ex-

[1] China had banknotes four hundred years before Europe.

[2] Another historian speaks of an episode in the Chinese defence of Sianyang as one which "a Chinese writer might be pardoned for placing on a par with Sir Richard Grenville's defence of the *Revenge*,"

tending from what is now the Siberian border to the territory which has become British Burmah and French Indo-China and from the Yellow to the Black Sea. The tribute imposed on the Burmese by this Emperor was paid up to and for a short time after the annexation of their country by Great Britain. Kublai Khan also secured a right to have a voice in the appointment of the Grand Llama of Tibet, which is possessed by the Rulers of China at this day. But "ever victorious" though the Mongol sovereign was on land, he could effect nothing by sea. Two successive fleets despatched against the Japanese met with ignominious disaster. After Kublai comes the familiar Imperial name of Timour (died 1307), a successor of whom distributed official posts among Chinese as well as Mongols. But the invaders never really commended themselves to the Chinese, who looked upon them as barbarians, and although the period of the Mongol Dynasty was not all fighting,—what may be regarded as the standard Chinese drama dates back to it,—the way soon opened for a Chinese Line. The Mongols do not again appear in history until they come as "the allies of the Mongols, when they undertook the conquest of China in the seventeenth century."

Another Chinese Dynasty. — A poor Chinaman who had entered the priesthood put himself at the head of his countrymen, drove the invaders out of the Empire, made first Nanking and then Peking his capital, and founded the famous Ming or "Bright" Dynasty. (The present

and dwells on the "capacity of resistance to even a vigorous conqueror" displayed by the "inert masses" of China. Their subjugation was "of all the Mongol triumphs the longest in being attained. The Mongols did not conquer until they had obtained the aid of a large section of the Chinese nation, or before Kublai had shown that he intended to prove himself a worthy Emperor of China and not merely a great Khan of the Mongol Hordes."

Dynasty is called the "Sublimely Pure" or "Golden.") He rebuilt the Imperial College at Peking (the Hanlin, *i.e.* "Forest of Pencils," the Vatican of the Literati), to be called to enter the ranks of the scholars of which is still the greatest honour in letters which can be conferred by the Throne, erected another college at Nanking, codified the laws, imposed frugality on his Court, and tried to establish a library in every town. The powerful modern Secret Society, the Kolao-hwei, especially strong in what is regarded as the British "sphere of influence" in the Yangtsze Valley, not only takes its second name from this Emperor's appellation, but stimulates its followers to remember the prosperity which existed under his rule. Its motto is "Overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming."

An Imperial Encyclopædia.—The reign of Yung-lo was remarkable for the removal of the capital from Peking to Nanking, and for the encouragement given to scholars to compile a great encyclopædia. It was completed a few years before the battle of Agincourt, in nearly 23,000 volumes. The name of Chengt'ung, a successor of Yung-lo, will always be associated with an immense work, "A Complete Geographical Record of the Empire under the Great Ming Dynasty," and the humane order that at his decease the Polynesian and West African practice of killing slaves at the monarch's funeral, observed until this date, should not be carried out.

The "Foreign Devil."—In the time of our Henry the Eighth, China had her first trouble with Europeans. Portuguese traders on the coast behaved so disgracefully that hundreds of them were massacred by the provoked populace, and the so-called Portuguese Ambassador—the first European to arrive at Peking with a quasi-diplomatic "mission for the extension of commerce"—

was summarily beheaded by the Emperor's order. After this experience of the "foreign devil" the Chinese were naturally chary of admitting the apostles of Western religions who presented themselves from time to time. A great and good man, named Ricci, a missionary in a thousand, was received, however, and he (as will be seen in another place) did nothing to make his hosts regret the kindness they had shown to a European. Before the arrival of the Latin priest at Peking, the Latin soldier, under the ægis of Spain, had laid hold of the Philippines, and the Chinese had another unpleasant experience of the methods of the West, for the Dons, when Chinese immigration into their new dominions set in too freely, murdered 20,000 of them in cold blood. From the Japanese Islands farther north there was directed during this period a great invasion of China, the brave and hardy "dwarf race" laying siege for a time to Nanking. Later on, the Shogun's troops appeared in Korea, and the soldiers of China, despatched to the border in response to the appeal of the Protected State, lost and gained a battle on the field of Pingyang, where the Celestial forces were to be so signally defeated in 1894. The Japanese carried off with them to their ships 10,000 Korean ears.

An Imperial "Peccavi."—The Sovereigns of China have shown from time to time a touching disposition to confess their faults before their people. An early example of the kind of thing which is still to be found very frequently in the official *Peking Gazette* (the oldest newspaper in the world) is the document written on his deathbed by Chiach'ing (who passed away in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) expressing regret for the time he had spent, like so many Western and Chinese philosophers, in a vain search for the secret of immortality:—

My duty was to revere heaven and take care of people (ran the Imperial edict "to be published throughout the Empire after my death"); yet I allowed myself to be deceived by impostors. This delusion has led me to set a bad example to both my magnates and my people.

Under the rule of the House of Ming, Chinese painting and wood-engraving reached a height of excellence which is still the admiration of students of Chinese art. The Dynasty lasted for nearly three hundred years as against the century for which the Mongol Line had ruled. But whether Mings, Mongols, Sungs, or Tangs occupied the Dragon throne, there is, as Mr. Boulger has pointed out, no "change in national character or in political institutions to be noted or chronicled." They were "formed and had attained in all essentials their present state more than 2000 years ago."

The Return of the Manchus.—One of the last of the Ming Emperors had died of a broken heart at the prospect of disaster to his realm at the hands of the Manchu Tartars, who, since the reverses inflicted on them by the Mongol Rulers, had gained great strength in the north-east. The leader of "the Brandenburgers of the Far East" was Nurhachu, fabled to be the son of a maid who conceived as the result of eating a red fruit which a magpie dropped into her lap. He captured Moukden (1621)—which is the sacred city of the Manchu Dynasty—and a successor of his is supposed to have been responsible for the habit adopted by the Chinese of almost completely shaving the head and wearing the hair in a queue. His House, by means of its small but powerful army and the civil commotions which existed in the Empire, succeeded, shortly before the period marked in our history by the execution of Charles I., in subduing the whole of China. Among the incidents of that time of carnage were the beleaguering of a town until

in consequence of famine "human flesh was regularly sold in the market"; the suicide of one Emperor in the Yangtsze, and another, after betrayal, on a tree (on the branch of which chains were afterwards fastened for its offence against the Lord's anointed); and the making by military order of a breach in the banks of the Hoang-ho, which promptly drowned not far short, it was thought, of a million people. The last stand for the Ming Emperors was made in the south, the region most remote from the country of the invaders, and to this day a part of China in which the feeling against the triumphant Manchus is the strongest. On the whole the Manchus were remarkable for the philosophical way in which they left national customs and prejudices untouched rather than for making vain attempts to effect sweeping changes. When they captured Nanking they not only ordered no executions but allowed the mandarins to retain their offices. And in a matter of putting a few thousands to the sword the public sentiment of the age was not squeamish. It is recorded, and there must be some terrible foundation for the story, that a Chinese chieftain of the time, not only slaughtered "30,000" Confucian literati and "600,000" other persons of whose loyalty he was not assured, but was guilty of the following atrocity. His troops had been allowed to keep alive two or three women and girls apiece from the countryside that had been conquered. At last, when the regiments had to march more quickly than they had done, these concubines became a drag on the army. The commander therefore issued an order that on a certain day each soldier should come to parade with his women, and that, following his own example, he should forthwith put to the sword those for whom he was responsible. The chronicles have it that "400,000" women and girls were thus massacred!

Russian Invaders Defeated.—When the Manchus had

transferred their capital from Moukden to Peking, the first two regular European Embassies visited the latter city. One was Russian, and would not "k'ot'ow," and was sent empty away. The other was Dutch and did obeisance, and was told that the Hollander ships might come "once every eight years." The next Emperor, the great K'anghsi, accepted the assistance of the Dutch in dealing with a troublesome pirate in Amoy, and the services of Jesuit missionaries to report upon the subject of Russian aggression on the Amoor. When it became necessary to meet the Muscovite advance by force of arms, the Emperor of China's troops managed in spite of their inferior weapons and the strong position of the enemy to defeat the European force. A body of Russian prisoners was taken to Peking, where their descendants still live in the quarter given to their ancestors, and occasionally betray in their physiognomy traces of their Muscovite extraction. Peace was concluded by the Jesuit negotiation of the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). This document, the first of the kind signed with a European Power, provided that the Amoor should be the Tsar's southern boundary.

Peter the Great's Mission.—In 1719 Peter the Great sent a Mission to Peking, one of the members of which was an Englishman named Bell. The "k'ot'ow" difficulty was settled by the Russian Envoy making the required obeisance, while a high Chinese official prostrated himself before the Tsar's letter to the Emperor. No Mission has ever been more handsomely entertained than this; but the Chinese did not respond to Peter's desire for commercial dealings, and some years later the Peking Ministers turned back a valuable trading caravan which the Tsar had despatched when the Ambassador had returned home. "Trade," they said, "was a matter of little consequence, and regarded by them with contempt." There can be no

doubt that far too favourable deductions had been drawn from the Emperor's acceptance of the missionaries' services in scientific matters and tolerance of their propaganda, as to the prospects of Christianity—and foreign trade—in China. Many Chinese officials and the next occupant of the throne believed that they saw in the priests' preaching and in the large commercial schemes which were brought forward by foreigners, lay and clerical, a grave danger to the stability of the Empire; and missionaries and merchants soon found their freedom of action considerably curtailed.

An Emperor's Prayer.—The character of the high-minded K'anghsi—who did so much to consolidate the power of the Manchu Dynasty in its earlier years—is reflected in the fine prayer in which, prostrate before the Temple of Heaven, he invoked Divine assistance in proceeding at the head of his troops against a notable rebel:—

> Receive my homage and protect the humblest of your subjects, Sovereign Heaven, Supreme Ruler! With confidence but respect I invoke your aid in the war that I find myself compelled to undertake. . . . I admit in silence and respect your benefits. . . . My most ardent desire has ever been to see the peoples of my Empire, and even foreign nations, enjoy all the advantages of peace. Galdan destroys my dearest hopes; he sows disorder everywhere; he tramples underfoot your laws, and despises the commands of his Sovereign who holds your place here on earth; he is both the most false and the most wicked of men. . . I hold from you the right to make war upon the wicked. In order to fulfil this duty I am about to march at the head of my troops. Prostrate before you, I implore your support.

Professor Douglas, writing with the enthusiasm of a Keeper of Oriental Books at the British Museum, of this Emperor who "loved justice and aimed at doing what appeared right, was learned in all the knowledge of his countrymen, and was a munificent patron of literature," says:—

Two works which were compiled at his instigation would alone be sufficient to make his name memorable. The splendid "K'anghsi's Dictionary," compiled at the order of the Emperor by a Commission of Scholars, has ever since been recognised as the standard dictionary of the language, and in the ordinary editions fills 36 volumes. The other which owes its initiative to him, is the huge encyclopædia known as the "Ch'inting t'ushu chi ch'êng," in 5020 volumes. The subjects are divided into 32 grand categories, with countless subdivisions, each of which is illustrated by quotations from works of authority arranged in chronological order, so that the student has placed before him in due succession the opinions of every native scholar of weight on the subject of his study. K'anghsi was also the author of the "Sixteen Maxims" which forms part of the initial studies of every Chinese boy.

K'anghsi—whose reign embraces a period covered by part of Charles II.'s, by James II.'s, William and Mary's and Anne's, and by part of George I.'s—ruled for sixty years. It is declared that the only disaster which the people of China suffered under his sway was the great earthquake of Peking, in which 400,000 persons are said to have lost their lives.

Russian Influence.—When Yungchêng, also a considerable author, reigned in his father's stead, a Russian and a Portuguese Mission came to Peking. Both Ambassadors broke with precedent by handing their credentials direct to the Son of Heaven instead of placing them on the table set before him. The Russian official was accompanied (1727) by a number of youths who remained to study Chinese. The presence of these in the capital, along with certain persons of diplomatic rank to look after them, gave the Tsar permanent representation in Peking. It was the proud boast of Ch'ienlung, who ascended the throne in 1735, that his Empire was larger, more populous, and richer than any in the world. He enforced on Tibet the tribute which the Llamas still pay, and defeated the Goorkhas, celebrating in verse a victory which brought

his troops near our Indian frontier. But no Imperial poem has been discovered on his expedition against the Formosan islanders (who are giving their new Japanese masters so much trouble), in which 100,000 Chinese soldiers are stated to have perished, or on the costly campaign against the Miaotzu mountaineers. The reign of this monarch, which was closed by his abdication, in favour of his fifteenth son, in the Battle of the Nile year, will always have a special interest for English readers. There took place in it that disastrous trek of the Tourgot Six Hundred Thousand from Russia home to China, the horrors of which have been immortalised by De Quincey in his "Flight of a Tartar Tribe," and the arrival of the first British Ambassador to the Far East. But with Lord Macartney's Mission and what it portended for China, a new chapter may well begin in any British survey of the history of that Empire.

CHAPTER III

Great Britain in China

British Trade in Charles II.'s Time.—An attempt by the merchants of Queen Elizabeth to trade with China was a failure. Captain Weddell, acting under Charles I.'s charter to the East India Company, had better fortune—after illustrating to the mandarins of Canton the firmness of his purpose by capturing the Bogue Forts which had fired on him. Before the death of Charles II. British trade was worth 60,000 dollars a year. During the reign of George II. French, Danish, and Swedish flags were seen at Canton as well as the Union Jack. In 1742 Commander Anson aboard His Majesty's ship *Centurion* displayed the British naval ensign, and had some experience of the difficulties with the Chinese of which his trading fellow-countrymen had been loudly complaining for some time. In the year of Wolfe's victory on the heights of Abraham, expostulations were addressed to the Emperor, and important concessions were granted; but the merchants still continued to send home reports of grievances against the local authorities.

Lord Macartney's Mission.—Eventually, in 1791, the Mission of Lord Macartney was decided upon. It was received with the most lavish hospitality from the moment of its landing in Canton. But a flag was insidiously hoisted by the Chinese officials on the vessel on which the

Mission was carried up the Peiho, bearing the legend, "Tribute-bearer from the country of England." When, too, Macartney (in an English coach) reached Mongolia, where the Imperial Court then was, great pressure was brought upon him to k'ot'ow on entering the presence of Ch'ienlung. As, however, the Chinese dignitaries would not make obeisance in return before a picture of George III., the British Minister, after quoting to them the tragic fate of an ambassador in Greek history who had compromised his dignity, yielded the Emperor no more than the genuflexion which he was accustomed to give on being received by his own sovereign. Ch'ienlung was full of politeness and graciousness, but in the way of commercial advantages the Mission gained nothing. It has also been repeatedly affirmed that the general impression left on the Chinese by Macartney's long and exhausting journey across their country, the number of the presents he brought, and other circumstances was that he was the Representative of a country which if of some importance was still in a tributary position. China had so long held the paramount place in Asia that the idea of there being any nation which might meet her in negotiations on equal terms could not be brought home to the minds of her people.

The Insult to Lord Amherst.—Chiach'ing, the next Ruler of China, has the reputation of having been an idle martinet. His subjects rebelled against him, one of his own Ministers lectured him on his misconduct, and on two occasions his life was attempted. His relations with the Europeans, direct and through the Canton mandarins, were no happier. A present to a dignitary who had treated Lord Macartney well was sent back uncivilly, and in an Imperial letter addressed to George III., His Majesty was told that his kingdom, though "at a remote distance beyond the seas," was "observant of its duties and obedient to our

laws, beholding from afar the glory of our Empire, and respectfully admitting the perfection of our government." A Russian Ambassador who declined to "k'ot'ow" never got nearer Peking than the Great Wall. Lord Amherst, whose Mission was despatched a year after Waterloo, also refused to make the servile prostration, and in circumstances of no little indignity was turned back without being admitted to the Imperial presence. In an apology afterwards tendered the blame was laid, no doubt with a certain amount of justice, on the shoulders of reactionary high officials, one of whom was condemned for his offence to lose five years' salary!

The Opium Trouble.—It was in the reign of Taokwang, who ascended the throne in the same year as George IV., that there occurred our first war with China. The complicated history of it has been told at length, dispassionately and with many references to authorities, in the sixth volume of Mr. Spencer Walpole's *History of England.* The leading facts were briefly these. The Chinese—who had already been angered by the British occupation of Macao under what has been admitted to have been a misunderstanding—had forbidden the importation of opium, but had failed to take complete steps to enforce its exclusion. When the monopoly of the Chinese trade, largely consisting of this drug, was in the hands of the East India Company, the merchants' ships were required to have licences from that corporation. On the monopoly being abolished, and the supervision of commerce with China passing to the British Government, the captains were under no effective control, and the opium trade immensely increased. Thereupon,

whether the Chinese Government was really shocked at the growing use of the drug and the consequence of its use, or whether it was alarmed at a drain of silver from China which disturbed what the political arithmeticians of England a hundred years before would have called a

balance of trade, it undoubtedly determined to check the traffic by every means at its disposal.[1]

The famous Commissioner Lin, despatched from Peking to Canton to see to the matter, was (*pace* his Imperial master, who, when trouble came, politely called him "a wooden image") a man of energy. Things had been made worse for British interests by successive attempts of Admiral Drury and Lord Napier to bluff the Chinese Viceroy, which had completely failed; and Lin did not hesitate to demand that the British and Chinese merchants should at once deliver up to him all the opium they had in their possession. As he promptly blockaded the British community in its settlement, detached its coolies, and threatened to cut off its water supply, Captain Elliott, who was in charge of the interests of our nationals, advised compliance. Twenty thousands chests of opium were accordingly handed over to Lin and publicly destroyed by him. Elliott also told the Commissioner that the British Government would not oppose the seizure and confiscation of opium-smuggling vessels. Many better-class British merchants on their part intimated that on moral grounds the opium traffic was indefensible. Thereupon, it is hardly surprising that Lin asked that the foreign community should, in the phraseology of the Chinese, "give bonds for securing future good conduct" as to opium. Meantime the interference with

[1] "The Chinese made most piteous attempts to prevent its introduction."—Mr. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese.*

The instructions of Commissioner Lin, who on his way to Canton found ornamental arches erected along his route with inscriptions thanking him for his efforts to keep away opium from the people, were to "cut off the fountain of evil, and if necessary for the attainment of his object, to sink his ships and break his cauldrons, for the indignation of the great Emperor has been fairly aroused at these wicked practices —of buying and selling and using opium—and the hourly thought of his heart is to do away with them for ever."

the trade in the drug, and the consequent rise in its market value, made the smugglers more daring, and the conflicts between them and the Chinese officials more determined. Elliott in writing home asking for armed intervention said, "The true and important question is whether there shall be honourable and extending trade with the Chinese Empire." A Chinese attack on a British schooner, and a sailors' riot near Hongkong, unfortunately took place at this critical time. In regard to the latter affair Elliott compensated the family of a Chinaman who was killed. But Lin insisted on his "murderer" being handed over—later, however, expressing his readiness to regard the body of a sailor who had been found drowned in the river as that of the "criminal"! War followed in 1840, when it was contended, but by no means established, that the Chinese wished to stop not only the opium trade but all foreign trade.

Cession of Hongkong.—Elliott was instructed to seize an island and make a naval demonstration off the Peiho preparatory to despatching an ultimatum to Peking. Chusan was occupied—and one in four of the invaders soon died of fever.[1] The display of ships in northern waters failed to impress the Peking Government, which had no idea of the power of the foreign vessels. Elliott, whose conduct of our relations with the Chinese had certainly been open to criticism, was recalled, and the operations by land and sea were protracted for two years. Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, and Chinkiang were duly occupied, but the undoubted

[1] "The fidelity of its garrison and inhabitants calls for notice as a striking instance of patriotism. The officials at Tinghai, the capital, refused to surrender, as their duty to their Emperor would not admit of their giving up one of his possessions. It was their duty to fight, and although they admitted resistance to be useless, they refused to yield, save to force. The English commander reluctantly ordered a bombardment, and after a few hours the Chinese defences were demolished."—*Short History of China*, by D. C. Boulger.

valour displayed by the native soldiery, thousands of whom, men as well as officers, committed suicide to save their honour or in dread of capture, the disproportionate strength and casualties of the opposing forces, the resolute boycotting of the foreigners by people and officials, and the unmoved bearing of the Central Authorities, who did not seem to regard the British successes as grave matters, gave an unsatisfactory character to the campaign. At length, when the "Southern Capital," Nanking, was threatened, the Chinese reluctantly came to terms (1843), which were—

1. The Cession of Hongkong,[1]
2. The payment of an indemnity of £6,600,000,
3. An undertaking that Chinese dignitaries should deal with British officials on terms of equality,—the mandarins had refused to receive communications from Elliott except in the form of petitions,—and
4. An agreement that foreign merchants might live and trade[2] at Amoy, Foo-chow-Foo, Ningpo, Shanghai, and Canton, the Viceroy of which announced by proclamation that "it has now been arranged by treaty that as long as English foreigners live quietly and attend to their business, our people may not disturb or molest them."

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[1] The rocky island of Hongkong, 90 miles from Canton and 800 from Shanghai, is not only the great centre of British trade, but a naval station of the first importance. The Colony has a Governor and Councils, and a population, including troops and bluejackets, of 212,896, of whom only 8545 are Europeans. Not more than a third of these are English. The Imperial garrison numbers 2800 men. The area of the island is not quite 30 miles. The Kowloon concession contains 400 square miles and a population of some 100,000. The China squadron, which has its headquarters at Hongkong, numbers 35 vessels.

[2] The Chinese view was that while a few merchants might reside in particular quarters in the places mentioned in the Treaty, the cities were not "thrown open to foreign trade" in the English sense. The word used in the document—in the case of Foochow at any rate—was not "town" but "mart."

Nothing had been done, however, about the opum trade. The Chinese authorities declined to legalise it, and said that by themselves they could not completely stop it—"if the supervision of the English representatives was not perfect there would be less or more of smuggling." The British on their side would not undertake preventive measures, contenting themselves with a proclamation that the traffic in opium was "illegal and contraband by the laws and Imperial edicts of China."

Another Seizure of Canton.—The situation at the ports required careful handling. The original ill feeling against the "foreign devil" had been greatly accentuated by the military operations, in the course of which, it is now conceded, much life and property had been needlessly destroyed. Even with the best intentions the Chinese mandarins were unable to guarantee foreigners all the protection which the Nanking Treaty, signed under the pressure of dire necessity, seemed to the British to provide for. As Sir George Bonham afterwards confessed, it was not expedient to insist on our rights. In the course of time the opium traffic itself was bound to lead to conflict, but in other matters the foreign community was not as discreet as it might have been. A party of Englishmen chose to visit a town near Canton, not mentioned in the Treaty, and were pelted with stones. The local magistrate behaved with "great heroism" in defence of the foreigners, and they eventually got home without being seriously hurt. Instead, however, of treating the incident on its merits, the new British Superintendent of Trade, Sir John Davis, made a demand which, in all the circumstances of the case, has been properly called "unreasonable and unjust." He said he would "exact and require from the Chinese Government that British subjects should be as free from molestation and insult in China as they would be in England." He followed up this declara-

tion by sending a force up the Canton River and seizing the city forts. The Chinese, under the Viceroy's order probably, made no resistance. The terms exacted were that the city should be opened to trade two years later (in 1847) and that foreigners might visit the vicinity for "exercise or amusement" if they returned within the day. The Viceroy in making the concession took the opportunity of saying that "if a mutual tranquillity is to subsist between the Chinese and the foreigners, the common feelings of mankind, as well as the just principles of Heaven, must be considered and conformed with"; and to the credit of the British Government Sir John Davis got no thanks for his precipitate action.

The T'aip'ings.—At this time the names of three well-known personages, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rutherford Alcock, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Harry Parkes, and Li Hung Chang, first appear in the history of China. The last-named attracted the attention of those high in authority by raising a body of militia to cope with the T'aip'ing rising. This anti-Manchu movement, due to the efforts of the powerful Triad secret society, was the growth of some years, and marked the slackened grip which the ruling House, whose followers had always been in a position of numerical inferiority, now had on the Empire. The fact of the rebel "Dynasty of the Great Peace" being able firmly to seat itself on the Yangtsze, and on one occasion to march its ruthless soldiery within five-score miles of Peking, impressed the Governor of Hongkong to such a degree that he thought it well to get into touch with the new power, to the natural indignation of the Imperial authorities. There can be little doubt that a desire to conciliate the people and a fear that the foreigners might possibly afford help to the insurgents had something to do with the determination of the Government of China to keep Western merchants at a distance.

The Lorcha "Arrow."—The outlook for the perturbed Middle Kingdom on the occasion of the accession of the youthful and impulsive Hsienfêng (elder brother of Prince Kung, whose photograph has often been printed, and uncle of the present Emperor) was dark enough. With regard to the foreigners, Canton had not been opened to trade as promised. Commissioner Yeh assured Sir J. Bowring and Mr. Parkes that he was too busy with the rebels to enter upon a discussion of the matter, and the Peking Government took the line that it had not endorsed the undertaking of the Viceroy to open the city. The simple fact of the matter was that neither the local nor the Imperial authorities had the power to coerce the Cantonese. The citizens were determined not to admit the foreigners, and the more fiery spirits among them circulated manifestoes suggesting that the anger of Heaven displayed against the Empire might be appeased, and "peace and quiet restored in our homes," if intruding "barbarian dogs" were knocked on the head. On the part of the British, it was admitted in official despatches between Sir George Bonham and Lord Palmerston that it was inexpedient for the present to insist upon an entrance into Canton, "a privilege which we have indeed a right to demand, but which we could scarcely enjoy with security or advantage if we were to succeed in enforcing it by arms." Such was the situation—some of the Chinese probably interpreting British forbearance as an indication either of weakness or that our claims under the Davis agreement had been withdrawn—when native officials seized part of the crew of a small boat, or lorcha, called the *Arrow*, on a charge of piracy.

Our Second War. — In the heated discussion which followed between the Chinese and the local British officials both managed to put themselves in the wrong. Two plain facts in regard to the affair emerge. First, the *Arrow* was

not an English but a Chinese vessel, which had somehow got illegal possession of an English flag. Second, Yeh, the Imperial Commissioner, sent back to Hongkong as requested the men he had arrested, and promised that great care should be taken in future in searching for criminals. Yet, because in all the circumstances of the case Yeh refused to add an apology, Sir John Bowring—whose instructions had been to "avoid all irritating discussions with the Chinese"—declared war. No wonder Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords was moved to declare that

> when we are talking of treaty transactions with Eastern nations, we have a kind of loose law and loose notions of morality in regard to them,

and in the Commons Lord Salisbury (or Lord Robert Cecil as he then was) joined with Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell in denouncing "the violent measures resorted to."

> It was almost ludicrous (writes Mr. Justin McCarthy in reference to the Parliamentary Papers in that spirited chapter of his entitled "The Lorcha *Arrow*") when the miserable quibblings and evasions of the British officials came to be contrasted with the cruelly clear arguments of the Chinese. The reading of these documents came like a practical enforcement of Mr. Cobden's description of the Chinese Empire as a State "which had its system of logic and its code of morals before that of Socrates."

Sir Michael Seymour's bombardment of Canton took place late in 1856, but he had an insufficient force to follow up his success.[1] Next year Lord Elgin was sent out as a Special Ambassador to go to Peking and to leave 5000 troops with the British commander in the south. The story of how on his own authority at Singapore, he patriotically

[1] The unfortunate effect of the consequent delay in the operations upon the Chinese is reflected in a Chinaman's remark, "Inglishmen too much brave in devilship, but no too much large heart catchee that city."

agreed to the Viceroy of India's request that these troops should be diverted to India to aid in the suppression of the Mutiny, has often been told. On Christmas Day, however, Seymour's forces — now joined by a French expedition which had a missionary outrage to avenge—were ready to attack Canton a second time. The city was promptly taken, and Yeh (caught by his queue by a bluejacket) was transported *sans cérémonie* to Calcutta, where he died. The Commissioner had lopped off many hundreds of heads in his time, but we certainly did not shine in our treatment of him.

The Treaty of Tientsin.—Lord Elgin, after a proposal to treat with an Imperial Commissioner at Shanghai had been rejected, proceeded to the Peiho, and being met there by inferior Envoys, ordered the destruction of the Taku forts. At Tientsin a Treaty (1858) was signed providing for—

1. The right to have a British Minister at Peking.
2. The opening to trade of the ports of Newchwang, Chefoo, Swatow, Hainan, Kiungchow, and Formosa.
3. The right to travel in the interior with a proper passport.
4. The right of the Chinese to seize smuggling vessels.
5. The toleration of Christian teachers.
6. The legalisation of the opium traffic.
7. The payment of a war indemnity.

On the plea that the presence of Foreign Ministers at Peking would excite the populace, Lord Elgin and his French colleague agreed that the observance of this clause should not be insisted upon for the present except in the case of the Envoys (Lord Elgin's brother and Baron Gros) who were coming, during the following year, for the ratification of the Treaty.

The Third War.—It was anticipated that the Chinese would make efforts to prevent the Envoys reaching Peking in 1859, and the expectation was realised when the Taku forts fired on the French and British warships. Four

foreign vessels were disabled, all went aground, and the casualties among the crews were 450, including both Admirals wounded. The unauthorised intervention of an American naval commander who, at a critical moment, lent a helping hand to the British because "blood was thicker than water" has become historic. In the discussion at home which arose over the conflict, it was pointed out on behalf of the Chinese that "Lord Elgin had himself stated that we could have no right to navigate the Peiho until after the ratification of the Treaty," and that English officers who took part in the encounter with the forts "frankly repudiated the idea of treachery on the part of the Chinese; they (the officers) knew perfectly well, they said, that the forts were about to resist the attempt to force a way for the Envoys up the river."

The Peking Treaty.—When an irresistible Anglo-French force at length captured the forts and Tientsin, and advanced up country, Lord Elgin and the French Ambassador who had been responsible with him for the negotiation of the Treaty were at the head of the expedition. At Tungchow negotiations for peace were opened, but a squabble between a Frenchman and some Tartars brought on fighting, in the course of which 26 British and a dozen French subjects were seized and haled off to various gaols. Thirteen were released after ill-usage,—the experience of Mr. Parkes, the late Lord (then Mr.) Loch, and Mr. Bowlby of the *Times* in a cage has often been recounted,—and thirteen, including the *Times* correspondent, died from the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected. The troops pushed on to Peking, on the walls of which the British and French flags were hoisted, and Lord Elgin ordered the destruction of the Summer Palace, a magnificent creation covering many miles, where "all the artistic treasures, all the curiosities, archæological and other, that Chinese wealth and Chinese

taste could bring together had been accumulated." The French Envoy, though the French had already looted the "magnificent pleasaunce," disapproved of Lord Elgin's action, which was also sharply criticised at home. The destruction of what was a Chinese Alhambra was defended as the only possible punishment that could be understood by the Chinese. By the Peking Treaty negotiated with Prince Kung (1860) it was provided without further ratification that—

1. An Ambassador should reside at Peking,
2. The indemnity of the Treaty of Tientsin should be raised to 8,000,000 taels,
3. Tientsin should be opened to trade, and
4. That part of the mainland town of Kowloon (opposite Hongkong) already leased should be ceded.

Gordon and the T'aip'ings.—When the weakly Emperor died in 1861, and the throne passed to an infant known as T'ungchih, the two Dowager Empresses (the wife of the late Emperor and the mother of his Imperial successor respectively) became Regents, with Prince Kung as their Chancellor. Executions followed in high places, and the authorities had leisure to turn their attention to the T'aip'ing rebels, who had strengthened their position while the Imperial troops were engaged in the north. For a time Li Hung Chang and the Shanghai native merchants spent about £30,000 a month in providing resources with which American and British mercenary officers in command of a Patriotic Association Chinese Army held the insurgents in check. Then Gordon, an engineer officer at Shanghai, was appointed commander-in-chief. After triumphing over incredible difficulties and being moved to resignation point more than once by the Oriental proceedings of his Chinese colleague, Li Hung Chang,—whose life on one occasion he sought rifle in hand, in indignation at the Viceroy's execution

of certain prisoners,—Nanking was placed, in 1864, once more in the Imperial hands, and China saw the T'aip'ings and Gordon — who indignantly rejected a large money reward—no more.

Mahommedan Rebellion in Yunnan. — Risings in Shantung and Honan, and yet another rebellion by the Miaotzu highlanders in Kweichow and Kwangsi, were nothing like so serious as the seventeen years' insurgency of the hardy and stalwart Mussulmans of Yunnan (a people who have been firm in the faith of Islam since the thirteenth or fourteenth century). After many complaints of Viceregal oppression they set up a government at Talifu. When a British Mission to investigate the commercial situation in Yunnan entered China from Burmah, and the rebels sent an Envoy to London to ask for a British alliance, the Imperial Government was moved to exert its full strength to crush the rising by general massacre and destruction, the results of which are apparent to-day in the ruined towns and villages and the depopulation which form a subject of comment by every traveller in Western China. Another Mussulman rebellion in the north-western provinces of Shensi and Kansu, followed by a general rising in Chinese Turkestan, directed by Yakoob Khan, who reigned for some time in Khokand, and was treated with by Great Britain and Russia, was eventually stamped out, after the military operations had lasted some years.

Foreign Ministers before the Emperor.—It was always a grievance with the Boer Republics that Great Britain conducted its relations with them through the Colonial Office. Up to 1860 the Chinese had persistently dealt with us and other foreigners through *their* Colonial Office! In that year, however, the Tsung li Yâmen, or Foreign Office,—with an inscription over the doorway signifying "Centre, Outside, Peace, Happiness," that is, "May China and the rest of the

world enjoy peace and happiness,"—was opened. It was not until 1873 that the Foreign Ministers, on the occasion of the "coming of age" of the young Emperor, succeeded in exercising their Treaty right to an interview with the Sovereign, with no ceremony more "derogatory" than the giving of three bows. They were ill advised enough, however, to be content with a reception in a pavilion set apart for the representatives of tributary states. This Emperor, who sat cross-legged and mute in the presence of his visitors, became a "Heavenly Charioteer" in 1875.[1] His Majesty's widow conveniently dying, the Dowager Empresses,[2] by procuring the succession of another infant monarch—the present Emperor—obtained a further lease of power. At this time the first Chinese Minister was despatched to London. It was not until 1890, however, that the Foreign Ministers in Peking had their second reception at the Imperial Court of China. The ceremony again took place in the hall for tributary Missions, and this fact and other features of the proceedings decided their Excellencies to defer their next visit till better arrangements could be made. In 1891 the British and Austrian representatives were received in a hall which had never been used for tributaries, in 1894 a diplomatic reception was announced in the *Peking Gazette*, like one of Lord Salisbury's in the London newspapers, while visits of the present Tsar (when Tsarevitch), and later of Prince Henry of Prussia, further accustomed the Forbidden Palace to the usages of European Courts.

[1] The Chinese are very fond of euphemisms of this kind. The death of a Sovereign is sometimes spoken of as "ascending on the Dragon to be a guest on high."

[2] In 1881, Hienfung's widow died, and the present Dowager Empress ruled alone until 1889, when the young Emperor, who had reached the age of eighteen, married the daughter of a Manchu general.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENERAL SCRAMBLE

Kuldja, Burmah, and Tongking.—Great Britain was not the only Power which had been getting and was destined to obtain territory and indemnities from China.[1] During the rebellion in Turkestan, Russia occupied Chinese territory in Central Asia,—in self-defence, she pleaded,—and only gave up part of it when war threatened and she had received an I.O.U. (towards her "expenses") for "nine millions of metallic roubles" to be paid in "six equal parts of £238,610, 13s. 8d., less the customary bank charges," through Baring Bros.[2] For years before this she had been steadily dropping south on the Pacific. On one occasion she was pulled up rather sharply by a Chinese force, as has been seen in a previous chapter. Eventually China, lest worse should befall her, agreed that the Amoor—a broad river navigable 2000 miles from the sea—should be the frontier between her and the White Tsar. By a later Treaty, however, Russia obtained the right to cross the Amoor in the territory bordering on the ocean, and now all the coast strip down to the

[1] The text of the various Treaties and Conventions which foreign Powers have made with the Middle Kingdom from 1842 onwards would fill a book twice the size of the present volume.

[2] "Turkestan itself is probably valued (by China) less as a dependency than as an outwork marking the approach to her north-west provinces."—R. S. Gundry, *China and her Neighbours*.

Korean border is hers. Later on Burmah was lost to China, Great Britain seizing it on getting early news of the preparation of a French expedition with the same object, and the "Son of Heaven's" overlordship disappeared from Annam and Tongking, France occupying the country. During the long conflict with the French, China had some success in Formosa, and won the great victory of Langson, —which flung Jules Ferry from power,[1]—but had her fleet destroyed at Foochow, by a somewhat questionable *ruse de guerre* of Admiral Courbet. When Li Hung Chang made peace, the bill his Empire had to meet was 60,000,000 taels.

Japanese Activity.—Korea was another vassal kingdom from which China's power was slipping. The "Hermit Kingdom" had proved as difficult to force open as China herself, but the United States, followed by Great Britain and Japan, had at last succeeded in negotiating treaties with her, and now acquiescence by the Paramount State in a demand by the Mikado for an indemnity for an outrage on his Legation at Seoul marked how quickly events were moving. Some years before Japan had received 500,000 taels from China herself for an outrage on shipwrecked sailors by the wild folk of Formosa.

Missionary Outrages.—Meantime our Consul at Shanghai had been collecting, by sending a gunboat up the Yangtsze, compensation on account of assaulted and ejected China Inland Missionaries, and getting a wooden tablet erected by the local authorities testifying to the illegal conduct of

[1] Other painful incidents of the campaign were the accidental shooting of three mandarins who were in the hands of the French troops as hostages, and a conflict of evidence upon a point of fact in which two Chinese dignitaries (one of whom was the present Ambassador in London) and Captain Fournier gave each other in writing the lie direct.

the mob. Later, some good French nuns at Tientsin, when the populace became excited by wild stories of medicine-making out of orphanage babies, invited a committee of five townsfolk to inspect the institution. Unfortunately, before the visit was over, the French Consul,[1] who was afterwards described as being in "a state of excitement bordering on insanity," bounced in and drove the natives out. The local magistrate protested against the injudiciousness of not reassuring the suspicious "stupid people"[2] as had been arranged, and warned the Consul that grave trouble was to be expected. A day or two afterwards, the mob revisited the orphanage, the Consul flourished a pistol, and was knocked down and killed, and the Chinese, now wildly excited, murdered the Sisters of Mercy and some other persons, native and foreign, to the number of forty, and after letting the children in the orphanage go, sacked the institution. The inquiry into the affair was conducted by Li Hung Chang, who executed sixteen persons, banished several others, and secured the deposition of a prefect and a magistrate. A Mission of apology was also sent to Paris, and a payment of 400,000 taels made to the French Government. The riots on the Yangtsze which took place some time afterwards were remarkable for having been the occasion of a statement to which the Foreign Ministers committed themselves that "no faith could be put in the assurances of the Chinese Government."[3]

[1] Under a variety of agreements with China a large number of British, Russian, and other Consuls are allowed to reside throughout the Empire, in the north-west of which—the Russo-Chinese frontier is largely an artificial one—there have long been a large number of Muscovite traders.

[2] A phrase often officially applied to the populace.

[3] Compare Herr von Brandt, ex-German Minister at Peking: "On the strength of many years' experience I have the greatest confidence in the honesty and trustworthiness of the Chinese Government, and I feel

Li Hung Chang.—The Chefoo Convention (1876), negotiated by Sir Thomas Wade with Li,—only after our Ambassador had hauled down his flag and alarmed the Tsung li Yâmen by steaming off to Shanghai,—dealt with the murder of Mr. Margary while in Yunnan in connection with a British commercial mission from India, and also with the regulation of "official intercourse" and trade. It was not ratified until 1885. Li is now a constant figure in the history of China. When he is not negotiating with foreigners he is coping with a famine—raising nearly 300,000 taels himself, receiving another 200,000 taels from the Shanghai Relief Committee, and getting scoundrelly officials who pilfered from the funds heavily punished—or building a railway from Taku and Tientsin to some coal-mines in which he is interested. The fear of the spirits of air and water (fêngshui)[1] had caused the local authorities to buy up and destroy an earlier twelve-miles-long railway from Wusung to Shanghai. From the start neither line had any lack of passengers. By 1887 telegraph wires had been extended from the capital right across the Empire, and now there is no important city without electric communication with Peking.

Korea and Port Hamilton.—The activity of Japan in Korea, to which allusion has been made, did not fail to excite alarm in China. Before very long, indeed,—the Japanese Minister in the tributary State having been

convinced that it will fulfil each of its engagements in the most punctual manner."

[1] It was once told of Li Hung Chang by a *Times* correspondent that when the first telegraph line between Tientsin and Peking was being repeatedly cut and the poles pulled down, he was gravely told that these acts were committed by the fêngshui, the mysterious spirits of earth and water disturbed in their favourite haunts by a hateful European innovation. Li replied that if he caught one of these fêngshui interfering with the telegraph it would go badly with him. Neither man nor fêngshui ever again tampered with the line.

once more driven down to the coast by the people,—the Mikado's Government was landing troops in Korea. A Chinese occupation of the capital of the "Hermit Kingdom" followed. War was only averted by a Convention signed at Tientsin by Li and Count Ito, with whom the Chinese Viceroy has since remained on terms of friendship. The trouble in the Italy-like Peninsula, which has earned the name of "Cockpit of the Far East," had two results, the seizure of Port Hamilton off the south coast by Great Britain, who feared a Russian occupation, and active efforts, principally on the part of Li, towards the creation of a Chinese Navy, by the establishment of a Board of Admiralty, and the engagement of the services of the British Captain Lang.

The War with Japan.—In 1894 the long anticipated conflict with Japan was precipitated. A rising in Korea, nominally against the Roman Catholics, caused the King to appeal to China for help. The Suzerain sent troops, without, as the Japanese alleged, giving notice to them, as it was contended it was arranged in the Li-Ito Convention she should do. The Japanese accordingly landed a force also. For a time there was no conflict, but China proceeded to despatch further troops, an act which the Mikado's Government had intimated it would consider a *casus belli*. On July 25 three of the cruisers of the Land of the Rising Sun sunk the Chinese troopship bringing the soldiery, destroyed one of the two Chinese cruisers convoying it, and drove off the other disabled. Ashore, Asan and Pingyang were wrested from the badly-armed, badly-drilled, and badly-commanded Chinese with great slaughter. At the latter place one Chinese general died fighting; of the other two commanders, one was beheaded by his Government, and the other was sent to gaol (from which he is believed not yet to have emerged). In the next naval

fight at Yalu, the dozen Chinese vessels present were outclassed by the tactics no less than the speed of the Japanese twelve who encountered them, and were speedily in flight, less five of their number sunk. By the end of the year Manchuria with the Liaotong Peninsula and Port Arthur were in Japanese hands, and the remainder of the Chinese fleet had been captured at Wei-hai-wei. When Admiral Ting, after a gallant resistance, had to surrender, he and the two officers next him committed suicide. Li signed the peace treaty of Shimonoseki, April 17, 1895. It stipulated that—

1. China recognised the absolute independence of Korea,
2. That Port Arthur and the peninsula at the extremity of which it is situated and the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores should be ceded to Japan,
3. That, pending the payment of an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, Wei-hai-wei should be occupied, and that
4. Four more ports and the Yangtsze to Chungking, the Wusung River, and the Grand Canal (in part) should be opened to trade.

Intervention of the Powers. — On China's request, Russia (nothing loth), with Germany and France, strongly remonstrated with Japan against her occupation of the Liaotong Peninsula and Port Arthur, and the Mikado's Government, under the pressure exerted, retroceded it to China (Liaotong Convention, Nov. 8, 1895), obtaining as compensation a further 30,000,000 taels. The "friendly" Powers—Great Britain had refused to join them—marked the disinterested character of their services by demanding and obtaining from China, who was in no position to refuse them anything—

1. Russia: the right to take the Great Siberian Railway by a short cut across Manchuria to Vladivostock, to make a branch railway through the Chinese arsenal city of Kirin and the old Manchu

capital of Moukden to Port Arthur, and to exercise such privileges as, it was perfectly plain, would bring the Liaotong Peninsula and all Manchuria within her "sphere of influence."[1]

2. France: the right to continue her Tongking railway to Nanning-fu (Kwangsi).
3. Germany: a variety of financial and mining concessions.

The "Mailed Fist."—To get money to meet the Japanese indemnity, China applied to Great Britain for a Loan, which the Government expressed its willingness to arrange. Russia stormed so at Peking, however, that the Tsung li Yâmen was afraid to avail itself of British assistance, and, in the end, the money was raised by the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in conjunction with a German bank. But the Chinese were not at the end of their troubles. Two German priests having been murdered in Shantung, the Emperor William's Admiral without further ado seized Kiaochow Bay, town and district; and China was hectored into agreeing in a formal Convention (March 6, 1898), that, being desirous of "promoting an increase of German power and influence in the Far East," and "the Emperor of Germany"[2] also wishing, "like the rulers of certain other countries, of establishing a naval and coaling station and constructing dockyards," he should have a ninety-nine years' lease of the country he had occupied, with mining and railway rights and exclusive financial privileges throughout the whole valuable province of Shantung thrown in.

Wei-hai-wei.—Immediately the other Powers were down on the unfortunate Tsung li Yâmen for "compensation,"

[1] The text of the Cassini Russo-Chinese Treaty appeared in the London daily papers, December 8, 1896.

[2] The Emperor William is not, of course, Emperor of Germany, but German Emperor, a very different thing. The false style, which no one seems to have noticed, was no doubt adopted to put him on a level in Chinese eyes with the Emperor of China.

and painful scenes between the Foreign and Chinese Ministers were frequent in the Peking Foreign Office. The leading Ambassadors' hauls were as follows:—

1. Russia: a 25 years' lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan (March 27, 1898).
2. Great Britain: a lease of Wei-hai-wei[1] "so long as Port Arthur may remain in the occupation of Russia" (October 5, 1898), and a 99 years' lease of further territory at Kowloon (opposite Hongkong) including Mirs Bay and Deep Bay (June 9, 1898).
3. France: Kwangchow Bay in the Gulf of Tongking.

Opening of Waterways.—When coast towns were being lost at a rapid rate, the British Ambassador had little difficulty in procuring protection for three additional ports by getting them thrown open to the trade of all nations—the Chinese adding Wusung, near Shanghai, without pressing, and another three on the West River (as compensation for a Chinese cession to France of Shan State territory claimed by Great Britain). These were not all the concessions secured by Sir Claude Macdonald. He obtained in February 1898 the opening of all waterways to steamers, the Yangtsze Valley Declaration (see chap. xi.), the agreement that so long as British trade holds the foremost place in China the head of the Imperial Customs Service shall be an Englishman, and extremely valuable decisions transferring the collection of the likin and salt impost in considerable areas in the lower regions of the Yangtsze Valley to the Imperial Customs Service.

[1] Wei-hai-wei, which is in Shantung and opposite Port Arthur, consists of the port and adjoining islands, and a piece of land about twenty miles broad round the bay. Properly to defend the place a large force is necessary. A considerable sum of money has been spent on preliminary fortifications and in raising Chinese troops, seven companies of which in addition to British detachments form the garrison.

Railway Concessions. — Nor does this long string of concessions fully represent the extent to which China was being importuned by the foreigner. In February 1899 the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs announced in the House of Commons that the British Government or British investors had alone been granted concessions for 2800 miles of railways. The full list of railway concessions to all nationalities to date is understood to be as follows:—

1. North China Railway (Peking, Tientsin, and Shan-hai-kwan section, 180 miles long, open in 1894). Extension to Newchwang was to be completed this year. (British Bank.)
2. Peking to Hankow trunk line. Work begun in 1899. (Belgian Syndicate.)[1]
3. Wuchang (across the Yangtsze from Hankow) to Canton. (British Chinese Corporation and American-China Development Company.)
4. Canton to Kowloon (opposite Hongkong). American-China Development Company.)
5. Kiaochow to Chinanfu and Ichou in Shantung. (German concessionaires.)
6. Tientsin to Chinkiang (150 miles up the Yangtsze). (Anglo-German Syndicate.)
7. Shanghai to Nanking *via* Soochow to join the Belgian Peking to Hankow line. (British Syndicate.)
8. Soochow *via* Hangchow to Ningpo. (British Syndicate.)
9. Canton to Chengtu (capital of Sze Chuan).
10. Line taking Burmah Railway into Provinces of Yunnan and Sze Chuan to Chungking. (Right conceded to British Government, but unfortunately, as Lord Salisbury plaintively says, the mountains and valleys all run crosswise to the projected route.)

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[1] "The new Blue-Book proves that the Peking-Hankow line is a Russian move, hidden under a 'Belgian syndicate,' to bring Russian influence—and later, Russian soldiers—to the very heart of the Yangtsze Valley, and moreover that the British Government, after discovering this fact, acquiesced in it, taking as compensation railway concessions in other parts of China."—Mr. Henry Norman, *Times*, March 15, 1899.

11. Laokay (Tongking frontier) into Yunnan. Tenders asked for. (French Government.)
12. Lungchow (to which Langson Railway is to be extended) to Nanning (Kwangsi) and Nanning to Pakkoi (Gulf of Tong-king). (French concessions, but as they would help British trade on West River, unikely to be built.)
13. Taiyuen (Shansi) to Singanfu (Shensi) and to Siangyang (where Yangtsze navigation is reached). (Peking Anglo-Italian Syndicate.)[1]
14. In addition to the branch of Siberian Railway through Manchuria to Port Arthur and Talienwan, a Russian branch from Newchwang and a Russian line from Peking running not to Manchuria at all, but to the west to join the Siberian Railway in the vicinity of Lake Baikal, are arranged.

In 1899 it was estimated that 317 miles of railway had been built in China, that 2270 miles were under construction, that 2507 miles were projected, and that 1070 miles were projected but had not been surveyed. The only Power whom the Tsung li Yâmen seemed to be able to resist successfully was Italy, which had put in a claim for and even threatened to seize Sammun Bay.

The British and Russian "Spheres."—The withdrawal of our warships from Port Arthur—on Russia going there—and the Yangtsze Valley understanding between Sir Claude Macdonald and the Government of China led to persistent inquiry in this country as to what arrangement the British Government had made with Russia with a view to a recognition of our "sphere of influence." Of the much-discussed Anglo-Russian Agreement (April 28, 1899),[2]

[1] The Peking Syndicate, capital £1,540,000, was formed in March 1897 to continue Italian negotiations for mineral and railway concessions. A large amount of "Shansi" shares has been issued. The Company proposes to put its operations in China under the supervision of one of its directors, Mr. G. Jamieson, C.M.G.

[2] Great Britain not to oppose concessions north of Great Wall, Russia reciprocating in Yangtsze basin.

the latest politician to visit China, Mr. Joseph Walton, M.P., has expressed himself as follows :—

The Anglo-Russian Agreement proposed to deal with Manchuria only, but I find that in reality it excludes the British, and hands over to the Russians not only Manchuria but Mongolia, a huge tract in the Province of Pechili and the Province of Eastern Turkestan. This enormous surrender of British trade rights and interests [1] has been made without our receiving what could be considered compensating advantages in other directions. I can only conclude that, as in the case of Sin-Ming-Ting, the knowledge of geography on the part of the Foreign Office was so defective that they were unaware of what Russia was obtaining under the expression "North of the Great Wall of China" when they allowed these words to be inserted in the agreement in substitution for the one word Manchuria—which was the sphere named by Russia when the negotiations began.

Our Government do not appear to have even asked for the recognition by Russia of similar preferential rights for England in Tibet, which is the only territory now intervening between the Russian sphere and our Indian Empire. The declared object of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was to avoid cause of conflict where the interests of Russia and England meet in China, and yet no provision whatever is made in it in regard to

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[1] "To show what happens wherever France gains control over territory, and imposes her protective system, we have an object-lesson in connection with her Indo-China. In 1885 no less than seven-eighths of the imports came from England, Germany, and Switzerland, but owing to duties put on in favour of France, and ranging up to as high as 50 per cent., three-fourths of the imports now come from France and only one-fourth from the rest of the world."—*China and the Present Crisis*, by Mr. J. Walton, M.P.

The other side of the case is stated in the *Daily News*, Aug. 7 :—"It is very questionable whether Russia's gains in China are the British merchants' losses. Russia is a trading country. China, even in Russia's hands, would be more open to trade than it is in the hands of the Chinese. The British are bound to have their share of trade in China, by whomsoever it is opened up. It would, no doubt, be better for the world and for ourselves that the markets should be ours, but they cannot be forcefully acquired by war with Russia, Germany, France, and the Chinese. What are the alternatives? That is the problem in China."

the enormous area south of the Great Wall and north of the Yangtsze basin. It accords Russia the exclusive right to construct railways north of the Great Wall and professes to confer a similar exclusive right on England in the Yangtsze basin, but the agreement had already been broken by Russia's still concealed although well-known interest in the Peking-Hankow line, which will penetrate right down into the heart of the Yangtsze basin.

The complaint was also heard that while Great Britain had voluntarily assured Germany that she would make no encroachment on Shantung from Wei-hai-wei, the Germans had not been asked in return to recognise the British "sphere" in the Yangtsze Valley.

The "Open Door."—At the beginning of 1900 it seemed desirable that all the countries which had secured concessions from China should unite in recognising to some extent each other's "holdings." Accordingly, on the initiative of the United States (which had not secured any territory for herself), Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and Japan signed an agreement (published March 27) which provided that they should

not interfere with any Treaty Port or any vested interest within their spheres of interest or their leased territory. The Chinese tariff shall apply at all such ports other than free ports, irrespective of nationality, and the duties shall be collected by the Chinese Government. Harbour dues shall be levied at the same rates upon all comers, and no preferential rates shall be granted, railways built, controlled, or worked by the signatories.[1]

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[1] The outburst of indignation in the Press in May on it being stated that Russia had acquired a "a coaling station" at Masampho, Korea, hardly promised well for friendly co-operation among the Powers. British critics took their stand on the Russian declaration to China on our evacuation of Port Hamilton—which we had seized without asking Korean permission, but found useless—that she did not propose to occupy Korean territory. Russia's position was that Korea was now an independent Power, and that if she were agreeable to the Masampho arrangement, it was no one else's business.

This arrangement, from a Chinese point of view, was a virtual assertion of sovereignty over immense areas in China, which, if given effect to, meant that the Empire had practically passed into the hands of Europe.

The Last Straw.—Time will no doubt show that many educated Chinamen in the Provinces and Peking regarded the well-meant action of the United States as the "foreign devil's" crowning infamy. They had heard with alarm of the large actual cessions (so-called "leases") of territory which had taken place. They had listened with indignation to statements as to the tone adopted by Foreign Ministers at the Tsung li Yâmen—how some of the most experienced and most respected heads of the Empire had been browbeaten until even Chinese serenity had given way. "If the records of the Yâmen were published," one reads in *Society in China*, "we should read of fierce discussions, of angry sneers, of egregious loss of temper, and on one occasion of the Chinese mandarins stamping up and down and uttering cries and launching abuse like a party of angry women." They had looked with dismay at the maps published in London in 1898 showing China laced in all directions with railways. They were not ignorant of the limitless aspirations after dominion in the Far East expressed in the newspapers, books, pamphlets, and Parliaments of the West. In a word, they believed that if a stand of some kind were not made at once, all the Empire must assuredly come under an alien, Western, and utterly unsympathetic rule. The Empress Dowager (who after laying aside the reins of power, had seized them again in 1898, on the young Emperor's injudiciously committing himself to a whole string of cut and dried Western "Reforms," which it is more than doubtful if he would have been able to force on his people without civil war) was in her turn

equally full of resentment against Europe. In addition to all its other offences, Her Majesty probably felt that it harboured a Press which made her the constant subject of its invective. The Empress gave heed, it cannot be gainsaid, to the suggestions which reached her from all parts of the Empire that a mistake had been made in yielding to the foreigners at all.

> What is it China fears (said a Secretary of one of the Boards) that she does not take up her proper position? Is it the wealth of the foreign devils? China is richer and stronger than them all. If this were not so, the barbarians would not flock here to live and to trade. They appear rich because they live in high houses and eat delicacies every day. But if they were really rich they would not come here. If they are not rich they are not powerful, for without money they can do nothing, and their armies are a myth. Look what has happened in every case of trouble here. We have killed some of them, and all they want is a little money or a new church. They do not bring their soldiers to punish us, but they beg us, instead, to protect them. This is not the manner of nations that are rich and powerful. Why, then, do we fear them? China has no need to fear them. She can do what she likes to them, and the Government is wrong to give way to them at all.

The "Boxers."—In the latter half of 1899 the London newspapers began to be full of statements as to the rapid growth of a mysterious "Boxer" movement. It is noteworthy that it appears to have made most progress at first in Shantung—where it had received its stimulus from the German schemes of "development"—and in the metropolitan Province of Pechili—which saw most of the diplomatist and concession-seeking foreigners. The Yangtsze Valley was also affected, but in the south, at Canton, Li Hung Chang, who had been sent there by the Empress, seemed to hold the plotters well in check. The object of the "Boxers" was supposed to be anti-dynastic as well as anti-foreign. Perhaps for that very

reason the Empress Dowager hesitated to take too decided a stand against them. It might be better, she may have argued, to use the rebels before fighting them. However that may be,[1] the European Ministers' protests against the

[1] A remarkable Imperial edict dealing with the progress of the "Boxer" movement, and indicating the position in which the Palace found itself when the Admirals took action, has been published since this Chapter was written, and will be found in the Appendix. The following report of a conversation which the *North China Herald* asserts to have taken place between the Empress and Wang the Censor before his appointment to the Governorship of Peking, may also be of interest:—

"The Empress: 'You are a native of this Province and so ought to know. What do you think of the "Boxers" in Pechili? Do you really think that when the time comes for action they will really join the troops in fighting the "foreign devils"?'

"Wang: 'I am certain of it, your Majesty. Moreover, the tenets taught the members of the society are, "Protect to the death the Heavenly Dynasty (T'ien Ch'ao) and death to the devils" ("Kuei-tze"). For your servant's own part, so deeply do I believe in the destiny of the society to crush the "devils" that young and old of your servant's family are now practising the incantations of the "Boxers," every one of us having joined the society to "Protect the Heavenly Dynasty" and drive the "devils" into the sea. Had I the power given me I would willingly lead the "Boxers" in the van of the avenging army when the time comes, and before that time do all I can to assist them in organising and arming them.'

"The Empress Dowager nodded her head in approval, and after ruminating in her mind, cried, 'Ay! It is a grand society! But I am afraid that, having no experienced men at their head just now, these "Boxers" will act rashly and get the Government into trouble with these "Yang kuei-tze" ["foreign devils"], before everything is ready.' Then after another pause, 'That's it. These "Boxers" must have some responsible men in Pechili and Shantung to guide their conduct.'"

According to the *Hongkong Daily Telegraph*, the following secret Imperial order was addressed to the Governor of Shantung in April or May:—"In reply to the Governor of Shantung, who reports that he has found it necessary to repress the Patriotic Boxer Society with a

dangerous dimensions to which the anti-foreign movement was being allowed to grow were practically unheeded. Meanwhile a frightful drought, almost unbroken for nine months, alarmed the people, who with plenty of time on their hands, listened, as they gazed on "the earth's parched surface cracked by the brazen sun," to the "Boxer" emissaries' suggestions that rain would assuredly fall, as in 1890, after a massacre of foreigners. The forecast of General Gordon, written on the occasion of Russia's seizure of Kuldja had come true: "There is the probability that a proud people like the Chinese may sicken at this continual eating of humble pie, that the Peking Government at some time, by skirting too closely the precipice of war, may fall into it, and then that the sequence may be anarchy and rebellion throughout the Middle Kingdom, which may last for years and cause endless misery."

strong and heavy hand, we remark that it cannot be expected that such a simple people can know that they have done anything amiss. If the strong hand is manifest, will there not be a permanent grudge against the Governor? We assure the Governor that if future trouble arise he himself must bear the consequences. Let the good people be dealt with in a merciful and generous way, to the benefit of all.'

THE CHINAMAN

CHAPTER V

HOW HE IS GOVERNED

CHINA owes nothing to the West in her political constitution, although her vigour and vitality are unlike anything that Asia elsewhere has produced. The system is quite original, and has been devised by native wit and ingenuity to meet Chinese requirements, and to stand successfully the one unimpeachable test of time. The Government is not merely the oldest existing administration in the world, but was contemporary with, and at the same time totally independent of, the systems of Greece and Rome, upon which European culture and freedom are equally modelled. Change of dynasty and even of dominant race has produced little or no alteration. Mongol and Manchu have adopted the Chinese system and Confucian ethics as they found them, and proclaimed them to be incapable of improvement. Such qualities of endurance command attention, and if they do not excite envy, they certainly stimulate curiosity to see the secret springs that have kept ancient machinery from becoming useless, and have made the Chinese system not unsuitable even to modern exigencies.—*Times*, Sept. 27, 1889.

Limitations of Absolute Monarchy.—As the "Son of Heaven" the Emperor of China is the "absolute despotic monarch" of Constitutional theory. But, as he and his subjects both perfectly well understand, his powers are limited by two facts. First, the "divine right" absolutely disappears if the Dynasty takes to evil courses, in other words, Heaven raises up by rebellion or invasion a better

one. Second, "the will of the people" is, in a very real sense, "the supreme law." As a recent Emperor wrote in an edict, in reference to the proposed opening of Canton to trade—

> That to which the hearts of the people incline is that on which the decree of Heaven rests. Now the people of Kwang-tung are unanimous and determined that they will not have foreigners, and how can I post up any Imperial order, and force an opposite course upon the people?

What is good government and bad is carefully specified in the Confucian Code, which is as well known to the masses of the population as are the stories of the New Testament parables in Great Britain, and any infringement of the ancient rules of conduct brings down upon the Emperor the reproaches not only of the Board of Censors but of the educated classes generally, who have never lacked the courage of their opinions, however mistaken they may be.

Titles and Dignities.—There is practically no hereditary nobility. When a title is conferred it is usually a life honour only. If it be allowed to descend, it gets smaller with every descendant—the original well-doer being, say, a duke, his son a marquis, his grandson an earl, and so on to the vanishing point. The title while it lasts usually carries a pension. Sometimes the honour is conferred not only on the man of merit himself, but on his ancestors.[1] Two of Sir Robert Hart's ancestors were thus honoured. Among the few nobles with perpetual titles are the chief male descendant of Confucius and of the last of the Ming Emperors. The present Ming being without a pension is a seller of curds, but he is entitled to visit the "Son of

[1] "The motive is similar to that which sends the *nouveau riche* to Sir Bernard Burke or some more complaisant genealogist for an illustrious ancestor, or association with some ancient family."—Mr. D. C. Boulger's *History*.

Heaven." The members of the Imperial Manchu Clan receive pensions, some of which are very small, but the only distinction awarded them is the privilege of wearing girdles of a particular colour.

The "Mandarins."—The nobility as such have no part or lot in the government of the country. That is carried on by what Europeans vaguely call the "mandarins,"[1] who are of the people. Official employment is secured by passing the well-known Examinations, which are open to all but actors and one or two very small classes of the community. In some cases, however, posts are obtained by purchase, as commissions were until lately bought in the British Army, or by giving handsome subscriptions when there is a famine, a big flood, or a cholera epidemic.[2] Every one of the Eighteen Provinces has not a Viceroy of its own. There are eight Viceroys for fifteen, the remaining three being placed in the hands of Governors. Officials are appointed, like Wesleyan ministers, for three-year terms. So long as the Viceroys maintain peace within their borders and remit the customary quota of taxation to Peking, they seem to be left absolutely unfettered in the administration of their kingdoms.[3] They have even armies of their own, as witness the powerful forces raised by Li Hung Chang and Chang Chih Tung. The salaries paid to the Viceroys are merely nominal, and even with the anti-extortion allow-

[1] A word from the Portuguese, "mandar," to command. The Chinese use the term "kuan."

[2] Some 9,000,000 persons are said to have died in the great famine in the north about a quarter of a century ago.

[3] The sons and relatives of the (Manchu) Emperor being generally excluded from civil office in the Provinces, the high-spirited and talented Chinese do not feel inclined to cabal against the Government because every avenue to emolument and power is filled by creatures and connections of the Sovereign.—Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*.

ance, are in no case enough to meet their liabilities. All the expenses of the Provinces having to be met by the local authorities, the salaries of their subordinates and the pensions of personages on the Imperial Civil List who happen to reside within their borders being only two items in the bill they have to discharge every year. Below a Viceroy are, in order of rank, the Treasurer, Judge, Literary Chancellor, Commissioner, Taotais or Intendants of Circuits, Prefects and District Magistrates. A Viceroy, it is interesting to notice, may not serve in his native district, nor have a relative employed in his Province, nor marry the daughter of any one under his rule.[1] Civil officials, irrespective of the particular offices they happen to fill, are divided into nine grades, each of which is indicated by a different kind of "button" on the top of the cap.

The Emperor and his Ministers.—What foreigners speak of as the "Central Government at Peking" consists of the Cabinet (Nuiko), the Council of State (Chünchi Chu), and the various Boards. The first-named body, composed of three Chinese and three Manchus, keeps the twenty-five seals of government, and daily presents State papers to the Emperor for the approbatory mark of his famed vermilion pencil. The edicts, promulgated and annotated by the Cabinet, after receiving the Imperial signature, are framed by the Council of State (consisting of two Chinese and two Manchus), whose deliberations in the presence of the Sovereign take place, like the visits of the Cabinet, in the Forbidden Palace at dawn or even earlier.[2] The Council of State is the publisher, for subscribers as well as for official purposes, of that remarkable

[1] Another check is the association with him of a Governor and a General, who are not so much subordinates as colleagues.

[2] The audience halls are opened at 2 a.m. The Emperor often offers sacrifice at 6 a.m., and attends a theatrical performance at 8 a.m.

journal, the *Peking Gazette*, where all its minutes are reproduced.[1]

The Seven Boards.—The Boards are seven in number, and each has a number of bureaux. The Board of Civil Affairs deals with honours, promotions (and degradations), and the furloughs of officials. An official, whatever the importance of the work in which he is engaged, must, on the death of a parent, instantly retire from his post for a period of mourning lasting twenty-seven months, unless ordered to remain, as Li Hung Chang was on the decease of his mother. The Board of Revenue, in addition to its financial duties, makes a list of the number of young women of the Manchu race who have reached an age which renders them qualified to enter the Imperial harem if required.[2] The Board of Rites, besides dealing with religious ceremonies and questions of rank and etiquette, fosters ancient national music.[3] The Board of War adds to its other duties the

[1] Thousands of literati are said to get a living by making extracts of passages of local or personal interest.

[2] The future Empress—always a Manchu subject, for Manchus and Chinese may not intermarry—is selected for the young Emperor by his mother. His bride, whom he has not seen before her arrival at the Palace on her wedding day, brings with her, or is preceded by a few days by, two wives of lower rank, whose number may be added to indefinitely later on.

[3] Chinese music can be roughly divided into sacred or ceremonial, and popular. The scale differs from ours in that it has only seven sounds, and in much of the music only five out of the seven are employed. Their intervals, moreover, cannot be represented by Western instrumentalists. All religious and State processions and ceremonies are accompanied by music. Ballad singers are common in the streets. Almost all coolies have song-books, and men and women are often heard singing together in the fields. The number of Chinese musical instruments is large. The European ear does not appreciate Chinese music, neither is the Chinese ear able seemingly to discover harmony in ours. A native description of a piece of Chinese music is—"Softly, as the murmur of whispered words; now

management of official courier arrangements, and has no difficulty in transmitting despatches through the country at the rate of 200 or even 250 miles a day. Although China had no Imperial Post Office until 1897 there were private letter shops in every town (one port town had 200) which transmitted letters all over the country with remarkable expedition and security. Not only were small parcels carried, in the way which our G. P. O. has lately imitated, but correspondence might be registered and insured. A system of monthly settlement was permissible in cases where letters were numerous. The purpose of the Board of Punishments, the far-reaching powers of which may be clearly discerned in any issue of the *Peking Gazette*, is quaintly described as "to aid in giving dignity to national manners." The Board of Works is responsible for the care of buildings and the getting of supplies, and is charged with being the body blameworthy for the deplorable condition of many river embankments, etc. The seventh Board is the Board of Admiralty.

Tsung li Yâmen and Censors. — To the Boards enumerated there are to be added the Tsung li Yâmen—which consisted a few years ago of

a President, 8 Ministers, 6 Chief Secretaries, 2 Assistant Secretaries, 30 Clerks (English Department, 6; French, 7; Russian, 6; American, 7; Maritime Defence, 4), and 6 Superintendents of current business, and the Manchu Registry Department—

the Colonial Office, which has the affairs of Mongolia and Tibet on its hands, and is the only Board on which Chinese may not serve; and that important body, the Censorate, or "All-examining Court," the members of which number no fewer than 56, and are to be found some in

loud and soft together, like the patter of pearls and pearlets dropping upon a marble dish. Or liquid, like the warbling of the mango bird in the bush; trickling, like the streamlet on its downward course. And then like the torrent, stilled by the grip of the frost."

Peking and the rest all over the Empire. On the whole the Censors' work, which secures not only the bringing to light of much injustice, but keeps Provincial dignitaries in order, is performed with noteworthy courage. Li Hung Chang has been the object of their criticisms, and the "Son of Heaven" himself has been admonished to "pay a more earnest regard to morality, and to aim at an effectual discharge of his duty." Sometimes the irate monarch packs off his mentor to a remote governorship, or decrees, as did the Dowager Empress at the opening of the present reign, that he "be handed over to the Board of Punishments for the decision of a severe penalty." Despite the risk of punishment, the Censors, conscious of the moral support derived from the precedents of history, have, more than once, delivered their criticisms orally in the presence of their Sovereigns. A Tang Emperor who once wished to look into the historiographers' records—which are only published as each Dynasty comes to an end—to see what had been written about himself in order, as he made excuse, that by knowing his faults, he might correct them, was answered—"It is true your Majesty has corrected a number of errors, and it has been the painful duty of our employment to take notice of them—a duty which further obliges us to inform posterity of the conversation which your Majesty has had this day very improperly, with us." There is also to be found in Peking the Hanlin College, or Chinese Sorbonne, as well as a Court of Appeal and a Supreme Court for the whole Empire. These two Courts sit, in serious cases, in conjunction with the Censorate. Instances frequently occur not only of men, but of women and girls making their way, after the fashion of Jeanie Deans, from remote districts in order to lay their cases in person before the highest judges. The officials employed in the Whitehall, Pall Mall, and Spring Gardens of Peking number perhaps 20,000, in the

proportion of three Chinese to one Manchu. All their names are printed in an annual Red-Book. It is easy to exaggerate the power of the various Boards: they are in reality a supervising rather than a directing force. The real Government of China is not in Peking but in the Provinces.

The Law and the Penalty.—The Law of China, unlike our own, is codified and is accessible. It is relatively in seven sections—General, Civil, Fiscal, Ritual, Military, Criminal, and Public Works—and fills nearly 30 volumes. The four punishments which can be inflicted are—whipping, in the form of a flogging in private or a swishing through the streets, the offender being preceded by a placard proclaiming his ill deeds; the wearing of the wooden frame called the cangue; banishment to a certain distance; and death by decapitation by the sword or by strangulation. The exact size and weight of the bamboo for flogging and of the cangue are carefully specified in the Code. Death may be inflicted instantaneously, or, in the case of treason, by the "ling chi" or "slow and lingering" process. This latter, however, is not quite so dreadful as it sounds, only a second or two being occupied by the expert executioner in making the slight sword cuts in the body which precede the heart-stab or beheading. Quartering takes place after death. All crimes but those which are capital appear to be commutable by the payment of fines, and criminals under the death sentence who have aged parents, or are over eighty, are reprieved.

The "Reign of Reason."—An offender who gives himself up receives a reduced punishment or nothing beyond admonition—which in fact plays a large part in the courts of justice. As Staunton's *Penal Code of China* says—

> An object which seems to have been very generally consulted is that of, as much as possible, combining, in the construction and adaptation of the sale of crimes and punishments, the opposite advantages of severity in denunciation and levity in execution.

It is not only the speeches of magistrates to prisoners which are in the style of exhortation. All official communications, from an Imperial rescript in favour of fair usage of foreigners, to a Governor's appeal to his people not to ill-treat frogs (on account of their usefulness in the fields and the "cheerfulness" of their "note"!), are framed less as orders than as requests to an intelligent people who (the theory seems to be) have only to have a correct line of conduct pointed out to them, or an irresistible argument presented to their reason, to change their course of action!

Torture.—A woman who is flogged may not be stripped unless she is an adulteress. Parents who take the life of a bad son or daughter, or husbands who kill wives discovered in an offence against the marital law, are not usually proceeded against. The intention to commit a crime is punished as heavily as the actual carrying of it out would be. With regard to the gaols, they are probably as bad as prisons in the East usually are, but they are supposed to contain only persons waiting for trial. "There are no cruelties practised in Chinese gaols greater, even if there are any equal to the awful degraded brutality with which the England of our fathers treated her convicts in the penal settlements," writes a traveller in China who has talked with many old convicts in Australia. As to torture, two or three methods of inflicting severe pain not only on prisoners but on supposedly recalcitrant witnesses are authorised by law, and it is probable that illegal torture is also inflicted, "though not to the extent that is sometimes supposed," says one "Old China Hand." Travellers occasionally report having seen or heard of bandits or murderesses being starved to death in cages, and the number of men encountered who have lost an ear or an arm, "facing the enemy" as they allege, seems preternaturally large! The heads of rebels are undoubtedly sliced off with little

compunction; but the rows of offenders under civil law executed opposite Hongkong, in the presence of susceptible tourists—with kodaks—usually consist of pirates, with whom the West River is still much infested; and piracy is a capital offence in England.

The Theory of "Mutual Responsibility."—As to the Chinese criminal system as a whole, Mr. Dyer Ball declares roundly that it

> appears to be better adapted for the punishment of the criminal classes and the prevention of fraudulent bankruptcies than our systems, which are the outgrowth of centuries of civilisation. The unit in China is not the individual but the family, therefore it is impossible for a fraudulent bankrupt to settle his goods on his wife or family, as the family must make good his losses: in the same way a family is responsible for the good behaviour of its members; a neighbourhood for its inhabitants; and an official for those governed by him. Thus results a system of "mutual responsibility among all classes," a great deterrent of serious crime and defalcations.

The answer of the Chinese Code to Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is an emphatic "Yea, verily." The argument is that a man's crime is due in part to those with whom he lived not having set him a good example or looked after him properly. The responsibility is thought to lie most heavily on the offender's parents and elder brothers, then on his neighbours, and, finally, on the officials of the town, district, or Province. The responsibility of parents is humorously illustrated in the following passage from the notebook of a traveller who had engaged a Christian Chinaman as porter:—

> I knew that perfect confidence could be placed in the convert apart from his conversion, because he had a father living in Suifu. Were he to rob me or do me a wrong and run away, we could arrest his father, and have him detained till his son returned.

The responsibility of neighbours is reflected in the acquiescence of the Chinese, extraordinary according to

Western notions, in the invariable intervention of friends and acquaintances in family disputes. The responsibility of officials may be illustrated by the fact that a Viceroy who recently reported to the Throne that a would-be official had tried to bribe him, wrote that it was plain that he (the Viceroy) had "only himself to blame for the insult." He accordingly asked for a rescript from the Emperor directing that his not sufficiently dignified Governor should be handed to the Board of Punishments "for adjudication of a penalty, by way of warning to those who fail to conduct themselves as is due to the relations of superior and inferior"! When a great disaster takes place, or things go badly wrong in the Empire, the "Son of Heaven" usually takes occasion to acknowledge in a public rescript that he has done the things which he ought not to have done and left undone the things that he ought to have done, and that the calamity, whatever it is, is a just punishment sent by the High Ruler of Heaven, with whose dictates he will endeavour hereafter to act in closer harmony.

Corruption.—It is obvious that the dread which the average Chinaman has of coming into relations with the Law as represented by the mandarins' clerks, registrars, and honorary secretaries and hangers-on,—expressively called "the rats under the altar,"—and by the mandarins themselves, is not accounted for solely by the existence of legislation which orders a flogging to every one who excites or promotes litigation, and forbids a lawyer to enter a law court. The allusions in Chinese plays, novels, and proverbs to what we vaguely call the "mandarins" speak for themselves. One proverb is, "Every official has three hands" (*i.e.* to take money with). But when everything has been said of the "squeezes," "douceurs," "gratifications," "pots de vin," and "pourboires," of the taking of which in criminal and civil matters the mandarins

and their dependants are assuredly not guiltless, two facts remain. First, that as not more than two thousand officials of all grades throughout the Provinces receive even the inadequate salaries of the official list, and there is therefore no class corresponding with the force of 150,000 paid policemen in India (not to speak of clerks above them),—their place being taken in China by followers of the mandarins,—irregular fees are a necessity to the existence of the system of government which obtains, with, it must not be forgotten, the tacit consent of the governed. Second, China is not the only country in which the shells fall to the litigant and the oyster to some one else, or in which people are crippled in their resources, if not ruined, by the expenses and delays of legal proceedings.

Testimonials to Mandarins.—When Mrs. Bishop interviewed the people she met with in the Yangtsze Valley and beyond on the subject of the conduct of their local mandarins,

> there were not, on the whole (she writes), many complaints uttered, and these were usually of the delays of the law. Some mandarins were spoken of with something akin to enthusiasm. One had built a bridge, another had made a good road, a third had restored a temple, a fourth was "very charitable to the poor," and, in the last scarcity, had diminished the luxury of his own table by half that he might feed the poor, and so on. The system under which mandarins—no men in mercantile positions work so hard as these officials—hold office has a strong tendency to make them bad. Nevertheless, there are some good, just, honest men among them, who do the best they can for their districts during their terms of office, earn the esteem and gratitude of the people, and leave office as poor as they entered it. With regard to the bad, their opportunities of "squeezing" and oppressing are not so enormous as is often supposed, being limited by what I am inclined to call the right of rebellion. When an appeal to the law comes to involve absolute bribery, and taxation becomes grinding, then a local rebellion on a large or small scale occurs, the offending mandarin is driven out, the Throne quietly appoints a successor, and peace prevails once more. A system in which official salaries are not a "living wage" opens the

door to large peculation, but withal China is not a heavily taxed country, and the people are anything but helpless in official hands. In spite of all the monstrous corruption which exists, general security and good order prevail, and China has been increasing in wealth and population for nearly two centuries.

The system of Censors is another check, in addition to "the right of rebellion," upon officials who may be tempted to try to make as much money as they can during their short term of office. If there should be a scandal,—and no man if he has a grievance is cleverer than a Chinaman in "making a row," either alone or in co-operation with his friends, to the discomfiture of his oppressor,—one of the observant Censors scattered over the Empire is likely to make a report to Peking which will have the result, at the least, of spoiling the erring official's chance of succeeding to another post—at any rate till he can afford to make an expensive *amende* to the higher officials. As to rebellion on a major or minor scale, the people think nothing of committing themselves to it when their case is grievous, for they know as well as the Literati that a rising against injustice had the approval of the Sages, and is seldom punished by Peking in any other way than by the removal of the scandal-producing, and therefore, according to Chinese ideas, incapable official. But it is seldom necessary to carry the demonstration further than an attack on his Yâmen and his personal chastisement. Such an incident has frequently happened.

The Self-Governing Villages.—There is reason to believe that the number of inhabitants in many of the cities and towns of China has been much exaggerated. The people of the Middle Kingdom are to be found, even to a greater degree than was imagined, in the villages. Probably three-quarters of the population is rural. And this large

proportion of the denizens of the Earth is practically self-governing. The Palace and Boards of Peking and all Provincial Mandarin-dom may be considered to be little more than flies on the wheel. The secret is to be found in the fact that the unit of the population in China is not the individual but the family. The principle of mutual responsibility, as has been seen, is absolute for every man, from the Emperor and his highest officials downwards. "None of us" (the population of China has had it drilled into it for ages by heavy penalties) "liveth to himself." The authority of the father, family, and clan is maintained by that sense of filial piety and devotion to ancestors which is now engrained in the Chinese character. Even if a man should be inclined to "gang his ain gait," practical disadvantages attending expulsion from his family—apart altogether from what is considered to be the heavy disgrace of being disowned — are so serious that he may well hesitate to take any step which might lead to being cut adrift.[1] Sometimes a village is entirely in the occupation of a single family, and is called after it, — as "Chang Village," "Li Village," "Smaller Wang Village," "Chang Family Village which has a Temple to Hsüan Ti," "Duck's Nest of the Chou Family," or "Basket Village of the Lin Village"—or the name may remain while the family has gone. In any case, the village manages its own affairs — is "a principality in itself." Not being in the enlightened German Empire, but in the hopelessly reactionary Empire of China, it may call a meeting to discuss "a matter of urgent public importance" every day of the week if so minded, and say just what it likes, and has no permission to ask of any official, nor any police reporter to tolerate. Its

[1] It is evident that in a nation with not only a gift but a passion for secret socicties it is possible for clan feeling to play a most important part in political affairs.

elected elders or "managers" ("shou shih jên")—sometimes when the villages are small the inhabitants, for economy's sake, club their administration together—dig wells, supervise markets, arrange for labour on Imperial works, engage travelling theatrical companies, keep their eyes on evil-doers, adjudicate in trespass cases, grant divorces, and either by arbitration, by acting as "peace talkers" to litigious persons, or by the infliction of condign punishment—which in theory they have no right either to order or carry out—intercept, to the quiet satisfaction of the local district magistrate, a vast amount of his civil and criminal business. If trouble of any kind arises in the villages the elders find that power has its bitters as well as its sweets, for the district magistrate comes on the scene and promptly has them whipped for the offences of those for whose good behaviour, on the national mutual responsibility principle, they were answerable!

The Imperial Maritime Customs.—One of the most remarkable branches of the Government of China is not Chinese at all, but foreign. More than forty years ago China got foreigners to collect her Maritime Customs duties for her, and has been glad to leave the work in their hands ever since. The first Inspector-General was a British subject; so is the second, Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who received his appointment at the age of twenty-six. He has about 5000 people under him, of whom, in the year 1898, 875 were foreigners, the rest being Chinese. A little more than half the foreigners were British; next came, in order, French, German, American, Russian, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Austrian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish. The whole revenue raised, £3,999,219 in 1899, is paid over as received to the Tsung li Yâmen, which in turn gives Sir Robert Hart what he tells it is the cost of the service. (This averages about 11.5 per cent.) The

Inspector-General is absolute Autocrat in his Department, and throughout his career the Chinese have had the most implicit faith in him. The Imperial Maritime Customs Service, which has a large fleet of small steamers for dealing with smugglers and pirates, sees to lighthouses as well as the revenue from shipping; and Sir Robert, whose name figures at the bottom of many Conventions with Foreign Powers, has added to his proper work by helping China out of not a few diplomatic tight places. It was he who brought the crisis to an end which threatened to result in war with Russia over Kuldja. He is a man of the most remarkable industry, while to his knowledge of the Chinese there are no limits. In 1895 he was offered and declined the post of British Minister at Peking. The collection of the Customs along the land frontiers of China is not in Sir Robert's but in native hands—and costs much more than 11.5 per cent.! [An estimate of Imperial Revenue and Expenditure appears in the Chapter on "Finance and the Outlook for Foreign Trade."]

The Army.—The Army and Navy of the Middle Kingdom must always suffer from the national want of respect for the profession of arms. "Good iron is not used for nails, nor are soldiers made of good men," says the Chinese proverb. The Viceroys in the Provinces, in their fortnightly inquiry after the health of the Emperor, wish His Majesty "repose," and favourite adjectives to apply to a Sovereign are "placid" and "sedate": to cultivated Chinamen soldiering seems a somewhat vulgar occupation, and men who delight in it for its own sake strike them as little better than bravoes.

In regard to violence (said Sir Thomas Wade, a former British Minister at Peking) Confucius comes to very much the same conclusions as the Quaker, only by a different route. He condemns violence, not because it is immoral, so much as because it is indecorous; if a man spits in your face, he preaches, it is more becoming not to

resent it. Or rather, you are forbidden to be violent, not because of any injury to others so much as on account of the injury to yourself.

The military mandarins, owing to their limited literary education, have much less prestige than that possessed by the civilian officials. Their physical prowess is often noteworthy, however, and the Army as a whole, inefficient though it may be in armament, drill, and commissariat, consists of material of such a quality as to lead Lord Wolseley to express the opinion in 1896 that "the Chinese were, above most races, apparently designed to be a great military, naval, and conquering people." The Chinese troops possess what a Continental critic once called the five elemental military qualities—numbers and homogeneity, stubborn endurance, persistence, contempt of death, and passive obedience. The officers of H.M.S. *Gibraltar*, who witnessed the Japanese victory at Wei-hai-wei, bore testimony not only to the sterling qualities of Admiral Ting, but to "the unflinching bravery of the majority of his men," and added, "The personal but futile valour of the Chinese sailors displayed in the presence of a scientific foe excited admiration. The general behaviour was above reproach. The seamen stuck to their posts with unflinching courage." The history of the Opium wars is full of touching incidents of resolution, bravery, and devotion of Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese soldiers, while during the late advance on Peking Reuter spoke of the "Boxers'" "gallantry" and "fanatical bravery."

Gordon's Advice.—Although,as the Allies' military operations have shown, considerable improvement has been made in the equipment and training of the troops since the old days of bows and arrows, spears, gingals, and stink-pots, the Government of China has probably never been really convinced of the necessity of a greatly reformed Army. In this feeling it was supported by its most disinterested

and best military friend, General Gordon, who, in a memorandum drawn up for the Peking authorities, wrote—

> China's power lies in her numbers, in the quick moving of her troops, in the little baggage they require, and in their few wants. Men armed with sword and spear can overcome the best regular troops equipped with breechloading rifles if the country is at all difficult, and if the men with the spears and the swords outnumber their foe by ten to one. If this is the case when men are armed with spears and swords, it will be much truer when those men are themselves armed with breechloaders. China should never engage in pitched battles; her strength is in quick movements, in cutting off trains of baggage and in night attacks not pushed home—in a continuous worrying of her enemies.

The same advice applied, Gordon pointed out, to naval affairs. China might obtain plenty of ships and torpedoes, but they should be small and cheap. "And China needs no foreigners to help her in carrying out this programme," he added; "if she cannot carry out what is here recommended, then no one else can do so." Accordingly, therefore, while various Viceroys have accepted foreign military instruction from time to time, cast heavy cannon, established arsenals, and gone to the length of buying expensive warships, the authorities do not seem to have taken more than a half-hearted interest in military and naval matters. Hundreds of troops officially returned by mandarins exist only on paper, the delicate machinery of the artillery has been allowed to rust, and the battleships and cruisers, of which Japan duly relieved the Empire in 1894, had been permitted to get into a sad state. A number of cruisers were purchased after the war, but the naval strength of China afloat still lies rather in her admirable bluejackets, who have been pronounced to be "as good as any in the world," than in either the seamanship of her officers or the seaworthiness of her war vessels. Lord Charles Beresford's advice to the authorities was to sell the vessels bought in Europe and not yet delivered, and to stop making and

buying big guns for forts, and concentrate upon an efficient Army for the protection of trade and commerce.

A Military Estimate.—In July of the present year the actual numbers and composition of the Chinese troops were stated (in the *Westminster Gazette*) on the evidence of German instructors recently returned from the Far East to be as follows :—

1. *Province of Pechili:*

(*a*) European drilled soldiers, infantry, cavalry, and artillery (Li Hung Chang's old troops)	40,000
(*b*) Troops of the High Commissioner of Pechili, Hsiang Ching, stationed around Peking, under General Tung Fu Siang	30,000
(*c*) Imperial troops under General Nieh, stationed at Lutai, Province Pechili	20,000
(*d*) Manchu troops under the Tartar Generals Chi Yuan and Yung Lu, garrisoned in the Tartar City of Peking	10,000
(*e*) Bannermen (Militia) under the Banner General Ko-Meng-O, stationed throughout the Province	20,000

2. *Province of the Two Kwang:*

(*a*) European drilled soldiers, infantry and artillery (Chang Chi Tung's own troops)	5,000
(*b*) Troops of the Foo-Tai (Governor of Kwangtung), under Tung Au Pang at Canton	4,000
(*c*) Manchu troops under the Tartar General Wang Shing, garrisoned in the Tartar City of Canton	5,000
(*d*) Bannermen (Militia) under Banner General Chi-Ko, stationed throughout the Two Kwang	15,000

3. *The other sixteen Provinces of the Empire:*

(*a*) Imperial troops	averaging	10,000	160,000
(*b*) Manchu troops	,,	5,000	80,000
(*c*) Bannermen (Militia)	,,	15,000	240,000
		Total,	629,000

Li Hung Chang's army was said to be composed of—

12 Infantry Regiments at three battalions of five companies of 200 rank and file	36,000
10 Troops of Cavalry at 250 each	2,500
21 Batteries of Artillery, as follows:—	
3 Mountain Batteries at 6 guns = 18 guns,	
6 Horse Artillery at 4 ,, = 24 ,,	
12 Field Artillery at 4 ,, = 48 ,,	
Total, 90 guns.	
At 15 men each	1,350
Army Service, Medical Service, etc. . .	150
Total,	40,000

But in the case of the struggle with the Allies, "prompted by religious, fanatic, and anti-foreign sentiments, one may safely expect," said Lieutenant-Colonel W. de St. Paul-Seitz, "that every available Chinese subject will turn, if not into a soldier, anyhow into a more or less dangerous fighting individual, a unit in an untold multitude, undrilled, not uniformed, to a certain extent unreliable as far as staying powers go, but withal exceedingly useful in the capacity of gun-fodder and stop-gap."

CHAPTER VI

HIS EDUCATION, EXAMINATIONS, AND LITERATURE

The Spoken and Written Languages. — In the Book of Rites (1200 B.C.) it is stated that "villages had their schools and districts their academies." Whatever was the actual educational state of China two thousand years before King Alfred, the general devotion to letters in the Middle Kingdom three thousand years after that period is one of the wonders of the world. Nowhere else on earth does the literary man enjoy greater respect or exercise greater power. With few exceptions literary merit, and literary merit only, is the door to every official post from that of magistrate's clerk to Prime Minister. Nowhere does the fact that one man in a score can read intelligently possess greater significance. As the colloquial and written languages of China are different, the ability to read and understand what he reads means that he has practically acquired a second tongue. Nearly every Chinaman in the more civilised districts can read mechanically, that is, without grasping the significance of much of what he reads. The reason why the strange case may be met with of a man reading aloud—say to casual acquaintances on their request — while his auditors have no more notion of whether the text conveys much to his mind (other than the sounds of the words) than an English schoolmaster could guess whether a new scholar who reads out twelve lines of Cæsar fluently

enough will be able to translate them, is to be found in the simple fact that the Chinese language has no alphabet. Therefore, for all words there must be separate symbols. And as there are 30,000 words, the Chinese say that to learn to recognise the form and sound of the characters is a sufficiently difficult task for beginners, without burdening them with meanings. Hence a dominie, while his boys scrutinise the characters of the first lines of the Trimetrical Classic, reads them over,—"Jin chí tsu, sing pun shen; Sing siang kin, sih siang yuen," and they cry after him,—"Jin chí tsu, sing pun shen; Sing siang kin, sih siang yuen," again and again until their pronunciation is correct, when they are sent back to their seats to get the forms and sounds, not the meanings, by heart by repeating them aloud. Thus, if a youth's parents are too poor to keep him at school long, he may when he leaves be able to read his language well enough, but not have sufficient knowledge to understand more than a few words in a sentence.[1]

30,000 Characters and 500 Sounds.—As if 30,000 characters were not enough, the Chinese have half a dozen different styles in which their language may be written. The difference between the six is greater than that which exists between, say,

1. The hand in which a City lawyer writes to his friends,
2. The hand in which his clerk engrosses deeds,
3. The hand written in his children's copy-books,
4. The capital letters,
5. The small letters, and
6. The italic letters of their "Readers."

Turning to the spoken language of the Chinaman, the

[1] The system of learning Chinese by heart used to be ignorantly denounced, but Europeans who have begun tbe language or attacked a Western idiom in the same way acknowledge that it produces excellent results.

surprising discovery is made that while he has 30,000 words in writing they are represented to the ear by only 500 syllabic sounds. How then does a speaker make himself understood? In three ways.

First, by putting with one word another of similar meaning and so definitely marking its significance. Thus an Englishman might conceivably say "gas-light" if his hearer were likely to think of "light" as a verb or adjective instead of as the blaze from the jet of a wall-bracket.

Second, by using a classifying word. If a Chinaman said simply "yih taou" he might be understood to mean either a fringe, a small boot, or a knife. So, if he wishes to speak of a knife he uses with "yih taou" a classifying word. The classifier which goes with anything held by the hand is "pa," "to grasp with the hand." To say "knife," therefore, it is necessary to use the words "yih pa taou," *i.e.* "a grasped knife."

Third, by speaking a word in a particular tone. A Chinaman can express eight tones. As they belong to the words themselves they have nothing to do with accent: that is, whatever the mood of the speaker may be, they remain the same.

The "even" tone (writes the Professor of Chinese at King's College of the four tones in general use) is simply the ordinary tone of voice; the "rising" tone gives to the voice somewhat of the effect of an interrogation; the "departing" tone, of doubtful surprise; and the "entering" tone of peremptory command.

These may easily be illustrated by repeating the word "No" in the four different fashions indicated. Obviously, the only way in which a foreigner can learn these tones is by patiently listening to a Chinese teacher. They are used in all the languages of China, and while by employing

idioms, synonyms, and the classifiers before mentioned, a foreigner may sometimes make himself understood, the acquisition of the tones is really indispensable. Every traveller in China has stories, amusing and otherwise, of awkward mistakes made by the "outer barbarian" over the tones. One had a quarrel in an inn with a man because he thought he had called him "foreign devil" when he had really said something complimentary; another was angered against a servant because when he told him in reality to give him something to eat he expected him to get his camel ready. The Chinese themselves frequently pun by means of the tones. "Boxers" is a word which originated in this way, and many of the coloured caricatures of foreigners and their religious Head are based on the fact that "T'ienchu" (the Roman Catholic term for "Lord of Heaven") and "Yangjên" ("foreigners") may be so pronounced as to be interpreted "Heavenly Pig" and "Goat men."

The Training of Children.—Education begins about ten. One of the many Chinese books of advice to parents recommends fathers to

> choose from among their concubines those who are fit for nurses, seeking such as are mild, indulgent, affectionate, benevolent, cheerful, kind, dignified, respectful and reserved, and careful in their conversation, and make them governesses over their children. When able to talk lads must be instructed to answer in a quick bold tone, and girls in a slow and gentle one. At seven, they should be taught to count and name the cardinal points; but at this age should not be allowed to sit on the same mat nor eat from the same table. At eight, they must be taught to wait for their superiors, and prefer others to themselves. At ten, the boys must be sent to private tutors, and there remain studying writing and arithmetic, wearing plain apparel, learning to demean themselves in a manner becoming their age, and acting with sincerity of purpose.

In their intercourse with their parents, says Wells

Williams, children are "taught to attend to the minutest points of good breeding, and are instructed in everything relating to their personal appearance, making their toilet, saluting their parents, eating, visiting, and other acts of life." They are certainly remarkably well behaved.

At School.—On entering the schoolroom pupils bow to the tablet of Confucius and to their master. The first book put before them consists of rhymed three-word lines, the opening phrases of which have been translated as follows:—

> Men at their birth are by nature radically good;
> In this all approximate, but in practice widely diverge.
> If not educated, the natural character is changed;
> A course of education is made valuable by close attention.
> That boys should not learn is an improper thing;
> For if they do not learn in youth, what will they do when old?

Lists of the numerical series follow, such as—

> There are three powers,—heaven, earth, and man.
> There are three lights,—the sun, moon, and stars.
> There are three bonds,—between prince and minister, justice;
> Between father and son, affection; between man and wife, concord.

Then comes a catalogue of books to be studied, a summary of Chinese history, and a collection of illustrations of youthful diligence and the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. A few lines from the last-named read—

> Formerly Confucius had the young Hiang Toh for his teacher;
> And Chau, too, though high in office, studied assiduously.
> One copied lessons on reeds, another on slips of bamboo;
> To conquer sleep one suspended his head by the hair from a beam.
> One read by the light of glow-worms, another by reflection from the snow;
> These, though their families were poor, did not omit to study.

Yung, when only eight years old, could recite the Odes;
And Pí, at the age of seven, understood the game of chess.
The silkworm spins silk, the bee gathers honey;
If men neglect to learn, they are inferior to brutes.
He who learns in youth, and acts when of mature age,
Extends his influence to the prince, benefits the people,
Makes his name renowned, renders illustrious his parents,
Reflects glory on his ancestors, and enriches posterity.
Diligence has merit; play yields no profit;
Be ever on your guard! Rouse all your energies!

Letter, essay, and verse writing, and the Classics follow.[1]

The Education of Girls.—Except among the better classes, no education is given to girls comparable with that provided for boys, but clever women are not, and have not been, rare in China for all that. A former high official at Canton published a volume of his daughter's verses, and does not the horn-book of the Sung Dynasty, from which we have quoted, say?—

Tsai Wănkí could play upon stringed instruments;
Sié Tauwăn, likewise, could sing and chant;
These two, though girls, were intelligent and well informed;
You, then, my boys, should be roused to diligence.

A modern writer complains that girls "manage to pick up a smattering of the character so as to be able to read cheap novels." Cooking, embroidery, plain sewing, and the making of their tiny shoes ordinarily engage their attention.

The Literary Degrees.—Many treatises have been published giving advice to those who, after instruction at the village or city schools, propose, instead of becoming traders, to enter themselves for the famous Civil Service examinations (first established 1300 years ago). One such book

[1] At the foreign colleges at Peking and elsewhere, more or less under the auspices of the Chinese authorities, and at the schools in connection with the Arsenals, an education is given on European lines.

tells the student to aim as high as possible, always to have one or two good works lying at hand on his table, to keep a commonplace book, and to make a point during reading of getting rid of the distracting thoughts "which are about the dusty affairs of a vulgar world." There are three degrees, and many students keep trying unsuccessfully for them year after year until they are greyheaded. If a student in such a course of toil reaches a venerable age without passing—a father, son, and grandson have been noticed at the same examination—he receives the coveted degree *honoris causa* from the Emperor. The subjects of examination are Chinese History and Mathematics, on which questions have to be answered, and the Classics, which form the themes of essays and verses. Every petty district city has its examination hall, and there the candidates for the first degree of "Flowering Talent" or B.A. undergo their ordeal. About twenty students out of two thousand or more pass. These receive a certain kind of button for their hats, are entertained by the examining magistrate at a banquet, are no longer liable to corporal punishment at the hands of the Law, and are qualified to sit for the second degree. The M.A. examinations are held every three years in the capitals of the Provinces, and are presided over by scholars sent from Peking. At Wuchang and Nanking lately, 15,000 and 18,000 students sat. Not quite one per cent. of the candidates get through the examination, which lasts three days. The successful students receive the style of "Promoted Man," wear a higher class button, are given a salute of cannon, are again banqueted, and put their title and the date of it on a sign over the door of their paternal abode.

The Examinations at Peking. — The final examination is held at Peking in the presence of a Prince, and gives about 300 students, out of 6900, the title of "Entered

Scholar," or LL.D. All candidates — places for 10,000 are prepared at the Peking "examination hall or rather encampment" — are searched on arrival for "cribs," etc., and men caught copying from one another receive humiliating punishments, are debarred from again competing, and bring down penalties on their parents. Each student, as in the Provincial city examinations, has to bring with him his food, bedding, and fuel, etc., and during the examination, which lasts a fortnight, is shut up in a cell just large enough to hold him. Frequently candidates die from the excitement and strain. Those who survive are eligible for high office. A few lower posts come in the way of the M.A.s, and occasionally of the B.A.s. A fourth and optional examination in the presence of the Emperor himself confers on a very small number of students the venerated rank of Hanlin scholar. The finest student of all is styled Laureate. In spite of the wholesale rejections of candidates, the number of Literati is in excess of the requirements of the Administration, and constitutes—as we have found in India, where the warning cry of "over-education" has been raised after less than half a century of competitive examinations—a problem of considerable difficulty. "In the ink slab fields," say the peasants, referring to the literary man's sphere of labour, "there are no bad crops." The fact is that scholars who are unsuccessful in getting official posts or in attaching themselves in an irregular capacity to some mandarin, and have to become teachers, frequently earn no more than their food. The threadbare gown of the Chinese, as of the Western scholar, is proverbial.

Advantages of the System. — A certain amount of copying, personation of inefficient scholars by qualified deputies, as well, perhaps, as bribery of officials, goes on

at some of the examinations; but tremendous pains are taken by the authorities by means of guards, sealed doors, stamped paper, etc., to prevent misdoing; and when all allowances are made for fraud, undue influence and favouritism, most of those who pass may be considered to be men of more than ordinary calibre, with a considerable knowledge of the highest Chinese literature and philosophy, an acquaintance with the national history, trained memories, habits of perseverance, and an ability to express themselves elegantly. The shortcomings of the system are obvious, and have been often insisted upon. Its advantages, from the Chinese point of view, are many, and have been pointed out by competent foreign authorities such, for example, as Dr. Martin, of Peking, who argues:—

1. That the system serves the State as a safety valve, providing a career for ambitious spirits.

2. That it is a counterpoise to the power of an absolute monarch: without it the great offices would be filled by hereditary nobles, and the minor ones by Imperial favourites. It is democratic. Every youth is taught the line declaring that "the General and the Prime Minister are not born to office."[1]

3. That it gives the Government a hold on the educated gentry, and binds these to the support of existing institutions. "In districts where the people have distinguished themselves by zeal in the Imperial cause, the only recompense they crave is a slight addition to the numbers on the competitive list."

Another writer long resident in China lays stress on the fact that

a share in the government is bestowed as a right on those who are fitted for it by an education which, though not on a par with a modern Western course of study, is by no means to be despised when compared with that in vogue in Europe a few centuries since.

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[1] In the "Sian Hioh," or "Instructor of Youth," it is stated that men may serve their Prince "if he maintains the reign of reason, otherwise not."

With all its faults, says a recent traveller,

there is no education, unless it might be one strictly Biblical, which furnishes the memory with so much wisdom for common life, and so many noble moral maxims. National feeling is fostered by the fact that the noble truths and examples impressed on the mind of the student are not of foreign origin, but have originated within the frontiers of the Middle Kingdom.

Western Science.—It is obvious of course that

if (as Dr. Martin says in his "Hanlin Papers") the examiners were scientific men, and if scientific subjects were made sufficiently prominent in these higher examination, millions of aspiring students would soon become as earnest in the pursuit of modern science as they now are in the study of their ancient classics.

When, however, we are inclined to speak harshly of the Chinese for their reluctance to alter the subject matter of their examinations, it is well that we should remember not only that their relations with Europeans hitherto have hardly been such as to predispose them to a study of "the best that has been thought and said" in the Western world,[1] but that their classics have a claim upon and an authority for them the weight of which it is scarcely possible for a foreigner to realise, and that, after all, it is not so long since the battle for Science as against the Classics—in this case not of home but of foreign origin—was fought in our own

[1] "The few chances the Chinese have had of assistance from the West, when once appreciated (for the Chinese, unlike the Japanese, are slow in accepting what is offered to them until fully proved and approved of), have been accepted and made good use of, as in the case of a knowledge of Sanscrit introduced by the Buddhist priests, and more lately in the introduction of Western knowledge and science, which no doubt is destined eventually to exercise a wonderful effect."—*Things Chinese.*

Not long ago a Chinese boy in attendance at the leading school in Melbourne beat every lad in the senior class, and came out first in Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, English Literature, in fact in every subject in the curriculum!

Universities and Public Schools! The attitude of the people of the Middle Kingdom towards Western criticism of their methods is admirably summed up in the closing chapter of the *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.*

What is it (Dr. Draper asks) that insures the well-being, the prosperity of more than a fourth of the human race on a surface not by any means the size of Europe? Not geographical position; for, though the country may in former ages have been safe on the East by reason of the sea, it has been invaded and conquered from the West. Not a docility, want of spirit, or submissiveness of the people, for there have been bloody insurrections. The Chinese Empire extends through twenty degrees of latitude. Hence there must be great differences in the types of men inhabiting it. But the principle that lies at the basis of its political system has confronted successfully all these human varieties, and has outlived all revolutions.

The organisation of the national intellect is that principle. It is intended that every Chinese shall know how to read and write. The way to public advancement is open to all. Merit, real or supposed, is the only passport to office. Its degree determines exclusively social rank. One method through which the result is aimed at is imperfect, and, consequently, an absolute coincidence between the system and the tendency is not attained, but the stability ensured by the approximation is very striking. To the practical eye of Europe a political system founded on a literary basis appears to be an absurdity. But we must look with respect on anything that one-fourth of mankind have concluded it best to do, especially since they have consistently adhered to their determination for several thousand years. . . .

The want of a clear understanding of our relative position vitiates all our dealings with that ancient Empire. The Chinese has heard of our intolerance toward those who differ in ideas from us, of our worship of wealth, and the honour we pay to birth; he has heard that we sometimes commit political power to men who are so little above the animals that they can neither read nor write; that we hold military success in esteem, and regard the profession of arms as the only suitable occupation for a gentleman. It is so long since his ancestors thought and acted in that manner that he justifies himself in regarding us as having scarcely yet emerged from the barbarian stage. On our side, we cherish the delusion that we shall, by precept or by force, convert him to our modes of thought, religious or political, and that we can infuse into his stagnating veins a portion of our enterprise.

Well might the same writer, in contemplating the half-views and bat-like views which disgrace so many works on the Land of Han, declare that "a trustworthy account of the present condition of China would be a valuable gift to philosophy, and also to statesmanship."

The Sale of Books.—China, as Sir W. Medhurst said, is "essentially a reading country."[1] Centuries before Sir Anthony Absolute denounced circulating libraries to Mrs. Malaprop as "evergreen trees of diabolical knowledge," they had been firmly established in the Middle Kingdom, and nowadays they may be noticed being carried from door to door on wheeled stands. The streets are also full of book hawkers and booksellers' shops. The standard Chinese dictionary, in 21 volumes octavo, and all the Nine Classics in addition, may be bought for about a guinea, while a well-known historical novel—entertaining though in 21 volumes duodecimo—costs only 3s. 6d. Tiny "sleeve" editions of 24 and 32 mos, of favourite authors, corresponding with our "pocket" editions, are readily procurable. No censorship over literary men and newspaper writers, except a prohibition, which is not enforced, against writing about the present Dynasty, exists; and, like the Dutch, the Chinese do not believe that the interest of the public is consulted by the enactment of a copyright law. Illustrations in colours or black and white have always been a feature of books in China. The monumental works on botany and topography, for example, abound in valuable pictures, drawings, and maps.

Libraries.—The public and private (but freely opened) libraries of China and her Encyclopædias have long been

[1] "Frequently on entering a Canton shop, you will find its owner with a book in one hand, and a pipe or fan in the other, and wholly absorbed in his studies."—*Through China with a Camera*, by John Thomson.

famous. Some notion of the literary wealth of the nation may be derived from the fact that tens of thousands of volumes figure in the Index Expurgatorius alone. The size of the Imperial Encyclopædias has been noted in an earlier chapter. A well-known collection of *belles lettres*, of the "Half Hours with the Best Authors" stamp, extended to 1000 volumes. The descriptive catalogue of the Imperial Library of the present Dynasty, pronounced to be "one of the finest specimens of bibliography possessed by this or perhaps any other nation," is in 400 books. Every Dynasty has the history of its time written, but, as has been already mentioned, it is kept secret until the Imperial House concerned has passed away, and so constitutes a kind of *memento mori* for the Rulers in whose reign it is written. The work embraces Imperial Records, Arts and Sciences, and Biography; and in the case of the existing House has extended to more than 3000 books, the production of a score of authors.

The Classics.—At the head of the Literature of China are the "Nine Classics." They are—the Book of Changes, the Book of Historical Documents, the Book of Poetry, the Book of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals (the compilation or editing of which is attributed to Confucius), the Digested Conversations of Confucius, or Confucian Analects, the Great Learning (by a disciple of the Sage), the Doctrine of the Mean (supposed to be the work of a grandson of Confucius), and the works of Mencius; but the last but two are also included in the Book of Rites. It has been pointed out that the works enumerated could be printed in "seven slim octavo volumes." In the course of centuries, however, they have been walled round by accumulations of commentary corresponding in some degree with the masses of theological literature erected upon our own Old and New Testaments.

Science and Poetry.—After the Classics come Historical and Topographical Works. In the matter of topographical literature, it has been justly said that no nation has eclipsed China "for extent and systematic comprehensiveness." No town is without its exhaustive local, historical, and topographical work. That of Soochow, for instance, is in forty volumes. The next great division in the national Literature consists of works on Religion, the Arts, and the Sciences. A book on Mathematics dating from the Chow Dynasty, or more than a thousand years back, treats of plane mensuration, proportion, evolution, mensuration of solids, surplus and deficit, equations and trigonometry. The Drama and Essays also bulk largely on the shelves of Chinese libraries.

> However the Chinese may differ from Western nations in matters of mere convention (writes Dr. Wylie), the fact that they have methodical treatises, of more than 1000 years standing, on Painting, Writing, Music, Engraving, Archery, Drawing, and kindred subjects, ought surely to secure a candid examination of the state of such matters among them, before subjecting them to an indiscriminate condemnation.

"Untold treasures," says one writer on Chinese Literature, "lie hidden in its rich lodes." "Chinese poets," another declares, "manifested a passionate love of nature a thousand years before Scott or Wordsworth." No one who has read in a translation the beautiful and touching poem entitled "Chang Liang's Flute" will readily forget the impression produced by it. But, as Mr. Dyer Ball says, a great deal must be lost by not being able to read the Chinese authors in the original. Still even in translation passages may be recognised "instinct with true poetic genius—glowing with the deep feeling caught from a communion with the hills and mountains, rivers, streams and babbling brooks, woods and forests, sunshine and storm, in solitudes away from the busy haunts of men."

CHAPTER VII

His Characteristics

In much talk about Open Doors and Spheres of Influence, in much greed for ourselves, and in much interest in the undignified scramble for concessions in which we have been lately taking our share at Peking, there is a risk of our coming to think only of markets, territory, and railroads, and of ignoring the men who, for two thousand years, have been making China worth scrambling for. It may be that we go forward with a light heart, not hesitating, for the sake of commercial advantage, to break up in the case of a fourth of the human race the most ancient of earth's existing civilisations without giving any equivalent.—*The Yangtsze Valley and Beyond*, by Mrs. Bishop.

The Varieties of "Chinaman."—The perceptive powers of the new-comer to the Far East who complains that one Chinaman is in appearance very like another must be limited, for every photograph of a group of Chinese, young or old, shows a well-marked individuality in the faces of most of them.[1] Still, all Chinamen have queues, or to use our elegant alternative expression for the French word, pigtails, and all Chinamen have black eyes and lank black hair, and sallow (but not "yellow") faces.[2] To

[1] As a matter of fact, Chinamen are often heard to say that Europeans all look alike.

[2] Therefore the blue-eyed, fair and occasionally red-haired European seems an uncanny creature, a very "foreign devil," to him.

complete the picture, it may be mentioned that whiskers are a rarity, that beards and moustaches are always scanty, that many Chinese are clean-shaven until middle age, and that the stature of men is about that of the average European. The Manchus, who are so very much inferior numerically to the subject race, have more beard and somewhat fairer complexions than the Chinese; and often seem bigger and occasionally more intellectual men. But their position in China has had an enervating effect upon them as a race, and they are little more than nominal masters of the Empire. Such of their numbers as follow the military calling are often fine fellows; and it is a good point in the people as a whole that their women do not have their feet bound as is the custom among the Chinese. The absorption of Manchuria by Russia is likely further to weaken the hold on China possessed by the Manchus, who, some years ago, were estimated not to number more than five millions. The third branch into which the people of China are divided is composed of the "jolly, round-faced, ruddy-cheeked, slack, easy-going Mongols." These pastoralists, who differ from the Chinese in eating mutton instead of pork and in using butter, are every year being pushed farther back into their wilds by the industrious Chinese. Some authorities have asserted that both Manchus and Mongols show a greater willingness to listen to missionaries than the Chinese. A fourth section of the population is composed of several millions of still only half-conquered Aborigines. Their physiognomies, which would differentiate their possessors from the Chinese, Mongols, and Manchus, if their warlike character, resolute hold on their mountains (some of them even possess Chinese slaves!), and, in some cases, "most peculiar caligraphy,"—which "presents no point of resemblance to the Chinese language

or any other that one is familiar with,"—did not do so clearly enough.[1]

The Social Scale.—The aristocracy of China, as has been seen, is the Lettered Class. After it come the Tillers of the Soil, Mechanics, and Merchants. Chinese respect for agriculture, the occupation of the largest section of the population, is illustrated by the fact that every Spring the Emperor turns a furrow and the Empress gathers mulberry leaves for silkworms. It is certainly remarkable that a nation of born traders should rank merchants last in the social scale, but, then, literary men had the framing of the Code, and have they not, all the world over, always looked down on "trade"? The official attitude towards commerce possibly has something to do with the contempt entertained for Europeans whose chief thought, it seems to the Chinese, is of "trade." We must, indeed, be barbarians, they argue, for the majority of us cannot

[1] The population of China is given as follows in the *Statesman's Year Book*:—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Eighteen Provinces (China Proper)	1,336,841	386,000,000
Dependencies—Manchuria	362,310	7,500,000
Mongolia	1,288,000	2,000,000
Tibet	651,000	6,000,000
Jungaria	147,950	600,000
East Turkestan	431,800	580,000
	4,218,401	402,680,000

With these figures it may be of interest to compare the following returns of population:—

Great Britain	40,188,927	Italy	31,667,946
Russia	128,932,173	United States	74,389,000
Germany	52,279,900	Japan	42,708,264
France	38,517,975		
			408,684,185

learn to speak Chinese, but are content with the despised jargon known as Pidgin English!

Slaves.—There is of course no Caste in China, but on a small scale a mild kind of slavery exists. The slave population is chiefly composed of women who have been sold as children by their parents owing to poverty, pestilence, famine, or other reasons. A few have been kidnapped. Men occasionally sell their wives to clear off their debts or to secure money for opium, and sometimes dispose even of themselves to get out of the clutches of a creditor. Some slaves are descendants of prisoners taken in war. Many years ago, also, a certain number of negro slaves were imported into the country, but both these last-named classes are now almost extinct. Slave girls are usually well treated, live with other servants in great familiarity with their mistresses, and rank as inferior wives if they should bear children to their masters. The necessity of having a son to perform his funeral rites frequently induces a man whose spouse has failed to give him a male child to buy the daughter of poor parents as a concubine or secondary wife. The alternative of adopting a nephew or the son of a stranger often commends itself, however.

The "Chinese People."—The task of trying to give, within a limited space, a clear and comprehensive picture of the people of China in their daily life, such as shall convey a trustworthy impression of their mind and character, is exceedingly difficult. At the outset we are confronted with the fact that the convenient phrase, "the Chinese people," is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. Just as all Germans are not Prussians, so all the people of China are not Chinese. Undoubtedly, however, "China salts all the seas that flow into it." Various invaders have conquered China, but the Chinese are more than conquerors.

Manchus and Mongols have come, but China is still practically Chinese. The other races which once marched triumphantly into China may be compared with a small stream of purple water which rushed from a mill amid loud splashing into a deep river. At first, when the blood colour was widespread, it seemed to some as if the river could never be itself again. Very soon, however, the impression made by the foreign liquid on the surface was seen to be less vivid. Before long it became indistinct; and it was realised that the intruding rivulet was small after all compared with the great stream to which it had played tributary. But different languages and customs, and immense distances, operating through long periods of time, have had effects which conquest has failed to produce. It is not alone in his fairer skin and greater height that the Northern Chinaman, for instance, contrasts with his compatriot of the South. Again, in the single Province of Kwangtung, as Professor Ratzel notes, the people may be properly described as belonging to three separate stocks of Chinese.

The Barrier between West and East. — The second difficulty is to be found in the fact that the Chinese are more foreign to us than any other nation. Much of what passed for accurate knowledge of South Africa has been proved by the Boer War to have been absolutely untrustworthy. And this though shelf-fuls of books had been written about the country by people who had some claim to be heard, though thousands of intelligent Britons had been in South Africa, and though the people of whom it was desired to form an opinion were white men, speaking in most cases our language or an idiom related to our own. China is many times greater and more difficult to travel in than South Africa, and it lies at the opposite side of the globe. The people are not white but "yellow," and they speak not one language or dialect but three hundred, the

acquirement of one of which seems more laborious to a European than the learning of any Western tongue. Very few Occidentals accordingly speak Chinese, at any rate well. Comparatively few Europeans, when all is said and done, have even lived in China. (The foreign population, including a large proportion of Japanese and Indians, was not last year more than 17,000.) Distance, race, and language are not the only barriers between Europeans and Chinese. Training, prejudices, and beliefs, which are the growth of ages of rigorous separation, have to be reckoned with. Then there is the Chinese feeling of superiority on learning that Englishmen were naked savages at a time when they were a cultivated race. It is naturally displayed, and, by those whom the Chinese are inclined to regard as inferiors, as naturally resented. "Put yourself in his place" seems often a hard saying until middle age be reached, and most of the Europeans in China are young men. On the side of the Chinese, it is not easy for them to obtain from what they see in the Open Ports more than half-views of our Civilisation. On our side, again, though not a few Western books on China (Wells Williams's and Richthofen's, for example) are of a high class, they are large and expensive and little read. Many of the volumes which have influenced opinion here are the work of passing travellers, and are marred by prejudice, a limited range of information, and a lack of the quality of sympathetic imagination. Not only the best energies of a lifetime, but an exceptional mental and moral equipment will be required by the writer who shall one day attempt the great task of breaking down the barrier which stands between the Far East and the Far West. At the present time we really know very little which we are sure is perfectly accurate about China. All things considered, the wonder perhaps is that we know so much!

"**Brilliant Antithetical Analysis.**"—If any man could be expected to have sound knowledge of the Middle Kingdom it is Sir Robert Hart, who has been her trusted servant since his twenties,—but a few years ago he said to the Marquis Ito—

China is indeed a difficult country. A year or two ago I thought I knew something about her affairs, and I ventured to commit my views to writing. But to-day I seem to have lost all knowledge. If you asked me to write even three or four pages about China, I should be puzzled to do so. There is only one thing that I have learned. In my country the rule is "Break, but never bend." In China the rule is, "Bend, but never break."

That is good so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. The question is, however, whether, in the present state of our knowledge, much can be written that would go very far. One is reminded of what the excellent Special Correspondent of the *Times* with Lord Elgin said in one of his communications—

I have introduced no elaborate essay upon Chinese character (he wrote). The truth is I have written several very fine characters for the whole Chinese race, but having the people under my eye they were always saying something or doing something which rubbed so rudely against my hypothesis, that in the interests of truth I burnt several letters. The most eminent and candid sinologues[1] agree with me as to the impossibility of a Western mind forming a conception of Chinese character as a whole. *These difficulties, however, occur only to those who know the Chinese practically: a smart writer, entirely ignorant of his subject, might readily strike off a brilliant antithetical analysis, which should leave nothing to be desired but truth.*

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[1] *Sinologue.*—From *Sinim*, old name for China or Chinese, and *logos*. A scientific student of the Chinese or their language, literature, or history. In the twelfth verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah we read, "Behold these shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim." The Book of Isaiah was written between 770 B.C. and 530 B.C.

Books on China abound to this day in "brilliant antithetical analysis." Nothing is easier to write—or safer, for who is to call the author's assumptions in question?

Topsyturvydom. — One well-known saying about the Chinaman is that if you want to discover the attitude he will assume on any particular occasion, you have simply to find out how an Englishman would act in exactly the same circumstances—and then decide with confidence that the "heathen" will do the exact opposite! Now in support of such a dictum, a certain array of evidence can be produced.

A Chinaman's Christian name comes after not before "his honoured family name."
He shakes his own hands instead of his friend's.
He puts on his hat in salutation when we take it off.
He feels it unmannerly to look a superior in the face, and takes off his spectacles in his presence.
He deems it polite to ask a casual caller's age and income.[1]
His long nails are not a sign of dirtiness but of respectability.
His left hand is the place of honour.
He does not consider it clumsy, but courteous, to take both hands to offer a cup of tea.
He rides with his heels instead of his toes in the stirrups.
His visiting card is eight and sometimes thirty inches long.
He keeps out of step in walking with others.
He carries a pig instead of driving him.
His compass points south, and he speaks of west-north instead of north-west.
He says sixths-four instead of four-sixths.
He whitens instead of blackens his shoes.
He carries a fan even if he is a soldier on active service, or if he is going to his execution.
His women-folk are often seen in trousers accompanied by men in gowns.

[1] Even the M.P. author of a recent book on China does not seem to know this. Li Hung Chang, he writes, "asked me a great many questions, some of them of an almost impertinently inquisitive character."

He prefers a wooden rather than a feather pillow.
He often throws away the fruit of the melon and eats the seeds.
He laughs (to deceive evil spirits) on receiving bad news, and his daughters loudly lament on the eve of their weddings.
His favourite present to a parent is a coffin.
His merits often bring a title not to himself but to his ancestors.

Nevertheless it is probably correct to say, that the mistakes we have made in the Middle Kingdom and our errors in judging the Chinese are due quite as much to neglecting to ask ourselves how we should act if we were in their place as in failing to make sufficient allowances for possible topsyturviness.

The Chinaman as Colonist.—In one respect the Chinaman is very like ourselves. He goes all over the world and makes himself at home everywhere.

Like the Briton (says Mr. Dyer Ball) he looks forward, after making his pile, to return to his home to spend the remainder of his days in ease and comfort; and again, like the Briton, the countries he blesses by his presence owe, in some cases, their salvation, and in others incalculable benefits to him.

In Canada, the United States, South America, and Australia, despite all that is said to the contrary, the large Chinese populations perform services which would only be appreciated at their true value if they were suddenly to take their departure. Throughout the Pacific and in the British and Dutch East Indies the energy of the Chinese is proverbial, while the future of Burmah and Siam is in the hands of the same race, so indolent and happy-go-lucky are the natives.

The Good Points of the Chinaman.—As to the character of the Chinese people as a whole one cannot perhaps do better than bring together the opinions expressed by half a dozen representative authorities at various periods during the past fifty years.

In the Chinese character (says the author of *The Middle Kingdom*, the two thick volumes of which are quarries to which most writers on China have resorted for material for half a century) are elements which in due time must lift China out of the terribly backward position into which she has fallen.

Respect for parents and elders, obedience to law, chastity, kindness, economy,[1] prudence, and self-possession (wrote *Mr. Lay*, English head of the Chinese Maritime Customs) are the never-failing themes for remark and illustration.

I believe the Chinese people to possess all the mental and physical qualities required for national greatness (said *Lord Wolseley* in 1895).

China (wrote *Sir Thomas Wade*, ex-Ambassador at Peking, not long ago) is possessed of many of the solid moral qualities that Japan seems wholly to lack. The Chinese are a more dignified and thoughtful race. They have more real gravity, and, I should say, a higher sense of moral duty. Though not possessed of our ideas of chivalry, they have a far greater respect for women than the Japanese. They seem purer in their lives and talk.

I have left the country with the conviction (*Dr. Rennie*, a distinguished foreign resident in Peking declared) that the Chinese nation as a whole is a much less vicious one than, as a consequence of opinions formed from a limited and unfair field of observation, it has been customary to represent it; further, that the lower orders of the people generally are better conducted, more sober and industrious, and, taken altogether, intellectually superior to the corresponding class of our own countrymen.[2]

The human product of Chinese civilisation, religion, and government (says *Mrs. Bishop*, whose knowledge of Eastern peoples is unrivalled) is the greatest of all enigmas. At once conservative and adaptable, the most local of peasants in his attachments, and the most cosmopolitan and successful of emigrants—sober, industrious, thrifty,

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[1] In 1790 the then Emperor called upon the people of China to "economise the gifts of Heaven, lest ere long the people exceed the means of subsistence."

[2] "Because the Celestials think and act differently from ourselves, travellers have always considered them as an inferior race, refusing to admit that some of their ideas and customs are quite as good as ours, and that the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire would frequently lose much by changing their habits for those of which we are so proud."—M. Francis Mury in the *Revue des Revues* for July.

orderly, peaceable, indifferent to personal comfort, possessing great physical vitality, cheerful, contented, persevering—his filial piety, tenacity, resourcefulness, power of combination, and respect for law and literature, place him in the van of Asiatic nations.

His Weak Points: (1) Absence of Straightforwardness.—So much for the good points of the Chinaman. What are his weak ones? And when they are stated, what may be said in common fairness in his defence? It cannot be possible to indict a whole nation. Seeing that after intercourse between France and England, less than thirty miles apart, has existed for so many years, French impressions of this country or English impressions of our neighbours, written in good faith, are seldom published which do not, according to the Press of the two nations, contain gross misconceptions,—that many Frenchmen are convinced that Englishmen sell their wives at Smithfield and not a few Britons imagine that stewed frogs are a regular dish in Gallic households,—it is surely not improbable that some of our notions of the Chinese may be founded on an imperfect acquaintance with their character and habits. A common charge against the Chinaman is that "the truth is not in him." It is, no doubt, built upon two facts. There is, first, the undoubted "evasiveness" or worse of the East where no harm is thought to come of carrying the limits of permissible fibbing a little beyond the recognised Western standard, as reflected in our servants' fiction of "Not at home to-day, sir,"[1] in such sayings as "A diplomatist is a man sent abroad to lie on behalf of his country" and "There are lies, damned lies and affidavits," and in the perjury daily committed in our law courts in self-interest, self-defence, or to help friends. The second fact is that the

[1] Curiously enough, in this matter the Chinese are perfectly truthful. The Chinese servant does not say "Not at home," but that he has been instructed to "stay the gentleman's approach."

desire to be polite[1] and not to offend—which makes a Highland or an Irish peasant at one end of the world and a Kaffir at the other, hesitate to give an answer to a stranger which may be displeasing, and is a marked characteristic of the Chinaman, who, when the worst has been said of his faults, is surely one of the most peace-loving creatures on earth—

compels him (as has been said of the Japanese) to hide a disagreeable truth or to express it in very indirect language. His native tongue, with its elaborate impersonal forms of address and even of command, reflects the whole social sentiments of the people. It abounds in negations, in honorifics to the person addressed, in deprecatory phrases concerning self, or self's belongings.[2]

As to the honesty of the Chinese in their business dealings there can be no question. They have been praised again and again—often at the expense of the Japanese—for their commercial integrity. Mrs. Bishop doubts "whether any other Oriental race runs so straight."

[1] "There is more polish and outward politeness among them than is common with English or Americans. The suavity of manner and urbanity with which common street coolies and even the beggars address one another is most noticeable, and the graciousness with which the boatwomen accost each other, when shouting orders and requests to different craft in the intricate navigation of the crowded rivers, is most pleasant to hear."—*Things Chinese.*

"Whether in the crowded and narrow thoroughfares, the village green, the bustling market, the jostling ferry, or the thronged procession, good humour and courtesy are observable."—*The Middle Kingdom.*

[2] The literal translation of "I am much obliged for your visit, and hope you enjoy good health" is "How presume to receive the trouble of your honourable footsteps; is the person in the chariot well?" "Is your father well" is "Does the honourable great man enjoy happiness?" A man speaks of another man's wife as "the honourable lady" or "your favoured one" but refers to his own as "the mean one of the inner apartments." To the question, "How many worthy young gentlemen (*i.e.* sons) have you?" a father will answer, "I am unfortunate in having had but one boy," literally, "My fate is niggardly, and I have only one little bug."

> For the last twenty-five years (said a Shanghai bank manager in a public speech not long ago) the bank has been doing a very large business with the Chinese at Shanghai, amounting to hundreds of millions of taels, and we have never yet met with a defaulting Chinaman.

But as Lord Charles Beresford says, "The integrity of their merchants is known to every banker and trader in the East, and their word is as good as their bond." With regard to the relations of Chinamen with one another,

> no debt is ever carried over New Year if it can be avoided by any sacrifice, without either an actual settlement or an arrangement regarded as satisfactory by the creditor. To do otherwise would be to secure a blasted reputation.

(2) **Physical Weakness.**—To the charge that the Chinaman is an ingrate who does not respond to kindness it is enough perhaps to quote the speech of a Chinese who said—"It does not follow that, because the Chinaman does not exhibit gratitude, he does not feel it. When the dumb man swallows a tooth, he does not say much about it, but it is all inside." It has also been stated that the Chinese are "poor creatures who are weak in body and brain," "filthy in their food," and "opium-smokers."

As to lack of strength, Dr. Morrison, who, as a medical man, knew what he was writing about, says—

> I have seen men ambling along the road under loads that a strong Englishman could with difficulty raise from the ground. The common fast-travelling coolie of Sze Chuan contracts to carry 170 pounds forty miles a day over difficult country. Baber has often seen coolies with more than 400 pounds on their backs. The coolies engaged in carrying compressed tea into Tibet travel over mountain passes 7000 feet above their starting-place, yet there are those among them, says Richthofen, who carry 432 pounds.

The feats not only of strength but of skill and daring of the "trackers" who haul the junks through the rapids of the Upper Yangtsze to the wonder of every foreign beholder

might also be cited; but here is the testimony of a Chinaman to the physical endowment of his race:—

> Experience proves (the Chinese Minister in Washington writes) that the Chinese as all-round labourers can easily distance all competitors. Industrious, intelligent, and orderly, they can work under conditions that would kill a man of a less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil with only a few bowls of rice.

Turning to work above the level of the day labourer,

> in the higher branches of mechanical skill, such, for instance, as gold, silver, and ivory work (says Professor Douglas), Chinamen excel, and they are exceptionally proficient in the manufacture of bronzes, bells, lacquer ware, and cloisonné. With the appliances at their command, their skill in casting bells of great size and sonorousness is little short of marvellous. The famous bell at Peking weighs 120,000 pounds, and is one of five of the same weight, cast 1403–1425.

(3) **Queer Food.**—In the matter of food, there is about as much resemblance between the "Chinese menus" of the magazine articles and the ordinary fare of the average Chinaman, even of the best class, as there is between, say, a Lord Mayor's banquet and a British business man's dinner *en famille.* Bird's-nest soup is as uncommon and as expensive as good turtle soup. As to dogs, on the flesh of which, according to the popular notion, Chinese live, they bulk no more largely in the diet of the people of the Middle Kingdom than do cats—which may certainly be bought ready skinned at the Antwerp rabbit shops—or horses, frogs, and snails—some of which undoubtedly pass through the hands of Gallic chefs—in the staple food of Belgium and France. The Chinese prefer eggs a little "gone," and have some dishes which are not always palatable to Europeans; but on the other hand the English taste for "high" game shocks our

"heathen" friends, while our fondness for butter and cheese is considered by them a mark of our depravity. As cooks the Chinese rival the French in skill, and have brought a larger variety of vegetables into requisition than we have.

Of opium-smoking (see for statistics, etc., the Chapter entitled "Foreign Smoke"), in the light of the history of our relations with the drug, no less than the prevalence of drunkenness in our own country,—more than 300,000 arrests for insobriety are made in Great Britain and Ireland every year,—does it become us to say very much?

(4) **Footbinding.**— The two Chinese domestic matters which English folk speak of most are probably Footbinding and Infanticide. In regard to the former, it is happily the case that a "Natural Feet Society" ("T'ien Tsu Hui") is making considerable progress. The object of footbinding has not been quite understood in the West. The Chinese mother is not indifferent to the suffering inflicted on her daughters, but she says it is "easier to bear the cries of the girl when young than to endure her curses when she grew up, and would say, 'Why did you not bind my feet so that I could get a husband?'"

What is the use of binding the feet? (asks a Chinese Correspondent of a Shanghai paper). Its purpose is the same as "waist-tightening" amongst the European ladies. Do you tighten the waist for comfort? No. Is it to make one look taller or shorter? No. Then what is it for? It is for beauty. It is to catch the eyes of men. So is footbinding. They are both for the benefit of men. Footbinding does not do as much harm as waist-tightening. The former only crushes the metatarsal bones (very painful), which cannot be so injurious to the body as the latter, which displaces the vital organs so that they cannot perform their proper functions. I have heard of people who have met their deaths by waist-tightening, but not by footbinding.

The same writer makes a practical suggestion for dealing with what he admits to be a bad national custom. It is

that the T'ien Tsu Hui should get a number of Chinese youths to form a society whose members are indisposed to marry girls with "golden lilies," as the cramped feet are called. At present, the possession of natural feet ordinarily denotes a boatwoman, a slave girl, or a person of easy virtue.

(5) **Infanticide.**—It is a mistake to assume that Chinese mothers do not welcome some daughters. "The ratio in which fortune tellers allot happiness," says Dr. Smith, "is generally about five sons to two daughters." Were the truth told, it is doubtful if very different ideas on the subject would be found to prevail among the British working and middle classes. Yet in China, where not only is the means of subsistence narrower, but daughters have often to be kept in greater seclusion than with us, and are not available for the performance of ancestral rites, the embarrassment caused by a large proportion of girls in a family must be much greater than with us.

> The longer one lives in China (writes the author of a work published in Hongkong) the more one feels the necessity for caution in saying what does and does not exist here. About no subject is this perhaps more strikingly true than that of infanticide, for what holds perfectly good of one small district is entirely false when applied to other large tracts. Also what happens at one time, an exceptional period possibly, may not happen again, even in the same district, for years. To form an approximately correct estimate of this evil and crime, a systematically carried out investigation, extending over a number of years, all over the land would be necessary.

The facts in support of the statement that infanticide prevails to a serious extent in China may be set out as follows:—

(*a*) One of the twenty-four moral tales which have had considerable influence on the people tells how a poverty-stricken couple were rewarded by finding a pot of gold,

when, in order to have enough food left for an aged parent, they had decided to reduce the number of mouths by killing their infant.

(*b*) Many women admit having destroyed their infants.

(*c*) Proclamations are sometimes issued by the authorities and tracts printed by native societies urging parents not to destroy infant life.

On the other hand, one of the greatest authorities on China, Mr. H. A. Giles, British Consul, says—

> I am unable to believe that infanticide prevails to any great extent. In times of rebellion, under stress of exceptional circumstances, infanticide may possibly cast its shadow over the Empire, but as a general rule I believe it to be no more practised in China than in England, France, the United States, and elsewhere.

Bishop Moule, again, has "good reason to conclude that the prevalence of infanticide has been largely exaggerated," and a former French Consul in China declares that the crime is "a good deal less frequent than in Europe generally, and especially in France." The strict views of medical men on infanticide lend importance to the testimony of Drs. Dudgeon and Lockhart that in China it is "almost as rare as in England," and of Dr. Morrison that "the crime is less common among the barbarian Chinese than is the crime of fœticide[1] among the civilised races of Europe and America." It should be added that some boys as well as girls are destroyed because of physical defects, and that as nothing like the same care is taken in China over the disposal of the bodies of infants as of adults, the children whose remains are found floating in the rivers or

[1] In the perusal of a large number of works on China, the present writer has never come across a single allusion to the practice of fœticide, or to any other means than that under discussion of restricting the size of families. This fact may be taken for what it is worth.

exposed in the hills or on the countryside are not necessarily the victims of infanticide.

(6) **The Status of Women.**—That the treatment of women in China leaves something to be desired—as it does throughout the East and did in our own country a century ago—goes without saying. From childhood they are regarded as belonging to an inferior sex. A father has been seen to take a lollipop given to his daughter by a traveller and put it into her brother's mouth. Girls as well as boys are married early (as in Southern Europe), and the fact that, as has been humorously said, a man is taught not to leave father and mother and cling to his wife, but to cling to his parents and compel his wife to do the same, creates not a few difficulties, for many mothers-in-law prove "gey ill to live wi'." Then the taking of secondary wives often leads to sad bickerings—"sipping vinegar" is the expressive Chinese phrase. Polygamy is, however, the exception rather than the rule, and as, when plurality of wives is indulged in, there is only one "legal" wife, her position is secure against the new-comers unless she should fail to bear a son, when a concubine may be raised to equal rank. Few Chinamen, from the Emperor downwards, have a voice in the selection of their legal spouses, who are chosen by the parents of the bridegrooms; but among the working classes women are not secluded, and a husband and wife may therefore be acquainted to a certain extent, before marriage, while higher up in the social scale there seem to be ways and means by which young folk who are to wed sometimes have sight of one another. Cases have been recorded of young wives buying off their future husbands and becoming nuns, or committing suicide before or after marriage. Young girls have also been known to form societies with a pledge against matrimony. Nevertheless when all is said, there is probably more content in the

average Chinese family than our Western standpoint, tradition, and experience might lead us to suppose. Chinese novels, comedies, and poems are full of happy sweethearts, husbands and wives, as of men who repine at absence from home and children. They also picture households in which there is not an oppressed wife but a henpecked husband! The *Peking Gazette*, too, frequently has accounts of the death of wives who have preferred to pass into the next world by suicide rather than survive their husbands. The part played by women in China is much more important than has been supposed by some writers. "I like the Chinese women better than any Oriental women I know," writes Mrs. Bishop; "they have plenty of good stuff in them and backbone." They are certainly, as Dr. Morrison says, head and shoulders above the Japanese women. They are "more intellectual or more capable of intellectual development, incomparably more chaste and modest, and prettier, sweeter, and more trustworthy." "I have seen girls in China," he concludes, "who would be considered beautiful in any capital in Europe."

(7) Callousness.—A certain indifference to suffering is one of the characteristics of the Chinese. How much of it may be traceable to Eastern fatalism and a philosophical feeling of "what can't be cured must be endured," and how much may be due to obtuse nerves and callousness is by no means clear. The deliberate way in which the Chinese commit suicide,—a defeated officer at Amoy during one of the Opium War engagements was seen to walk straight down into the sea until he was overhead and carried off by the tide,—and the endurance which they show in undergoing operations without chloroform, have often been commented upon. As to callousness, reference has already been made to the legal and illegal torture which goes on, while in war time the Chinese soldiery still mutilates

the wounded and tortures prisoners. As the Port Arthur horrors committed by the Japanese troops showed that even the possession of a vote and a Waterbury was not enough to make the privates of the Mikado what Mulvaney called "clean fighters," the Chinese habit will probably take some eradication. That it is likely to be a permanent failing there is no evidence to show. Sensitiveness to suffering is after all only a modern development in the West. In England four years after Waterloo there were more than two hundred kinds of felony punishable by death. "More people are hanged in England than in all Europe beside," said Hazlitt; while in a previous age Claverhouse had freely used torture on his prisoners in his Scots campaigns as Jeffreys did on the fugitives taken after Sedgemoor. As a matter of fact the torture of prisoners still takes place in more than one European country, and survived until a few years ago in the Dutch East Indies. Another phase of Chinese callousness is the inhumanity they seem to show in dealing with persons seized with illness or in danger of losing their lives. Fear of being brought into expensive and troublesome contact with the Law as represented by what corresponds with our coroner's inquest may account for some of the cases that have been cited. Persons who have tried to rescue drowning persons and failed, are occasionally punished for their lack of success! In most instances, however, the Chinese watermen are probably influenced by the same superstition which prevents an Irish West Coast fisherman from helping to save life at sea. The Celt's belief is that by rescuing a man evidently fated to drown he would draw upon himself a mortal injury from the sea powers whom he had deprived of a victim. In their own way the people of the Middle Kingdom are benevolent and charitable. There are homes for the aged and for widows; beggar, orphan and foundling

asylums (with boarding-out institutions); soup kitchens, free dispensaries, free ferries, free resting-places for travellers (with hot water and lamps), free schools; and societies for advancing loans, for providing for the decent interment of the poor, and for the reviving of the apparently drowned. Well-to-do women also frequently give free teas to poor women.

(8) **Suicide.** — It is no doubt shocking to learn that a criminal sentenced to death is sometimes able to buy a substitute. As, however, the substitute is a perfectly free agent there must obviously be certain contingencies in which the sacrifice of life does not mean to the Chinese quite the same thing as it does to us Westerns. Suicide, for instance, which is common in China, is resolved on with much less excuse than is usually the case in Europe. Wives who have reason to complain of their husbands, or men who have suffered a wrong, think nothing of revenging themselves by committing suicide on the doorstep of their oppressors, so bringing down on them popular odium, the interference of the authorities, which means "squeezes," and demands for "compensation," which must be complied with, from the relatives of the deceased.

(9) **Fêngshui.**—The rate at which railways are being built and the extent to which the Empire is covered by telegraph wires show that the belief in fêngshui (or the spirits of air and water), of which so much has been written, can be borne down by the authorities. That it exercises a powerful influence on the people, however, is undoubted. No building can be erected, no corpse can be buried unless the fêngshui of the locality chosen are regarded as favourable. One house must not overtop another or the latter will be adversely affected,—hence the Chinese dislike of churches or two-storey foreign residences,—and it is often considered necessary to build a piece of straight wall or

erect a row of trees before a house in order to ensure better spirit conditions than would otherwise prevail. When the subsoil at Hongkong was dug into for the erection of the British barracks, there was a serious outbreak of fever, and this the Chinese attributed to the disturbance of the fêng-shui. No doubt there are some rudiments of hygienic knowledge in the possession of the geomancers, but in the majority of cases they must be conscious deceivers of their patrons. So long, however, as well-known English land-owners employ men to find water by means of the divining rod, we ought not, perhaps, to laugh too loudly at the faith placed in China in geomancers' compasses.

Proverbs. — Failing the ballads to which Fletcher of Saltoun attached so much importance, a good deal of light is thrown on the true character of a people by its proverbs. The ballads of the Chinese require a commentary for British readers, but the following proverbs current in China speak for themselves.

A bottle-nosed man may be a teetotaller and yet no one will tbink so.
Done leisurely, done well.
Everything is difficult at first.
It is easier to know how to do a thing than to do it.
There is dew for every blade of grass.
To persuade men not to gamble is to win for them.
As the twig is bent the mulberry grows.
True gold fears no fire.
Do not pull up your stockings in a melon field, or arrange your hat under a peach tree, lest people think you are stealing.
An old man marrying a young wife is like a withered willow sprouting.
Let every man sweep the snow from before his own doors, and not trouble himself about the hoar frost on his neighbour's tiles.
Better not be than be nothing.
The straightest trees are first felled; the cleanest wells first drunk up.
A wife should excel in four things, virtue, speech, person, needlework.
Every day cannot be a feast of lanterns.
If you love your son, give him plenty of cudgel; if you hate him cram him with dainties.

Though the sword be sharp, it will not wound the innocent.
Too much lenity multiplies crime.
He is my teacher who tells me my faults, my enemy who speaks my virtues.
The fame of good deeds does not leave a man's door, but his evil acts are known a thousand miles off.
Do good, regardless of consequences.

A large number of what we have been in the habit of regarding as British proverbs—"Prevention is better than cure," and so on—have been familiar to the Chinese for ages.

"Outside Barbarians."—In these brief notes it has not been possible to touch upon more than a few aspects of national life and character. Did space permit, the organisation and wealth of the guilds and trade unions, the working of the extraordinary private mutual loan associations, and of the secret societies—eclipsing some of their Western rivals in variety of watchwords, signs, ritual, and paraphernalia[1]—might well claim attention. In regard to Chinese commercial organisation, it is not generally known that in addition to the facilities afforded by the native banks, unofficial native post-offices will carry bullion six or seven hundred miles, and insure the owner against loss for a total charge of no more than 2½ per cent. Mention should also be made of the Chinaman's saving sense of humour, and of his practical mind. He does not subscribe to public objects on the off-chance of receiving a title, as people have been known to do in the West, but under a regular official tariff, in which the rewards for the various donations likely to be offered are plainly stated. Ah Sin, as Bret Harte has shown, was an accomplished gambler; but addicted though

[1] A few years ago there were estimated to be more than a hundred secret societies in the Province which now forms the German sphere of influence.

the Chinese are to games of chance, it has been justly said that the national interest which is displayed in this country in Goodwood or the Derby centres in the Middle Kingdom in the results of the various Civil Service Examinations. They are not only a "great sporting event," but are made the occasion of triumphal arches, banquets, and fireworks.[1] Another point in regard to the Chinese is the powerful memory produced in them by hard labour at the learning of the language and classics through countless generations. One traveller met a native telegraph clerk who could instantly give the word indicated by any one of the 10,000 numbers, each of four figures, in the Chinese telegraphic code! Whether, as has been contended, Chinese Art lacks imagination cannot be debated here. One of its qualities is certainly its realism—a cat has been seen to scrutinise a bird on a Chinese canvas! Beautiful carving and pictures abound throughout the country,—even small junks having sketches hanging on their tiny cabin walls,—and a proverb is to the effect that "there are pictures in poems and poems in pictures." Retort upon him, as we may, with his own word "barbarian,"[2] the Chinaman is abreast of

[1] One writer speaks of "the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors; the cannons and music which greet the candidates first to come forth; the lists of the successful eagerly bought up in the streets; the chosen essays and poems sent to Court for the delectation of the Emperor," and so on. Another mentions that a brother of the 1872 Senior Wrangler having rented a house in Canton, its owner, "hearing that he was the brother of the famous Chong-üin, made him a free gift of the tenement."

[2] "In reality, the term *barbarians* seems, for many ages, to have implied nothing hostile or disrespectful. By a natural onomatopœia, the Greeks used the iterated syllables *barbar* to denote that a man was unintelligible in his talk; and by the word *barbarian* originally, it is probable that no sort of reproach was intended, but simply the fact that the people so called spoke a language not intelligible to Greeks. Latterly, the term seems to have been often used as one of mere convenience for classifica-

us[1] in some of the things which we are sometimes inclined to regard as specially characteristic of the Western Nineteenth Century. Surely the Ruskinian must be gratified by his saying, "Cheap things are not good, and good things are not cheap," the sanitarian be cheered by his insistence on having his drinking water boiled, and the humanitarian rejoice in his lifeboats, and in a Viceroy's recent raid on a cotton factory where women and girls were employed for long hours—such an arrangement, the dignitary declared, was opposed alike to good morals and Confucian principles! There is certainly nothing like the study of the life and history of the people of China for a realisation of the truth of the words of Ecclesiastes, "That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there a thing whereof men say, See, this is new? it hath been already, in the ages which were before us."

tion, indicating the non-Hellenes in opposition to the Hellenes; and it was *not meant to express any qualities whatever of the aliens*,—simply they were described as *being* aliens. At this day, it is very probable that the Chinese mean nothing more by the seemingly offensive term 'outside barbarians.'"—De Quincey.

[1] The West is superior in combative and destructive elements—the very things which the religion of the West has been trying to eradicate for two thousand years; so that, even from a Western point of view, Europe's material victory is a moral defeat."—"Struggle for Reform in China," *North American Review* for August.

CHAPTER VIII

HIS RELIGIONS AND BELIEFS

The Imperial High Priest. — A distinguished writer on Comparative Theology has truly said that "nothing is more difficult to seize than the traits that constitute the permanent expression and real character of a religion." Of the faith of no country is it less easy to give an account than that of China. In the first place, the nation comprises within itself peoples of many distinct races and of every degree of cultivation. Secondly, a large proportion of the population professes not only Confucianism but the other two chief religions of the Empire, Taouism and Buddhism as well— the Emperor himself, after performing his religious duties according to Confucius, visits Taouist and Buddhist temples. Thirdly, while the Chinese classics, the monastery libraries, and native tracts enable us to form a very fair idea of the faiths taught in China, there are difficulties in the way of gauging their influence, either separately or as a whole, on the conduct and life of the population. The Confucian code of morals seems to be supplemented to some degree by the Buddhist religious faith and belief in the transmigration of souls. Of Taouism, originally a pure philosophy, it is customary to say that it supplies a certain amount of superstitious lore which Confucianism and Buddhism lack. The attempt to conform to and reconcile the three religions is "an indication," the Rev. S. Beal asserts in *Buddhism in*

China, "of a growing indifference to all religion strictly so-called, which is, in fact, the characteristic of the Chinese people at the present day." There is some reason to believe that a large proportion of the educated class is in reality agnostic. No State endowment of religion exists in China, but the Emperor, as the "Son of Heaven" and "The Buddha of the Present Day," is the religious head and sole high priest of his realm. Every year at the winter solstice he sacrifices to "Heaven," with an impressive ceremonial, at the Altar of Heaven at Peking, on behalf of all the millions of China. The Chinese have been said to lack imagination, but among the facts which should be considered in forming an opinion on the matter are certainly the sublimity of the scene at the Open Air Temple of Heaven at Foochow, and the beauty and reverence exhibited in the architecture of the religious buildings scattered throughout the Empire.

Confucianism.—The faith which most truly reflects the Chinese national temper, and for ages has had the most overwhelming influence in directing the thoughts and moulding the character of the Chinese, is that associated with the name of Confucius. Even professed Buddhists and Taouists seem to reject everything contrary to his teachings. The Sage himself was born more than five hundred years before Christ, and knew Lao-tze, who is regarded as the head of Taouism. Buddhism did not reach China from India until some centuries later. At the age of twenty, Confucius—whose birth, like that of Buddha and Lao-tze, is fabled to have been attended by miraculous incidents—entered public life as the Keeper of the Stores of Grain in one of the small Ducal States into which China was at that time divided. Between the teachings of "The Throneless King" and those of his follower Mencius (and Lao-tze) and the highest morality inculcated by Christ

there are many striking parallels. But the great hold of Confucianism on the people of China is undoubtedly due to the fact that it is what has been called an "everyday religion." The Sage left dicta as to conduct in all the relations of life, from things of the first importance to the smallest matters of etiquette. The "general disposition towards law and order in China, though it may have something to do with the race," says a competent student, "is without doubt on the whole the result of the teachings of Confucius."

The Sage as Politician.—Confucius entered the world of politics with the firm belief that his principles would so transform the government of his State that the whole civilised world would be led to accept his doctrines and follow the lines of conduct he had laid down. Man's natural leanings being towards good, it was only needful, he taught, to set the people an example in the character and conduct of the prince, and his subjects would follow it. The Chief Ke K'ang having asked about government, Confucius said, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?" Ke K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the State, inquired how they might be done away with. Confucius replied, "If you, sir, were not covetous, though you should reward them to do it, they would not steal." "And what do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" "Sir," was the answer, "in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desire be for what is good, and the people will be good." Confucius, like Plato and Aristotle, made no rigid division between politics and morality, and in his writings the two are inextricably blended. The aim of government was the good of all, moral as well as material. To achieve this aim, "the Great Teacher" relied largely, as we have seen,

on the influence of a virtuous prince, and pure-minded, unselfish ministers. He laid great stress on ceremonies in the intercourse of man with man, the object of which was to secure a "reverential manner" among all classes of people. In the relations of father and child, husband and wife, elder brother and younger, Confucius saw a divinely appointed means of preparing men for their duties in the State. These relations brought their reciprocal obligations. Although the Sage, in common with the philosophers of Greece and Rome, regarded man rather as a member of the State than as an individual, yet his writings deal very largely with the discipline needful for becoming a "Superior man." Tsze-Kung asked if there were one word which might serve as a rule of practice for all one's life, and was answered, "Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The next step is learning. Without learning benevolence becomes folly, wisdom vagueness, sincerity recklessness, straightforwardness rudeness, boldness disorder, and firmness foolishness. In spite of learning, a man may yield to temptation, yet knowledge is the surest foundation of a strong will. Evil springs from ignorance, and it is the truth that makes us free. By combining knowledge with a will firmly and sincerely set on the paths of duty, a man will advance in the course of virtue, and will not only be advantaged in this life, but will transmit a grand example to posterity. The "complete man" must have valour: the fisherman, the hunter, the soldier, have their kind of courage, "but to recognise that poverty comes by the ordinance of Heaven, and that there is a tide in the affairs of men, and in the face of difficulty not to fear" is a higher courage—moral courage, in which Confucius himself was distinguished. "While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish," he said on one occasion, "what can the people of K'wang do

to me?" Though he discouraged too much speculation about the Hereafter, saying on one occasion, "While you do not know life, how do you know about death?" yet, like Paul, he believed that men are encompassed about with a great cloud of witnesses.

The Emperor and the Sage. — There are more than fifteen hundred temples to Confucius, and twice every month an Imperial summary of his teaching is read out to the people, and sacrifices are offered to his memory. Twice a year the Emperor attends in state at the Imperial College, and having twice knelt, and six times bowed his head, he invokes the presence of the spirit of Confucius in the words—

> Great art thou, O perfect sage! Thy virtue is full, thy doctrine is complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honour thee. Thy statutes and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern in this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been set out. Full of awe we sound our drums and bells.

The body of Confucius lies buried in a shrine of marvellous beauty in Shantung—in the German "Sphere of Influence."

Taouism.—Lao-tze's doctrine of the Taou, or "The Way," suggests the opening verses of the Gospel according to John. The Taou was "an eternal road; along it all beings and all things walked, but no being made it, for it is being itself; it was everything and nothing, and the cause and effect of all. All things originated from Taou, conformed to Taou, and to Taou they at last returned." "In heaven above and on earth beneath," he said, "Taou alone is worthy of honour." "If I were endowed with prudence, I should walk in the great Taou. The great Taou is exceedingly plain, but the people like the footpaths." "Like a loving parent, Taou watches with a providential care over all created things. From its portals they issue forth into life,

and through all the changes and chances of existence it continues on their right hand and on their left, nourishing in love, imparting life to all and refusing none. Though before all, above all and in all, it yet does not compel obedience. Those who bring their wills into harmony with Taou find in it a beneficent and almighty protector, but those who spurn it are left to find out for themselves the folly of their way." The luxuries of civilisation were to Lao-tze only distracting cares which blinded the soul to the true aim of existence. He was a very Quaker in his hatred of war and inculcation of the duty to give the soft answer which turneth away wrath and not to resist violence, as of the belief that no harm can come to the man who practises modesty, humility, and gentleness. The "Venerable Philosopher" preached a morality even more lofty than that of Confucius, attacking his followers for their self-righteousness, and urging upon them humility. "He who knows the light, and at the same time keeps the shade, will be the whole world's model. Being the whole world's model, eternal virtue will not miss him, and he will return home to the absolute."

Superstition and Magic.—But even the pure doctrine of Lao-tze was soon defiled by superstition. His spiritual conception of union with the Divine, passed into the gross belief that men might become gods and rise superior to the laws of Nature. From this germ sprang all the magical practices of the later Taouists. The priests professed that they could raise tempests, and that by information derived from the inhabitants of the Isles of the Blest they were able to predict future events. Not unnaturally the Taouists have come to believe in a multitude of deities. The forces of Nature have been personified; "the God of Thunder," "the Mother of Lightning," "the Spirit of the Sea," "the Lord of the Tide" are common objects of worship. The temples of

the Dragon King are also favourite resorts of worshippers, who in all convulsions of Nature recognise the agency of this potent and amphibious monster. "The number of gods," says Professor Douglas, "is practically unlimited, every pursuit in life having its corresponding deity. War, learning, wealth, happiness, all have their temples, while the priests derive a considerable revenue by performing the rites of exorcism, by casting horoscopes, and in other ways trading upon the credulity of the people."

Buddhism.—While many people in China hold Buddhist beliefs without knowing their source, and would strongly object to being called Buddhists, there is much open profession of Buddhism, which faith seems indeed to have more temples and monasteries than any other in the Empire. Briefly, the leading doctrine of the founder of the religion was the illusion of material things and the reality of the Soul. The soul is entangled in matter: the desires of the flesh are so many bonds: by yielding to them the soul condemns itself to imprisonment. Even death does not emancipate, but is merely the gateway to a new incarnation. The way of freedom is knowledge: delusion gone, the common aims of men—wealth, pleasure, and the like—are seen at their true worth, which is nothing: the soul empties itself of desire, and the crown of the process is the attainment of Nirvana, the absorption of the finite by the infinite. Buddha offered no Supreme object of worship to his followers. Yet Nature has asserted herself, and countless devotees now worship the prophet of the gentle, pure, and merciful. Although Buddhism has been described as a system of philosophy rather than a religion, yet practically, at this day, it is a religious system. It appeals to faith in the unseen, it prompts to worship, and holds out to the soul a prospect of infinite progress and happiness in the world to come.

Mahommedanism.—As to other faiths than these mentioned, the only conspicuous one is Mahommedanism. A large number of the Aborigines are still, however, Nature worshippers. The Mussulmans, the outline of whose faith is too well known to need description, have been decimated in the various rebellions. Their stronghold used to be in Yunnan. In the country north of the Yangtsze they now number perhaps 10,000,000. Some 20,000 are to be found in the metropolitan Province of Pechili. In the whole Empire there may be 30,000,000 followers of Mahommed. They are not fanatical, are less rigorous in their ceremonies than the Arabs, and are said to compare very favourably in their character and bearing with their non-Mussulman fellow-countrymen.

The Priests and the People.—In Buddhism as in Taouism truth is strangely mingled with error. Superstitious beliefs and rites have crept in. Also many Buddhist as well as Taouist priests are reported to be slothful, avaricious, and corrupt. As has been seen, China is full of idols, and the masses of the population may be justly called ignorant and superstitious. But they are also intelligent, industrious, amiable in their relations with one another, devoted to their old people, tolerant in their creeds, courteous and forbearing in ordinary circumstances to "the stranger from afar," honest in their business dealings, and orderly to a wonderful degree, while the proportion of serious crime among them is probably smaller than in some European countries. Their religious beliefs must have some share in bringing about such a state of things—which after all cannot honestly be said to exist in every Western State. The priests pictured by Chinese comedians often seem to be no better than they should be, but we ourselves would not expect a foreigner to judge our "clergy and ministers

of all denominations" from what he might see in the theatres of the Rev. Mr. Stiggins and the stage curate. The groups of priests who appear in photographs brought home from China certainly contain many men with faces of the highest religious type, and whatever the exceptions may be, is it not well to bear in mind the wise words of Professor Max Müller?—"If we claim the right to appeal to the Gospel as the only test by which our faith is to be judged, we must grant a similar privilege to all who possess a written, and, as they believe, revealed authority for the articles of their faith."

Filial Piety and Ancestor Worship.—Of all the virtues Filial Piety ranks highest in the minds of the Chinese. It is inculcated not only by Confucianism, but, it is important to remember, by Buddhism. From his earliest years the child is impressed with a sense of his duty to his parents, and his imagination is fired by instances from the Classics of great devotion and self-sacrifice. It is narrated of one son that in order to obtain fish for his mother he thawed the ice on a pond by lying naked upon it. Another, though seventy years old, dressed himself as a child and gambolled before his parents in order that he might make them forget their great age. The latter example was actually followed by a recent Emperor on the occasion of his venerable mother's birthday. Children sometimes undergo imprisonment, and even death, in the stead of their parents. Disobedience and disrespect are regarded with horror, and are punished with the utmost severity, while all praise is showered upon the dutiful.[1] The full development of Filial Piety is seen

[1] But where parents are in error, *the Book of Rites* declares that "the son with a humble spirit, pleasing countenance, and gentle tone, must point it out to them. If they do not receive his reproof, he must strive more and more to be dutiful and respectful towards them till they are

in Ancestral Worship. This custom has descended from the remotest times, and is dear to the hearts of all the people, rich and poor, learned and ignorant. The Chinaman believes that death does not sever the link which binds him to those who have gone before; though unseen they are still near him; as in life he ministered to their needs, and sought their goodwill, so still does he make them offerings and desire their blessing. Professor Douglas, in his excellent little work, *Confucianism*, tells us of this worship that "the principle runs through the whole of the Confucian system, and is intimately bound up with it. Confucianism must be torn up by the roots before it will be logically possible for the Chinese to make light of a duty which springs from one of the most generous instincts of the human heart, and is bound up with everything that is good in the constitution of the Chinese commonwealth."

pleased, and then he must again point out their error. But if he does not succeed in pleasing them, it is better that he should continue to reiterate reproof, than permit them to do an injury to the whole department, district, village, or neighbourhood."

THE "FOREIGN DEVIL"

CHAPTER IX

THE "JESUS RELIGION"

The Emperors and the Friars.—Long before thirteenth-century friars penetrated to the Imperial Court of China Nestorian Christianity had played a part to which a monument, erected in 781 A.D. and still standing in the Middle Kingdom, bears witness. When the time came during which the throne was occupied by Kublai Khan, Christians, Mahommedans, and Buddhists found themselves equally at liberty to propagate their doctrines. The distinguished missionary, Ricci, "began his work by studying the language together with the scientific and religious beliefs of the people"; used the teachings of Confucius where they corresponded with the New Testament Gospel; translated Euclid and other works into Chinese; obtained, to serve a useful purpose in his work, a knowledge of mechanics; wrote and acted with charity, courtesy, and forbearance; and died immensely respected in 1610. His successors even went the length, until Rome pulled them up, of tolerating the worship of ancestors on the ground that, as Professor Douglas says, "it was rather a civil than a religious service." The great Emperor K'anghsi, whose mother, wife, and son were baptized, announced by edict that

as we do not restrain the lamas of Tartary or the bonzes of China from building temples and burning incense, we cannot refuse these

(Christians) having their own churches and publicly teaching their religion, especially as nothing has been alleged against it as contrary to law.

But before he died His Majesty had sad trouble with the Roman Catholic missionaries, who quarrelled among themselves, amassed money by usury and commerce, betrayed, when cross-examined by the Emperor, ignorance of the Chinese books as to the character of which they had spoken adversely, and brought down on themselves the Imperial dictum that instead of propagating their religion in China they were destroying it. In a succeeding reign 300 churches were destroyed by Imperial order. An eighteenth-century Emperor read the missionaries a lecture, in the course of which he expressed himself as follows :—

> What would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country in order to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them? You wish that all the Chinese should become Christians, and indeed your creed commands it. I am well aware of this, but in that event what would become of us? Should we not be merely subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognise nobody but you, and in time of trouble they would listen to no other voice than yours. I permit you to reside here and at Canton, so long as you give no cause for complaint. I will have none of you in the Provinces. The Emperor, my father, suffered much in reputation among the Literati by the condescension with which he allowed you to establish yourselves. Do not imagine that I have nothing against you, or on the other hand that I wish to oppress you. My sole care is to govern the country well.

Results of Missionary Work.—At the present day the Roman Catholic faith, which has had so many centuries' start in front of the Protestant, and fewer internal dissensions to combat, counts the larger number of converts. The total in five Provinces has been returned at 155,900, but the grand total for the Empire is stated to be a million, with 25 bishoprics. The number of Protestant converts

for all China is not put higher than 80,600, with 2458 missionaries of all kinds, including missionaries' wives. Many converts fall away every year, and a considerable portion of those who remain firm are open to the imputation conveyed in the common appellation of "Rice Christians," through having gained a livelihood (as servants of various sorts, teachers, printers, and translators) by their change of faith. A very large number of converts are of the coolie class, or have been inmates of the missionary orphanages. That there are not a few genuine converts cannot be doubted by any impartial judge. The amounts subscribed by native Christians for propagandist work and the maintenance of churches, and the fact that many converts have sealed their faith by martyrdom speak for themselves. Perhaps the strongest indictment by a responsible writer of missionary methods is contained in Dr. Morrison's *Australian in China*, where some lamentable illustrations of clerical incompetence and narrow-mindedness, for which chapter and verse are given, are furnished. Mr. Henry Norman declares roundly in his *Far East*—from the point of view of a visitor to the ports only—that

> missionary effort in China has been productive of far more harm than good; instead of serving as a link between Chinese and foreigners the missionaries have formed a growing obstacle.

Mr. Alexander Michie, than whom few men have a clearer insight into Chinese character, sums up the results of missionary enterprise (*Missionaries in China*, 1891)

> as having produced for the Chinese Government perpetual foreign coercion; for the Chinese nation, an incessant ferment of angry passions and a continuous education in ferocity against Christianity; for the foreign missionaries, pillage and massacre at intervals, followed by pecuniary indemnification—an indefinite struggle with the hatred of a whole nation, compensated by a certain number of genuine converts.

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The missionaries are well spoken of in Younghusband's *Heart of a Continent*, and Mrs. Bishop in *The Yangtsze Valley and Beyond* discusses the missionary problem in a frank and sympathetic spirit. As to medical missions, everybody is agreed that they have done incalculable good. To the admirable missionary hospitals at Hangchow and Moukden, among others, the local dignitaries have made large gifts.

The Causes of Anti-Missionary Feeling.—With regard to the labours of the non-medical missionaries of both sexes, to whose courage, disinterestedness, and devotion nobody can surely be blind for one moment, we must content ourselves merely with setting out what seem to have been the chief factors militating against a greater degree of success than has been obtained.[1]

1. Natural prejudice against foreigners. From the standpoint of the Chinese natural man, "their eyes, their complexion, their ways of sitting and carrying their hands" are alike "repulsive."

2. The belief, "sometimes piteous," says Mrs. Bishop, that the foreigners are "child-eaters and use the eyes and hearts of children in medicine."

3. The conviction that the strangers have come, "if not, as many believe, as spies and political agents, to teach a foreign religion which is to subvert Chinese nationality, to wreck the venerated social order introduced by Confucius, to destroy the reverence and purity of domestic life, and the loyalty to ancestors, and to introduce abominable customs."

4. Foreigners' imperfect acquaintance with a most difficult language—many missionaries do not get beyond the colloquial speech of coolies, and so make no impression on any other class.

[1] The point of view of the missionaries was thus indicated by Dr. Guinness Rogers (*Daily News* report of a sermon, July 23):—"What

5. Misplaced confidence in preaching — "Chinese methods of influencing are chiefly literary, catechetical, and conversational."

6. Reliance on European agency — "the foreigner remains a foreigner in his imperfect and often grotesque use of language, in his inability to comprehend Chinese modes of thinking and acting, etc.," and does not commend his doctrine to his hearers as a possible national faith as a Chinese speaker could do.

7. Tactless presentation of Christian dogma. "Teacher, you say what is good," said an old Chinaman to a missionary, "but it is not all true. You say we have never seen God. Then we can't have injured Him, and so don't need His forgiveness."

8. Ill-judged circulation of the Scriptures—tracts with "coarse illustrations of the swallowing of Jonah and the killing of Sisera by Jael" are said to have been distributed—and retention of the Prayer-Book by Anglican missions.

had missionaries to do with this fierce and fiery outburst? It was not they who had been discussing how China was to be divided up. The missionary was the one man in China who could not help being there. He went to serve no purpose of self-interest or desire for glory, but impelled by a divine necessity. The *Quarterly Review* had just borne high testimony to the work of the missionaries to the Hottentots. In thirty years it was admitted that a degraded and brutalised people had been converted into sane, industrious cultivators." The Chinese would of course rejoin that they are "sane, industrious cultivators" already. "The present outbreaks are not anti-Christian but anti-foreign," the Rev. George Hudson of Hangchow writes in a letter home. "Their object is not the suppression of Christianity, but the total elimination of the foreign element from Chinese affairs. The fact that the native Christians have suffered so severely arises not so much from their profession of Christianity, as from their connection with the foreigners who have introduced Christianity into China, and are regarded as agents of the various foreign Powers, sent to China for the express purpose of stirring up sedition."

I have for years thought (said Bishop Patteson, whose Life has been written by Miss Charlotte M. Yonge) that we seek in our missions a great deal too much to make *English* Christians. Evidently the heathen man is not treated fairly, if we encumber our message with unnecessary requirements. The ancient Church had its "selection of fundamentals." Any one can see the mistakes we have made in India. Few men think themselves into the state of the Eastern mind. We seek to denationalise these races as far as I can see; whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible—only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice. I do not mean that we are to compromise truth, but do we not overlay it a good deal with human traditions?

9. The number of conflicting Protestant faiths, sometimes in controversy with, and often jealous of one another—there are probably not far short of three dozen represented in China—and six different names given to God in as many translations of the Bible. In addition to these variations, the Americans have chosen a name of their own, so have the Jesuits, and no one of the whole series is that used by the Chinese—"Shangtien hou" ("High Heaven's Ruler").

10. The youth and married state of many missionaries—Chinese teachers have been old men and ascetics—and their lack of experience of life or narrow culture. "So far as education goes," Mr. Norman asserts, "both men and women among Protestant missionaries are often quite unfitted to teach at home; they are often not too hardly described by the phrase applied to them, 'ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese.'"

11. The unconscious violation by lady missionaries of Chinese notions of propriety. A young unmarried woman living in a house other than her father's is regarded as a concubine. Her character is also affected by going out without a chaperon, or by wearing a tight bodice or a hat. The conduct of some lady missionaries has been uncon-

sciously so "unseemly" as to have had the attention of our Foreign Office called to it.

12. Imperfect acquaintance on the part of missionaries with the good points of Chinese religious doctrine and moral teaching, literature, and civic and domestic life, and unfortunately-worded addresses or ill-chosen texts, which seem to native ears to cut at the root of filial piety, veneration of ancestors, and loyalty to the Throne.

13. The way in which converts by holding aloof from the national festivals at the change of the seasons, etc., set themselves in opposition to their fellow-countrymen.

14. The manner in which some missionaries, almost exclusively Roman Catholic, interfere between offenders who have been "inquirers" at their houses—the number of this often merely curious or self-seeking class is very large—and the governing authorities, and appeal against them to Peking, where Foreign Ministers take the matter up, and in ignorance of all the circumstances of the case make a point of securing a decision against the mandarins.

15. The quite disproportionately large indemnities with which localities where there have been riots have been mulcted at the instance of Foreign Ministers.

16. The reports brought home by returned emigrants as to the way in which it has been attempted to bar Chinamen out of America and Australia, and the manner in which many of those who have been allowed to enter those countries have been treated. The Chinese Consul-General to the United States, in an article in the June *Forum* protesting against American exclusiveness in regard to Chinese, asserts that not only labourers but Chinese merchants and professional men are subjected to all kinds of restrictions even when merely travelling. They are kept waiting

in confinement for long periods while waiting for pass certificates. In one prison

> are held, for long periods, Chinese gentlemen worth hundreds of thousands of dollars; men of vast interests, tea merchants, scholars, owners of extensive establishments of chinaware, bankers, owners of ships. They are deprived of their liberty, and subjected to indignities of exquisite refinement, while their pecuniary loss is beyond computation. By recent rulings of the Treasury Department all Chinese bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and missionaries are debarred from the United States as not being entitled to enter this country.

Mr. Mitchell, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* (Oct. 1894) on the Chinese in Australia, says—

> Many an hotel in the Colonies has been burned to the ground for no other reason than that the owner employed a Chinese cook. The disabilities of the Jews in mediæval Europe sink into nothingness when compared with the disabilities of the Chinese in modern Australia. The average working Chinaman has to live the life of the leper outside the gates. Yet he braces himself to the cruel and unequal struggle, and in the end achieves a quiet triumph in the face of every difficulty. Has chivalry died out among the Caucasian race that honour should be denied to such achievement?

The Child-Eating Legend.—It is not difficult to understand how the child-stealing and eating legend which figures in every anti-missionary riot (and, indeed, in every street urchin's ribaldry quite as much as "foreign devil") may have arisen in honest misconception. The doctrine of "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," must, obviously, present considerable difficulty to the mind of an unsympathetic and suspicious Chinaman. Consider this fact, however, in conjunction with

1. His mediæval belief in the potency of a medicine depending in some degree upon its nastiness—the horrors of native physic defy description;

2. A possible report of some medical missionary's coolie that babies who die in the hospital are cut up (*i.e.* made

the subject of post-mortem examination, an outrage in a Chinaman's eyes);

3. The fact that many Roman Catholic priests make it a practice to buy moribund infants for a few cash—in order to have the satisfaction, inexplicable to the Chinese, of baptizing them before death;

4. The secrecy and seclusion of Roman Catholic institutions; and

5. The general conviction that Englishmen are inordinate eaters—compared with the Chinese—and consumers of strange foods—many brought from abroad in sealed tins.

Surely, from the point of view of ignorant natives, some ground obviously exists for the belief that medicine-making out of dead babies and even child-eating go on in Western houses?

An Old Kent Road Parallel.—In all the circumstances of the case, one could well imagine an intelligent Chinaman, in asking that a lenient view should be taken of some of the riots to which the prejudices of his countrymen have driven them, calling attention to four facts—

1. That two centuries have not elapsed since a woman was executed in the United Kingdom for witchcraft (a faith in which has sent, since the issue of Pope Innocent VIII.'s Bull, 9,000,000 persons in Europe to their death);

2. That to this day there are frequently murders of Jews in Western countries due to the belief that they kill their children at the Passover;

3. That our own kith and kin when they come to England as Mormon missionaries are frequently roughly handled; and

4. That if an outlandishly attired Chinaman, with a wife and apparently two concubines, addicted for an inexplicable reason to wearing evening dress in the streets, took a house off the Old Kent Road and there practised

questionable rites, distributed tracts subversive of recognised principles of domestic as well as religious life, and was believed to look forward to a time when half Camberwell, if not all Surrey and Kent, would be secured from a complacent Foreign Office for a rich, religious, and commercial Colony of compatriots of like demoralising beliefs and practices, all the J.P.s and policemen in South London would hardly guarantee the strangers against a dangerous mob manifestation.

History Repeats Itself.—It is perhaps well that it should be borne in mind that not only in the East but in the West, pioneering Christians have been the subject of slanders almost identical with those which have had such disastrous consequences in China. The early Christians of ancient Rome, we read in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*,

> were regarded as the most wicked of humankind, who practised in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favour of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of the abhorred society. It was asserted that a new-born infant, entirely covered with flour, was presented, like some mystic symbol of initiation, to the knife of the proselyte, who unknowingly inflicted many a secret and mortal wound, and as soon as the cruel deed was perpetrated the sectaries drank up the blood, greedily tore asunder the quivering members, and pledged themselves to eternal secrecy by a mutual consciousness of guilt. This inhuman sacrifice was succeeded by a suitable entertainment, in which intemperance served as a provocation to brutal lust; till, at the appointed moment, the lights were suddenly extinguished, shame was banished, nature was forgotten, and—

But similarity between these anti-Christian legends of Rome and "the vile Hunan tract" which provoked a recent riot is too painful.

The Tsung li Yâmen's Panacea.—The view taken of the missionary problem by Chinamen of education as contrasted with the common people is reflected very

clearly in the proposal "for consideration and examination" which the Tsung li Yâmen submitted to the Foreign Ministers after the Tientsin massacre. "Apprehensive lest in their efforts to manage the various points connected with the missionary question, they should interrupt the good relations existing between their own and other Governments," they suggested

that foreign orphanages should be abolished, that women should not be allowed to enter the churches nor Sisters of Mercy to live in China; that missionaries must submit themselves to the authority of the Chinese magistrates; that since the individuals who commit disorders ordinarily belong to the lowest class of the people, accusations, in case of riots, must not be brought against the Literati; and that before a man be permitted to become a Christian, he must be examined as to whether he had undergone any sentence or committed any crime.[1]

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[1] It is significant that as late as August 1900 the Chinese Ambassador to St. Petersburg and Vienna took up (in a letter to Baron von Suttner) very much the same position as the Tsung li Yâmen. "The principal cause to which the present conflict must be attributed must be sought," he wrote, "in the bitter hatred with which the Chinese people regard the Christians. The foreign missionaries' zeal in wishing to benefit others is praiseworthy, but in general the right-thinking Chinese do not wish to give up for anything in the world the religion which has come to them from their fathers, and to exchange it for one which is strange to them. The converted Chinese are in the majority dishonest people, who, under the shield of the Church, hope to be able to live after the dictates of their passions, bring unfair lawsuits, and damage and rob their compatriots. The feelings of the nation at large, from anger and indignation, have now changed to implacable hatred. The Chinese are as little willing to be converted to Christendom as the Europeans are likely to profess the doctrines of Confucius. It is my personal opinion that commercial relations may be developed to any degree between China and the foreign Powers, but that with regard to the question of religion, everyone should be allowed to follow his own faith undisturbed. This would save conflicts for the future. I am not sure that the foreign Governments quite understand the enormous importance of this question, and whether they will renounce all aspirations of this kind at once and for always."

Professor Douglas's comment on this is—"These articles were so palpably contrary to the spirit of the Treaty, that the Ministers one and all declined to entertain the consideration of them for a moment." It would be interesting, nevertheless, to see what that "explanatory minute," which accompanied the Yâmen's proposals, contained.

An Imperial Edict.—It should be put on record to the credit of the Tsung li Yâmen and the Palace that both have tried by means of proclamations to correct the popular notions about the missionaries.

> The propagation of Christianity by foreigners (says an Imperial edict of the present reign) is provided for by treaty, and Imperial decrees have been issued to the Provincial authorities from time to time to protect the missionaries. The doctrine of Christianity has for its purpose the teaching of men to be good. Peace and quiet should reign among the Chinese and the missionaries. There are, however, reckless fellows who fabricate stories which have no foundation in fact for the purpose of creating trouble. Villains of this class are to be found everywhere. Local authorities must protect the lives and property of foreign merchants and missionaries. Let this decree be universally promulgated for the information of the people.

It is a mistake to imagine that the highest authorities, apart from their proclamations, show religious intolerance. The Chinese Ambassador in Paris, the husband of an American wife, is a Roman Catholic, and the distinguished Minister to the Court of St. James's has some reputation as a translator of Herbert Spencer. In conclusion, it will perhaps be of interest to reproduce the latest forecast, by a missionary, of the prospects of the "Jesus religion" in China. Reckoning from the general opening of the Empire in 1860, Dr. A. H. Smith says a good beginning should have been made in fifty years—that is, in 1910—and that three hundred years should suffice for a general diffusion of the faith—which means 2160 A.D.—and five hundred for the obvious superseding of all rival faiths by Christianity—which brings us to 2360 A.D.

CHAPTER X

"FOREIGN SMOKE"

The Effects of Smoking Opium. — Call the European nations "interested in the Far East" "grasping, unscrupulous landgrabbers." Picture the worst that they can do to China in the way of partition and provocation of bloodshed. It still remains doubtful whether it is within their power to inflict greater evils on the people of the Middle Kingdom within the next quarter of a century than seems likely to be done by Opium. Much cheap scepticism as to the effects of smoking the drug has been expressed of late years. About the facts of the case, however, there can really be no doubt. Opium is a poison the consumption of which must be deleterious. After some months of addiction to the drug, the smoker contracts a habit which it is almost impossible for him to get rid off, and daily, when the hour of indulgence arrives, whether official, merchant, or coolie, he collapses with the "craving" ("yin") if facilities for the accustomed pipe are not forthcoming.

The Apologists.—It is a significant fact that there are no apologists for opium smoking—other, perhaps, than of the most moderate possible kind—except among foreigners. Yangchow and Shanghai, among other places, have native associations for aiding the breaking off the habit; the native and foreign opium refuges (corresponding with our inebriate homes, where, by the way, the proportion of drug

patients is increasingly large) are always crowded. A national saying is that if you want to be revenged on your enemy you need not strike him or go to law with him—it will be sufficient if you entice him into smoking opium. A distinguished living Chinaman lately ended a denunciation of the habit with the words—"If Confucius and Mencius were to live again, and were to teach the Empire, they would certainly begin by teaching men to break off opium." The manager of the Salt Monopoly, a high official in Soochow, writes: "From ancient times to the present day there has never been such a stream of evil and misery as has come down upon China in her receiving the curse of opium. From the time that opium was first introduced until now, a period of over a hundred years, the number of deaths directly caused by it must count up into millions." Some sects absolutely forbid its use. Not one of these facts is based on that "missionary evidence" which it has been the fashion to contemn, and one of the most level-headed and most experienced of travellers in the East, Mrs. Bishop, discarding entirely such sources of information, writes that

> opium smoking brings about the impoverishment and ruin of families to an enormous extent. Even moderate smoking involves enormous risks, and excessive smoking brings in its train commercial, industrial, and moral ruin and physical deterioration, and this on a scale so large as to weaken the material well-being and the material future of the race.

Travellers are continually coming on cases in which opium smokers have not only sunk into beggary, but have sold wives and children to get money for the pipe. "As long as China remains a nation of opium smokers," says Consul Hirst, "there is not the least reason to fear that she will become a military power of any import-

ance, as the habit saps the energies and vitality of the nation."

The Fields of Poppies.—It is unnecessary to discuss here the relative responsibility of the Chinese and British merchants[1] for the hold which what is still called "Foreign Smoke" has now obtained on China. Once the traffic was legalised and the death penalty of forty years ago was not enforced, home-produced opium entered into competition with that of the foreigner—which took the silver of China out of the country. Fields of poppies are now seen in every direction. "Native-grown opium has entirely driven the imported opium from the markets of the Yangtsze Valley."[2] Seven years ago only four Provinces out of the Eighteen in the Empire were using other than home-grown opium, the importation of which (in 1898) was 2900 tons (worth four and a quarter millions—the second largest foreign import). In some cities there are now almost a thousand opium shops.

The Victims.—A Chinese estimate is to the effect that 40 per cent. of the town population and 20 per cent. of the country population are "absolute victims" of the drug. These may be considered to have reached the condition of drunkards. To the figures mentioned are to be added the immense number of more or less moderate smokers, many of whom are obviously suffering in mind, body, estate, and reputation. Women and children have begun to smoke of late years, and in one Yangtsze Province the Chinese declare that 40 or 50 per cent. use opium to a greater or lesser degree. In Yunnan, Consul Bourne says, "the men almost all smoke and most women." The delay in

[1] See "Historical Note on Opium and the Poppy in China," by Dr. Edkins, in Appendix to Report of Commission on Opium in India.

[2] In 1893 Sze Chuan, Yunnan, and Kweichow, after providing for their own demand, exported 4000 tons of opium to other Provinces.

the recovery of the Province from the effects of the rebellion seems largely due to this cause.[1] But the terrible fact that three and three-quarter *tons* of morphia, for use in pills to cure the opium habit (in addition to an immense consumption of local remedies for the same purpose) were imported into China in one year speaks for itself.[2] "This profitable remedy," says Dr. Morrison, "was introduced by foreign chemists of the coast ports, and adopted by the Chinese; its advantage is that it converts a desire for opium into a taste for morphia, a mode of treatment analogous to changing one's stimulant from colonial beer to methylated spirit."

[1] "The opium habit makes it difficult to look to the future of the Empire with confidence.—Ratzel's *History of Mankind.*

"The evil effects [of the opium trade] can hardly be overestimated—equally debasing for producer, trader, custom's officer, and purchaser." —*Lord Elgin.*

[2] "Morphia, which was noted in last year's report as arriving in constantly increasing quantities, rose from 92,159 to 154,705 ounces. The Chinese Government has been warned of the evils which are resulting from the improper use of this drug, and steps are now being taken to have the importation restricted."—*Imperial Maritime Customs Returns*, 1899.

CHAPTER XI

The British "Sphere of Influence"

Extent of the Yangtsze Valley. — The existence of the "British Sphere of Influence" in China depends on no Concession or Convention, but solely upon the easily-given assurance, obtained from the Tsung li Yâmen by Sir Claude Macdonald (February 11, 1898), that the Valley of the Yangtsze Kiang should not be "mortgaged, leased, or ceded to another Power," and upon such recognition as it may be supposed to have received in the International Open Door Agreement of the present year. Geographically, as Mrs. Bishop, one of the latest travellers throughout the Yangtsze region, says in her illuminating work, "there can be no possible mistake about this region" (defined by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on May 9, 1899, as "the Provinces adjoining the Yangtsze River and Honan and Che Kiang").

The drainage area may be taken as including all or most of the important provinces of Sze Chuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Nganhui [or Anhui], Kiangsu, and Honan, with considerable portions of Che Kiang, Kweichow, and Yunnan, and even includes the north-eastern drainage areas of Kansuh, Shensi, and Shantung. Its area is estimated at about 650,000 square miles, and its population, one of the most peaceable and industrious on earth, at from 170,000,000 to 180,000,000.

The Yangtsze — according to the Chinese the name of

the tidal river only[1]—rises almost due north of Calcutta. It is about 3000 miles long—the third largest river in the world. Half-way from its source it is unnavigable, owing to the rapidity of its rock-strewn torrent. One of its tributaries, the Han, the waters of which pour in at Hankow, is accessible for 1200 miles from that city. The Yangtsze Valley also contains the Tung-ting Lake (as large as Kent and Surrey) and a "valuable network of navigable canals," exhibiting in their construction and adjuncts high engineering skill. Water carriage everywhere is extremely cheap—twenty times less costly than land carriage. A thousand miles from the sea the Yangtsze is almost three-quarters of a mile broad. Fifteen thousand miles away its volume is 244 times greater than the Thames at London Bridge. Atlantic liners could go up as far as Hankow in summer (600 miles from the sea). All the year round big river steamers reach Ichang (1000 miles from the sea). More than a quarter of a million men are employed on the vast junk traffic alone of the Upper Yangtsze. It is estimated that the Nile of China brings down to the sea enough solid matter to build an island a mile square and 90 feet deep every twelve months!

Climate and Crops.—The Yangtsze Valley is described by Mrs. Bishop as penetrating the "richest and most populous regions of China." The Empire Province of Sze Chuan, for the trade of which (worth £5,700,000 a year) the river is the sole outlet, is itself the size of France, with a population of 60,000,000.

It has a superb climate, a rich soil, yielding three and even four crops

[1] This is an important matter, as the French, who are understood to have obtained several mining concessions in Sze Chuan as against one British, have suggested not only that the Yangtsze does not rise where our maps show it to do, but that part of what we regard as the Upper Yangtsze is not the Yangtsze at all!

annually, forests of grand timber, rich mineral resources and some of the most valuable and extensive coal-fields in the world.

In its "long deep valleys" are produced opium, silk, sugar, tobacco of good quality, drugs, and the best white wax. The character and crops of some other leading Provinces may be thus indicated:—

Hunan.—Inhabitants of a very superior type. Particularly rich in coal and tea plantations.

Hupeh. — Offering the most central ports of shipment (says Mr. Krausse); resorted to by Mahommedan fur dealers of Kansuh, vendors of horses from the steppes, and owners of mules from Shensi; place of call for silk merchants from Sze Chuan, tea planters of Hunan, and drug merchants from Kweichow Mountains.

Kiangsi.—Rich in minerals; believed to contain gold. Famous for porcelain.

Anhui.—Finest green tea.

Kiangsu.—Created by the Yangtsze, on the alluvial deposit of which silk, cotton, and rice are grown. Three crops usual.

Yunnan. — Extremely mountainous. Vast crops of sugar, rice, tobacco, and the poppy.

State of the People.—Turning from commerce, geography, and products to the condition of the people, we find a responsible British official at Chungking, in Sze Chuan, writing—

The Government, though obstructive and unintelligent, is not as a rule actively oppressive; one may travel for days in West China without seeing any signs of that reserve of force which we associate with the policeman round the corner. The country people of Sze Chuan manage their own affairs through their headmen, and get on very well in spite of, rather than because of, the Central Government at Cheng-tu. So long as a native keeps out of the law courts, and does not attempt any startling innovations on the customs of his ancestors, he finds in the general love of law and order very fair security that he will enjoy the fruit of his labour.

But the same favourable opinion of the position of the

masses of the population in other Provinces of the Yangtsze Valley than Sze Chuan may be expressed.

Throughout the Valley, from the great cities of Hangchow and Hankow to the trading cities of Sze Chuan (says Mrs. Bishop), the traveller receives very definite impressions of the completeness of Chinese social and commercial organisation, the skill and carefulness of cultivation, the clever adaptation of means to ends—the existence of Provincial patriotism, or perhaps, more truly, of local public spirit, of the general prosperity, and of the backbone, power of combination, resourcefulness, and independence possessed by the race.

The Appearance of the Cities.—The Yangtsze is entered from the sea at Shanghai, "the Charing Cross of China," the imposing front of which has been pronounced as striking in some respects as that of Liverpool. The foreign settlement boasts, of course, daily papers, electric light, and up-to-date water and drainage systems. The wealthy Chinese, who are running all kinds of large shipping and manufacturing companies, and getting trade every year more and more into their hands, compete successfully with the European residents for the possession of the finest houses. The foreigners in such open port Settlements govern themselves by means of municipalities, and employ British, Sikh, and Chinese police. The net value of the trade of Shanghai is £13,296,000 (gross £37,600,000), which, added to the trade of the other cities of the Yangtsze basin, makes a total of £33,248,000 (1898). It is difficult to realise the commercial importance and completeness, the architectural beauty, and the dignity of the life of the great up-river cities. At Hankow—where there is a large and influential Russian colony in connection with the brick tea trade—a Consul has declared, more craft may be seen than in any other harbour in the world.[1] Wuhu is the centre of the

[1] The fall of water in the Yangtsze is very heavy, and being rather sudden it is quite possible for a ship to find itself aground, and soon

manufacture of the famous China ink, two tons of which are exported from Shanghai in a year. Kiukiang and Hangchow have fine walls, respectively six and thirteen miles long. The "grand grey city" of Chungching (to which Mr. Little succeeded in taking up a steamer) and many another in the Yangtsze Valley owe absolutely nothing to the foreigner or foreign influence, and "in no city in Europe," writes the distinguished correspondent of the *Times*, Dr. Morrison, "is security to life and property better guarded than in Chungking." It is "enormously rich," and its inhabitants number nearly half a million. Chinkiang has among its silk factories, owned and managed by Chinese, one, all the machinery of which was made by native workmen.

"Solely Chinese."—Passing by such historic centres as Nanking and Soochow, there may be mentioned the comparatively unfamiliar name of Cheng-tu, the capital of Sze Chuan, situated on a tributary of the Yangtsze. This city, which has a noble wall in excellent repair, handsome shops, and well-paved streets, and depends, with the surrounding district, for its existence on irrigation works constructed by a philanthropist who flourished before the Christian Era, is completely untouched by the influence of the great West.

an eighth of a mile from the stream. One year, Miss Scidmore writes, a passenger steamer got aground in a rice-field with the water fast subsiding. The farmer raged and talked of trespass and ground-rent, forbade any injury to his property by trench-digging, and finally forced the shipowners to buy his field as a storage-place for the vessel until the next year's flood should release it. Then the river rose in a sudden and unparalleled after-flood, and floated away the impounded ship. Meanwhile, a war-junk which had been sent for to quell the riotous people ran aground in another field while seeking the besieged ship, and the mad country-folk, cheated of their winter prey and profits, set upon the dread engine of war with pitchforks, drove off the braves and the commander of the battleship, looted the junk of every portable object, and made winter fuel of its timbers.

"Its business arrangements, its posts, banks, and systems of transferring money are all solely Chinese." On the Lower Yangtsze there are places so lowlying on the Great Plain that the tops of their pagodas only are visible from the river. Higher up, the towns are ranged on the rocky countryside in such a fashion that the traveller thinks of Edinburgh and Quebec. In the upper regions of the Yangtsze basin, in the vicinity of the great gorges and rapids, up which the junks are towed by hundreds of "trackers," the scenery is of unsurpassed grandeur and beauty. The temples and the residences and offices of the officials compel admiration by the taste with which they have been designed and their suitability to their environment. As to the teeming population, their condition with their powerful guilds and societies, and satisfaction in their lives, is like nothing in any other Oriental country, and the impression carried away by many a traveller is that it can seldom cross the minds of many of them that the Foreigner is able to give them much if anything of which they really stand in need. It is certainly doubtful—in spite of one confident statement to the contrary—whether a hundred intelligent natives in the "British Sphere of Influence" would admit that this country had established a claim to sovereignty or suzerainty over a part of the Empire of China more than five times greater in area and population than that of the United Kingdom and Ireland, or whether, if it came to trying to establish our authority by troops and gunboats, instead of working through an Open Door policy, in co-operation with a strengthened Central Government and a reassured Literati, we should be able, in the words of a recent discerning student of China who does not believe that the Empire is either "in decay" or the subject of a "break-up," to hold the Yangtsze Valley farther up the river than Ichang.

CHAPTER XII

THE OUTLOOK FOR FOREIGN TRADE

Imperial Revenue and Expenditure. — Various guesses— all of which are in conflict with one another!—have been made from time to time as to the Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of China. The latest is that of ex-Consul-General Jamieson of Shanghai, who "balanced the accounts" of the Empire as follows:—

REVENUE

	Haikwan taels.
Land Tax	31,640,000
Salt Duty (? 10,000,000 taels) and Likin	13,659,000
Likin on Merchandise	12,952,000
Imperial Maritime Customs	21,989,000
Native Customs Houses	1,000,000
Duty and Likin on Native Opium	2,229,000
Miscellaneous	5,550,000
	88,979,000
	(£13,346,850)

EXPENDITURE

	Haikwan taels.
Administration of Eighteen Provinces, including Cost of Troops	36,220,000
Court and Civil Lists and Manchu Garrison	19,478,000
Board of Admiralty (Peiyang Squadron)	5,000,000
Southern Squadrons	5,000,000
Forts, Guns, and Coast Defence	8,000,000
Defence of Manchuria	1,848,000
Kansuh and Central Asia	4,800,000
Aid to Yunnan and Kweichow	1,655,000
Interest on and Repayment of Foreign Loans	2,500,000
Railway Construction	500,000
Public Works, Sea-Walls, Embankments, etc.	1,500,000
Customs Administration, Lighthouses, etc.	2,478,000
	88,979,000
	(£13,346,850)

All taxation is raised through the Provincial authorities, and of course the sums returned to Peking do not represent anything like the amounts collected — certainly not more than one-fifth, Lord Charles Beresford says. It is significant that the various items of revenue—with the solitary exception of the Imperial Maritime Customs, which is managed by foreigners—show hardly any elasticity from year to year. Salt is a Government monopoly. Likin is an inland tax collected by the Provincial authorities on foreign and native goods in transit. The Imperial Maritime Customs, as the name implies, is in charge at the ports—those open to foreign trade. The Native Customs Houses are on the land frontiers, and at places along the coast not thrown open to foreigners.

Foreign Loans.—The proverbial honesty of the Chinese

merchant [1] is reflected in the conduct of the Imperial authorities in their financial dealings with the foreigner. The Japanese War indemnity was promptly paid off, the loans China has obtained for railway construction and other purposes have been devoted to the objects specified, and interest obligations have been regularly met.[2] Up to 1894 the Empire had practically no foreign indebtedness, but the war indemnity, the further payment to Japan for the return of Port Arthur and its hinterland, and other expenses changed all that. The National Debt now stands at more than £55,000,000, which includes £4,000,000 raised for railways, and the 1895 Russian and 1896 and 1898 Anglo-German Loans, for £16,000,000 apiece. The last three are raised on the security of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

China's Trading Account with the World.—Turning now to the Foreign Trade of China, it must be borne in mind that the statistics available deal only with the commerce of which the Imperial Maritime Customs has cognisance. No account is taken of bullion, the Overland foreign trade, and the trade carried on in vessels or at non-Treaty Ports which do not come under the control of Sir Robert Hart's great department. The value of this trade cannot be estimated exactly, but in 1898 Sir Robert expressed the opinion that the value of the goods exported, of the "brick" (*i.e.* com-

[1] See Chapter, "His Characteristics," and article by the American Minister in Washington in July *North American Review*, where, after suggesting mildly that "smartness" in business matters is not held in such esteem in China as in the United States, His Excellency goes on to say: "Foreigners are sometimes guilty, also, of practising all sorts of tricks upon the unsuspecting natives. It should be remembered that the Chinese standard of business honesty is very high. The 'yea, yea' of a Chinese merchant is as good as gold. Not a scrap of paper is necessary to bind him to his word."

[2] The monthly instalments due on account of the service of the five per cent. Chinese Loan of 1898 were promptly paid in July in spite of the war.

pressed) tea sent by land to Russia and Tibet (which takes twenty million pounds yearly), of the junk (or native sailing-boat) traffic with Korea and elsewhere, and of other exports not reckoned, is sufficient to bring the total Exports of China to a higher figure than the Imports, which is, of course, a healthy state of things. The ordinary Imperial Maritime Customs balance-sheet of China's Foreign Trade, in which the value of the additional commerce just referred to does not appear, and the value of the total Imports returned is shown to be in excess of the total Exports returned, has more than once given a false impression of China's commercial position. This I.M.C. statement of the Foreign Trade of China for 1899 was as follows:—

	Haikwan taels.		Haikwan taels.
Net Imports,[1] market value	264,748,456	Exports, market value	195,784,832
Duty	13,185,173	Duty estimated at .	6,162,386
7 per cent. for charges[2] . . .	17,609,430	8 per cent. for charges[2] . . .	15,662,786
Imports, value at moment of landing	233,953,853	Exports, value at moment of shipment	217,610,004
	(£35,093,077)		(£32,641,500)

The total *net* value of the Foreign Trade of China (of which the I.M.C. has cognisance), arrived at by adding

[1] Net Imports, *i.e.* the value of the Foreign Goods imported direct from Foreign Countries, less the value of the Foreign Goods re-exported to Foreign Countries during the year.

[2] Charges, *i.e.* in the case of Imports, the expenses of landing, storing, and selling; in the case of Exports, the expenses of the importer's commission, the expenses of packing, storing, and shipping.

Imports and Exports together, was therefore 451,563,857 haikwan taels, or £67,734,577. The rate at which the Foreign Trade has grown is exhibited in the following table, the figures being in haikwan taels, and due allowance being again made for Duties and Charges:—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1897 . .	181,769,995	177,915,163	359,685,158
1898 . .	184,486,528	177,165,384	361,651,912
1899 . .	233,953,853	217,610,004	451,563,857

There has been a somewhat similar proportionate annual increase since 1887 in the value of the Foreign Trade.

Articles Imported and Exported.—The principal articles imported into and exported from China for two years running are shown in the following tables:—

IMPORTED

Article.	1898.	1899.
	hk. tls.	hk. tls.
Cotton Goods	77,618,824	103,465,048
Cotton, Raw	2,839,730	3,475,780
Opium	29,255,903	35,792,768
Sugar	9,018,967	10,226,015
Kerosene	11,914,699	13,001,643
Rice	10,448,838	17,813,038
Metals	9,787,077	9,208,207
Coal	5,280,620	6,396,671
Woollen Goods . . .	3,190,169	4,175,642
Fish and Fishery Products	3,161,900	3,848,931
Other Imports . . .	47,062,607	57,344,713
	209,579,334 (£31,436,900)	264,748,456 (£39,712,268)

EXPORTED

Article.	1898.	1899.
Silk	56,103,919	82,109,370
Tea	28,879,482	31,469,100
Other Exports	74,053,748	82,206,362
	159,037,149 (£23,855,572)	195,784,832 (£29,367,724)

No allowance has been made in these tables, however, for the before-mentioned Duties and Charges.

The Foreigners in China.—Now for the respective parts played by the various nationalities of foreigners and the Chinese themselves in the Foreign Trade. The number of foreigners in China,[1] according to the latest estimate (1899), was 17,193, the larger proportion of whom belonged to the following nationalities:—

British	5,562	French	1,183	Danes	178
Japanese	2,440	German	1,134	Italians	124
American	2,335	Spanish	448	Dutch	106
Russian	1,621	Swedes and Norwegians	244		
Portuguese	1,423				

The number of firms doing business at the Treaty Ports—28 in number, and shortly to be increased to 31—was 933, the largest sections being—

British	401	French	76
Japanese	195	American	70
German	115	Russian	19

[1] It may be of interest to state that there are 767 Chinese in England, Scotland, and Ireland, chiefly Government officials, students, and servants, women being to men in the proportion of three to four.

The Treaty Ports.—The names of the Treaty Ports, with their native populations and trade, are—

Port.	Population.	Trade.
		hk. tls.
Newchwang	90,000	48,357,623
Tientsin	1,000,000	77,604,562
Chefoo	40,000	28,153,956
Chungking	300,000	25,792,653
Ichang	34,000	3,706,251
Shasi	73,000	247,427
Yochow	20,000	...
Hankow	850,000	67,202,061
Kiukiang	55,000	18,562,941
Wuhu	85,350	20,281,849
Nanking	300,000	2,396,153
Chinkiang	140,000	25,691,928
Shanghai	615,300	124,604,719
Soochow	500,000	1,449,893
Ningpo	255,000	16,263,262
Hangchow	700,000	11,501,767
Wenchow	80,000	1,624,516
Santuao	8,000	25,908
Foochow	650,000	17,351,807
Amoy	96,000	16,960,681
Swatow	38,000	45,151,906
Wuchow	52,000	6,123,242
Samshui	4,000	2,967,278
Kongmoon and Kumchuk	...	1,568,503
Canton	800,000	58,641,864
Kiungchow	40,000	4,647,706
Pakkoi	20,000	4,141,868
	6,845,650	

To these Treaty Ports may be added three places on the Tongking frontier which have been opened to trade—Lungchow (22,000), 85,636 hk. tls.; Mengtsz (12,000), 5,256,938 hk. tls.; and Szemao (15,000), 213,894 hk. tls.

British Trade with China. — The preponderating character of the trade done with China by British subjects (in Hongkong, Great Britain, India, the Straits Settlements,

Australasia, British America, and South Africa, not Great Britain and Ireland exclusively, as sometimes appears to be imagined) is indicated in the following table showing the nations responsible for the bulk of the Foreign Trade of China.[1]

Country.	1898.	1899.
British Empire[2]	£35,094,109	£42,935,063
Japan[3]	6,520,326	7,972,183
Continent of Europe without Russia	5,299,035	7,040,385
United States	4,372,512	6,596,169
Russia	2,932,844	3,311,909

Or the contrast may be made in this way :—

Total Foreign Trade of China	£69,079,992
Share of Great Britain	£42,935,063
Share of the rest of the World	£26,144,929

[1] Duties and Charges are not allowed for in these figures.

[2] The share of the different parts of the British Empire is as follows in haikwan taels :—

	1898.	1899.
Hongkong	159,297,529	189,941,766
Great Britain	45,678,426	54,123,662
India	20,459,671	33,642,712
Singapore and Straits	4,771,758	5,877,987
Australasia	1,134,629	942,631
South Africa (including Mauritius)	285,993	236,613
British America	2,332,724	1,468,384
	233,960,730	268,233,755

Or for 1898, £35,094,109 ; and for 1899, £42,935,063.

[3] Including trade with Formosa.

Apparently, then, about 62 per cent. of the Foreign Trade of China is in British hands, but it is known that in the £42,935,063 above, considerable quantities of foreign goods passing through Hongkong are set down as British, and that in some instances goods in transit are reckoned twice over. If the test between ourselves and other Powers be not value of trade but proportion of shipping, the flags of Great Britain and other nations taking a leading part in the China trade are represented as follows:—

Nationality.	Number of Vessels.		Tonnage.	
	1898.	1899.	1898.	1899.
British . .	22,609	25,350	21,265,966	23,338,230
Chinese . .	23,547	31,009	8,187,572	9,349,247
Japanese . .	2,262	3,712	1,569,134	2,839,741
German . .	1,831	2,078	1,685,098	1,854,246
American . .	743	716	239,152	310,107
French . .	577	822	420,078	613,191

The total tonnage (entries and clearances) was 39,268,000 tons; and of this total, Great Britain contributed 59 per cent.; China, 24 per cent.; Japan, 7 per cent.; Germany, 5 per cent.; France, 2 per cent.; Sweden and Norway, 1 per cent.; Russia, 1 per cent.; and America, 1 per cent. The percentages contributed by each flag to the total tonnage entered from Foreign ports were—British, 61; Japanese, 13; German, 8; French, 5; Chinese, 5; American, 3; Swedish and Norwegian, 2; all other flags, 3. (The tonnage employed in the Foreign Trade has approximately doubled since 1890.) Two-thirds of the Foreign Trade is conducted with places in the Yangtsze Valley and North of it, the remainder being with Southern ports. The chief

articles of trade between Great Britain and China and the value of them in two succeeding years were :—

IMPORTED FROM CHINA

	1897.	1898.
Tea . . .	...	£943,619
Silk, Raw and Waste .	£576,574	737,247
Silk Manufactures . .	53,118	36,200
Hemp	50,192	270,998
Bristles	175,804	173,224
Drugs	88,788	44,941
Skins and Furs . .	237,958	174,071
Manufactures of ditto .	231,723	230,084
Straw plaiting . . .	288,290	219,130
Wool	53,405	65,023

EXPORTED TO CHINA

	1897.	1898.
Cottons	£4,330,633	£4,460,569
Cotton Yarn . . .	333,272	364,735
Machinery . . .	274,748	254,453
Iron	582,140	616,156
Woollens and Worsteds .	588,277	494,413

In a recent year, when the trade of the British Empire with China was £39,000,000, the share of Great Britain alone being £9,000,000, the relation which our trade with China bore to our trade with some other customers may be represented as follows :—

Great Britain's Trade with China	£9,000,000
Hongkong and rest of Empire's ditto . .	30,000,000
Great Britain's Trade with India and Ceylon .	62,000,000
,, ,, Australasia . .	54,000,000
,, ,, United States .	138,000,000
,, ,, France . . .	70,000,000
,, ,, Germany . .	61,000,000
,, ,, Russia . . .	34,000,000
,, ,, All the World .	738,000,000

The Government Short of Funds.—Although the value of the Foreign Trade of China has doubled since 1890, neither the Chinese authorities nor the foreign merchants are satisfied. On the one hand, while, as has been seen, the commercial condition of the Middle Kingdom is sound enough, there is a difficulty in raising further Loans for the public service. The Imperial Maritime Customs is pledged almost as fully as it can be, as security for the money already advanced by European financiers, and nothing remains to mortgage but the taxes, which if placed in foreign hands would, it is contended in Peking, upset the system of Provincial Home Rule,—which has lasted for centuries, and, from a Chinese point of view, has worked by no means badly on the whole,—lead to a general increase of taxation and consequent rebellion, and place the Empire as much under foreign control as Egypt under the International Caisse de la Dette. The Chinese argue, therefore, that in view of the early expiration of their Commercial Treaties with the Powers, no objection should be raised to a slight addition to the import duty on foreign goods, which is by no means high.[1]

British Merchants' Complaints.—The merchants on their side complain, as they have been doing for many years, of the excessive and vexatious character of the transit duties or likin, which is imposed by the Provincial authorities on goods at various points as they pass through the country, over and above the payment at the ports. Our commercial community in the Far East says that the inland taxes, if legal at all, are much in excess of what they ought to be, are of

[1] The Import Duties (exclusive of Duty on Opium) amounted to 6,656,623 haikwan taels, which on an Import Trade valued at 228,955,688 haikwan taels after deducting Opium, represent an ad valorem duty of less than 3 per cent."—*Imperial Maritime Customs Trade Reports and Returns*, 1899.

varying amount (according to the officials concerned), and involve in collection and in incidental examination of cargo delays which are fatal to business. (As a matter of fact likin is not the only inland import. There is loti-shui a terminal tax, ching-fui a defence tax, and at least one other; but they are usually lumped together under the name of likin.) The Chinese answer to complaints is that the articles of the old Treaties, on which the merchants base their suggestion of the illegality of likin, are not clearly drawn, and do not necessarily bear the interpretation which has been put upon them. Moreover, they say, the likin is imposed under an Imperial decree, and has been formally recognised (as is the case) by Great Britain and Germany, and, further, that the foreign traders have been accommodated by the arrangement under which transit passes are issued, and in the case of opium—the second largest import—duty and likin are chargeable together. The rejoinder of the merchants is in effect —"Why cannot these secondary inland duties or likin, which must always be a fertile source of inconvenience to trade be abolished altogether, and the port duty be doubled or even trebled instead? Such a change would pay us in the long-run, and the Government as well, for the duties collected would be passed in full straight into its hands by the rigidly honest Imperial Maritime Customs, whereas at present only a small proportion of the likin reaches Peking." In reply, the Chinese again point to the grave consequences of completely revolutionising the Provincial system of administration, and declare that the heavy payments which have to be made by the Provincial Viceroys make it necessary that they should have considerable sums at their disposal, and that if they were not at liberty to collect the likin they would have to impose direct taxation, to which the people of China are unaccustomed. The answer to this is that what has been done in the case of one item in the list of imports, opium—on which

a heavy toll in place of inland likin is taken at the ports—could be done in regard to other classes of goods; and that the revenue which the Imperial Government would receive if the merchants consented to the import duties being, say, doubled, would enable it to distribute some 15,000,000 taels amongst Provincial administrations to compensate them for their losses through the abolition of the likin. The more liberal Chinese respond in effect as follows: "It would be very nice indeed to abolish Provincial squeezes and have one great collection of tolls. Only this would be a very big job, and means, incidentally, placing all the collecting of tolls throughout the Empire in the hands of foreigners. To lump likin and import duty together is, again, a much simpler matter than to amalgamate the tolls which goods encounter on the way to the coast. If it had been as easy as the European evidently imagines to abolish Provincial tolls or squeezes it would have been done thirty years ago. When you think of the squeezes difficulty in China you must also think of your own illicit business commissions and tips to servants: everyone says they are bad and ought to be abolished, but they are not done away with. Consider also the difficulty of trying to legislate on such matters in Washington for all the self-governing and exceedingly touchy States of the American Union, or in London for the Australian Colonies." This is how the matter stood when the present warlike operations began.

Trade Passing into Chinese Hands.—Likin apart, what are the prospects of foreign commerce in China, after the restoration of peace? It is quite possible that Europe has exaggerated the extent of the profitable trade that is likely to be developed. No doubt the building of railways and the opening of mines will have the effect of increasing still further the value of the Foreign Trade. But will the advantage which the foreigner gains last very many years?

There is a great difference—to use the phrases of the last I.M.C. Trade Reports and Returns—between "the condition and prospects of commerce as affecting China's national interests and prosperity" and "the point of view of the individual foreign merchant." As has been seen, the Foreign Trade of China has doubled within the last ten years; but this trade seems to be steadily passing out of European into Chinese hands. We have the high authority of Mr. Beauclerk of the British Legation at Peking, in his report on the volume of Decennial Reports on trade in China, for the statement that

> the conclusion of the whole matter inevitably is that the trade conducted by foreigners in China has made but little progress during the ten years 1882–91, that it does not promise any immediate advance, and that foreign interests and influence therein have decreased and deteriorated to an appreciable extent.

The Chinese are not a race of negro savages,[1] but a keen-witted and enterprising people, with a rare talent for trade, manufacture, commercial organisation, and trade combination, joined to quite exceptional habits of industry and frugality. The Foreign Trade continues and grows, but year by year seems to pass more and more into the hands of the Chinese, who have not studied our methods, our strong points, and our weak ones in vain, and with a plentiful supply of cheap labour (as well as cheap coal when it shall be worked) at their disposal, have us so much at a disadvantage. As Western scientific and technical in-

[1] Mr. Charles Johnston, in the August *North American Review*, says that the arts and crafts of the Chinese are in many things so superior to ours that we buy as ornaments things which they destined merely for common use. The Japanese and Chinese artisan is an artist, and in this respect ahead of Western critics. Mr. W. B. Parsons, in the July *Engineering Magazine*, suggests that the "Roman" arch is probably of Chinese origin.

struction is more widely diffused, the struggle between the Chinaman and the European in the markets of the Far East will become even keener. "It is not an effete or a decaying people which we shall have to meet in serious competition," says a distinguished authority.

The Chinese Manufacturer.—Then may it not be possible that the purchasing power of the people of China is hardly so great as has been imagined? In a country where the means of subsistence for the masses of the population is exceedingly narrow, and the margin for luxuries necessarily small, where prices are so low that a couple of good chairs or an artistic sofa can be bought for a few pence, the field for profits on the Western scale is surely limited.[1] It must not be forgotten in this connection, as Sir Robert Giffen pointed out in 1898, that

> the opening which any country has for the kind of manufactures it can import from abroad is limited—is probably very seldom more than equal to 5 per cent. of its total consuming power. If such manufactures, moreover, are largely to be made at home, as it may be assumed will be the case in China, then the development of the imports of China, and with it its exports, does not promise very large figures for many years. As the development of China comes at a later stage than the development of India, when the capacity of Oriental races for manufacturing is better understood, there is fair reason to expect that the opening up of China will be attended immediately by an increase of manufacturing there such as has been lately developed in India and Japan. This will increase the home trade of China, and, as time goes on, the added wealth of China will make it a better customer of foreign manufacturing nations like ourselves; but the special increase of our manufacturing for export, which was the result of our special relations with India at a certain stage of its development, is not likely to be repeated. China may of course develop some special exports, as South Africa has lately done with gold and diamonds, and so increase

[1] The foreign trade of Japan, with a population of only 42,000,000, is worth 440,000,000 dollars; that of China, with a population of 400,000,000, no more than 495,000,000 dollars.

its purchasing power abroad; but this is a matter which is on the knees of the gods. China once had a special export in the shape of tea, but in its special power as regards tea it has been surpassed by India and Ceylon.[1] We must also reckon that, while we had a practical monopoly of the trade with India at the time that trade developed, we have now the rivalry of Germany and the United States to face, even if we consider France to be more or less out of the running, and if we also leave out Japan. It is a mistake to assume that the opening up of China or any other foreign incident will now have the same proportional effect on our trade as the opening up of India had in the sixties and seventies.

The Merchants and their Customers.—No one has ever asserted that there is any special fondness in China as in some countries for British or European goods because they are British or European. There is no such a desire as has existed in Paris and Berlin, for example, to adopt British modes in some directions. In other words, when there are native goods in competition with foreign, the Chinaman will probably prefer the work of the local manufacturer. And this brings us to what appears to be a curable weakness in British trade with China—the indifference of many manufacturers to the exact requirements of their foreign customers. Every traveller gives illustrations. Cotton, for instance, is made in widths which cause it to cut to waste when Chinese garments are in question. The quality, too, is often unsuitable—one Sze Chuan woman complained to an English acquaintance that the cloth

[1] The import of China tea into the United Kingdom is now only a third of what it was in 1890. The falling off is due to the export duty of about 7s. per 120 lbs., inland squeezes, and the competition of Indian and Ceylon teas, which are not only brought from a shorter distance, but, being stronger than the China teas, are held to have spoiled British taste for the latter. With improved methods of cultivation and manufacture, there might be a revival in the tea trade of China, for exchange is in her favour. As a matter of fact, the export of black tea showed an increase last year.

was so coarse as "only to be fit for barbarians," and that it was heavily sized to disguise its commonness. Coolies in the same Province have stated that local cloth wears years longer than that of English make, and goods which are otherwise fit for the Chinese market often offend through being marked or done up in "unlucky" colours. Even if British manufacturers could be persuaded to produce the right kind of goods, their agents in China, the merchants, fall short, if we may credit visitors to the Far East, of what they might be as business men in close competition not only with an acute and conservative race, but with smart American, German, and Japanese business rivals.[1] The British commercial houses of Shanghai and Hongkong still continue the old leisurely standoffish system of dealing with the Chinese through compradors, a class of men corresponding in some degree with the dragomen employed by Eastern embassies. It has been suggested on more than one occasion that the foreign commercial communities—the many good qualities of which no one of course fails to recognise—would be well advised to devote some of the time spent on sport and amusement and the abusing of H.B.M. Consuls to the study not only of Chinese but of Chinese life and commercial

[1] "British trade in North China is declining, and American and Japanese trade is increasing by leaps and bounds."—Mr. Joseph Walton, M.P.

"The feature most worthy of note was the continued advance of American and Japanese [cotton] goods, the latter especially showing very rapid development. . . . English cotton yarn showed a falling off, while Indian and Japanese increased, the latter having now risen to 779,700 piculs" (a picul is 133 lbs.). It is probable that the local mills will gradually get the better of their foreign rivals.—*Imperial Maritime Customs Trade Reports and Returns*, 1899.

It has been stated that in Shanghai the only foreign bank at which the clerks speak Chinese is the Japanese, and that at English banks a traveller's cheque cannot be cashed without a Chinese assistant's help.

organisation. The British merchant in the Far East is faced by many difficulties, and he may or may not have enjoyed all the diplomatic support to which he may have been entitled, but the removal of some at least of the causes for anxiety which exist as to the future of British trade seems to be a matter largely in his own hands.

THE FUTURE

CHAPTER XIII

The Views of the "Foreign Devil"

China in Decay."—It has been the fashion to speak of China as "in decay" or about to "break up."[1] We have seen, however, that there is an astonishingly large body of evidence pointing to a very different conclusion. As Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun says, in *The "Overland" to China*,—

> It is only fitful glimpses which strangers are able to obtain of the inner working of Chinese national life—quite insufficient to form a coherent theory of the whole, but the data ascertained seem sufficient to warrant the inference of a vast, self-governed, law-abiding society, costing practically nothing to maintain, and having nothing to apprehend save natural calamities and national upheavals.

The facts brought together in the Chapters on the Yangtsze Valley, on the Life of the Town and Country, and on the Outlook for Foreign Trade, hardly point—if the deplorable influence of the opium habit be excepted—to China being correctly identified as one of Lord Salisbury's "dying peoples." As we have learned, the personal and business character and ability of the popula-

[1] See, for instance, titles at any rate of two recent works—*China in Decay*, by Alexis Krausse, and *The Break-up of China*, by Lord Charles Beresford.

tion are very high; their ingenuity and adaptability are remarkable; their towns, villages, and temples, their industries, commerce, and shipping are flourishing; the Empire, while not on the whole over-populated, can spare thousands of emigrants to North and South America, Australia, and Malaysia. The "total volume of trade"—the modern touchstone of national greatness—is higher than ever it has been. "No doubt," as Sir Robert Hart, than whom there could be no higher authority on the condition of China, says, "the Government is hard pressed for funds; but *the country* grows wealthier every year." The Central Government dealt successfully with the serious recent risings in Kansuh and Sze Chuan, as it had done with the Yunnan rebellion, unaided; and had it not been for the war with Great Britain and France, might have disposed single-handed of the T'aip'ings. It is not crippled by floods, dearths, or pestilence. It survived seemingly calamitous losses in territory, men, money, and "face" which have followed the Japanese War, and, whether with a Manchu or a Chinese dynasty at its head, is not likely to be broken to pieces by the present catastrophe, dreadful though it is.

The Policy of Great Britain.—The policy of Great Britain is to support such a Central Government—with which, for one thing, it should be remembered, the interests of the holders of the stock of the various Loans are bound up.

Our policy (said *Lord Salisbury* in June 1898) is to maintain the Chinese Empire, to prevent it falling into ruins, to invite it into paths of reform, and to give it every assistance which we are able to give it, to perfect its defence or to increase its commercial prosperity. By so doing we shall be aiding its cause and our own.[1]

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[1] The views of Russia have been thus summed up by Dr. Markoff (in the *Daily News*):—"There is commencing a life-and-death struggle

Ever since the war between China and Japan (said the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* on June 27, 1900, exactly two years after) there have been persons, not in this country alone, who have seemed to look upon the great Chinese Empire as if it were a kind of plum-cake which might be divided among the different civilised Powers of the world as easily and unresistingly as a cake is cut up by schoolboys, provided the Powers did not quarrel among themselves. I doubt if any one would put forward that view now. It has never been the view of Her Majesty's

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between Chinese and European civilisation. We are very doubtful as to which will eventually prove victorious. Geographically, we are China's neighbours for thousands of miles, and we naturally take a very keen interest in the struggle, the brunt of which is likely to fall upon us. In fighting for our own interests, we also believe we are fighting in the interests of the whole of Western civilisation. We Russians understand the Chinese a great deal better than anyone else. We have Chinese blood in our veins; we have studied China more thoroughly than any other nation, and we can manage the Chinese. Therefore, we not unnaturally believe we are better able to deal with them successfully than other nations whose interests are not so closely connected with China. In the present troubles I am quite convinced that we should be able to accomplish a great deal more by diplomacy alone than what all the other nations combined could do by armed force. We know the Chinese and their ways, and they know us. You only know China at second-hand. You mistake in wishing to Christianise and civilise China. We don't. China possesses a civilisation older than ours, and a system of morals which at least can be compared with ours. She does not possess the material advantages of modern civilisation. It is these which we desire to give her. English and Russian interests do not necessarily clash at any point. If these two nations in Asia could but get rid of their distrust of each other, and endeavour to arrive at a common understanding, we could look into the future with calm minds. And why should they not? England and Russia are the nations who have, the other peoples are the have-nots of the world. We possess wealth, we possess the ability, and we possess the future. It is only natural that the other nations should be jealous of us, but why should we be jealous of each other? In the solution of the Chinese problem Japan cannot play an important part. One yellow race by itself is formidable enough; two in conjunction would be fatal to European civilisation."

Government. We have always desired that there should be a stable Chinese Government in China, able to enforce decent order and security, and ready to give the facilities to which we are entitled by treaty, and increased facilities, if possible, for our commerce and our trade.

There had undoubtedly been a belief (said the *Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs* in the House of Commons last month) on the part of the Powers, the people of this country, and persons of long experience in China who had advised Her Majesty's Government, that the Chinese colossus was fit for dismemberment. It was said, however, by the late Sir Harry Parkes, that China, though aged, was not sick. That saying had lately gathered fresh force. We had learned in the past few weeks how greatly the defensive power of China had been miscalculated. As to the future of the country, premature births were not followed by the longest lives. Caution and patience were wanted in developing the country. In saying this, he hoped it would not be supposed that our Government meant to depart from the leading position which in Chinese affairs was due to our traditions, our preponderating share in Chinese commerce, and the part we must always play in the Far East. In the Yangtsze sphere it was the object of Her Majesty's Government to use our ships and other forces so as to quiet the feeling of unrest, and to assist the Viceroys in the preservation of peace. Whatever occurred, they would defend Shanghai. They would show themselves resolutely against any partition of China. The Government must be a Government by Chinese for the Chinese. We were not prepared to undertake or to assist other Powers in undertaking to Indianise China. We were not prepared to undertake the responsibility of European administration in remote portions of China, and we were determined not to be party to any such administration. We did not contemplate the organisation of a Chinese army under foreign officers in order to strengthen China as a Sovereign Power; but, if it became necessary for police purposes to raise and officer troops, as at Wei-hai-wei, that would be a different matter.

The Policy which brought about Disaster.—It was the adoption of a very different policy—the European occupation of Kiao Chau, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, the granting of concessions to railway and other syndicates, and the mortgaging of the likin dues in several districts in security for the loan of 1898, so arousing the hostility of the mandarins—which precipitated the mad assault on

Western Civilisation of July. In the *Friend of China*, the Rev. George Hudson, writing on the "Causes of the Present Outbreak," shows that

> within recent years a bureau of foreign information has been attached to each Provincial capital. An English-speaking Chinaman is at the head of the bureau, who translates from foreign books, reviews, and newspapers whatever bears upon Chinese interests. Through this official the Provincial authorities have been able to follow all the outspoken and ill-advised proposals for dismemberment that have been made. China is not so entirely cut off as forty years ago from the drift of European opinion, and that which is spoken in the secret chambers of the West is now proclaimed from the housetop in the eighteen provinces of China.

The French Consul-General, Monsieur du Chaylard, in his latest report to his Government, says that

> the Chinese have followed the Transvaal War with great attention, and the result has been a singular diminution of European prestige in their eyes. They have been struck by the resistance kept up by the small Boer people, and, comparing their own numbers with those of the latter, have come to the conclusion that they are well able to fight all Europe combined.

Pleas for Partition.—Writers like Mr. Colquhoun (*The Problem in China and British Policy*) and Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger (*Contemporary Review* for July) fear, however, that the partitioning of the Empire into "spheres of influence" is inevitable. The policy of the "Open Door," to which Mrs. Bishop, Lord Charles Beresford (who went to China at the instance of the Association of Chambers of Commerce), and other thoughtful writers, give unqualified adherence, is, they contend, a sham. "To establish an understanding with Russia is not possible," says Mr. Colquhoun. We must therefore firmly establish ourselves in the Yangtsze Valley. Mr. Alexis Krausse (*China in Decay*) seems to share these views. Great Britain, says Mr. Boulger, must

acquire a base for operations in the Yangtsze Valley similar to that Russia possesses in the north with regard to Peking. The island of Chusan with its unequalled harbour of Tinghai represents exactly the position of which we have need. We occupied it during both of our China wars, and by the Davis Convention we retain the right to prevent any other Power occupying it.

Established in Chusan, we should be able to raise unlimited numbers of Chinese troops; and in a few years we should have created the best force for controlling our sphere by the successive occupation of Chinkiang-fu, Nanking, and Hankow. Our occupation would be given a Chinese colour, and without direct annexation we could organise dependent governments, or, better still, revive in Central China a kingdom of Nanking.

"**Honour as well as Interests.**"—But, says Lord Charles Beresford,

investigations on the spot have convinced me that the maintenance of the Empire is essential to the honour as well as the interests of the Anglo-Saxon race. Our proceedings are certain to encompass the doom of China. A straightforward recognition of the principles of freedom, fair dealing, and equality of opportunity which have made our position in the world, coupled with resolution and vigour in carrying these principles out, will not only preserve the integrity of the Empire, but will conduce more largely to our interests than the present plan of taking what does not belong to us because other Powers are doing the same.

Another authority, writing from a very different standpoint, the Rev. T. G. Selby, an experienced missionary in China, says (in the *British Weekly*)—

The friends of China and of European peace must set themselves resolutely against the partition of the vast Empire. To talk of dividing up Chinese territory as though it were a stolen diamond, sent to Amsterdam to be cut up into five or six little diamonds, is madness and crime. The Chinese of the different Provinces do not like each other, but they are united by a passionate pride in their past history, a devotion to their common literature, which is religious in its reverent intensity, and their high traditions of social and family life. The world has seen no such stable and stupendous illustration of racial solidarity as the Chinese Empire has presented for the last two thousand

years. One might as well try and partition the raging Atlantic with cables and seine nets, as divide China. Sooner or later its solidarity will reassert itself, and laugh with the scorn of a mobile and resistless storm-wave at the petty and inane diplomacies of partition.

The anarchy is superficial and temporary, for China has, in the authority of the village patriarchs, which is exercised over every clansman in the swarming city, a supplementary Government which will keep these huge populations steady and law-abiding. As a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the crime in the eighteen Provinces is dealt with by the tribunals of village elders rather than in the courts of mandarins. Government from within the home and the clan is the mighty engine that keeps this amazing race in its appointed pathway, and the government of the mandarins is the mere donkey-engine that makes a great rattle on deck and does little odds and ends of work and service.

To say that China is "effete and rotten," Lord Charles Beresford declares, is to say what is "false." Therefore, it is reiterated by cool heads not only in this country but in the United States and Japan (*vide* the speech of her Foreign Minister in July) that the interests of these three countries at least, who have between them so large a share in the trade of the Far East, is commercial rather than territorial, and that the "Open Door" policy will suit not only themselves but China best.

Proposals for Reform.—As to the Reforms in China which have been generally regarded as desirable, they may be set out as follows:—

1. The abandonment of the notion that a fourth of the human race can reasonably expect to keep itself isolated from the other three quarters —in other words, the granting of all reasonable facilities for legitimate foreign trade and for wisely conducted missionary enterprise.

2. The establishment of a well-drilled, well-equipped, well-paid Army to guarantee order throughout the Empire.

3. The adoption of a system by which (*a*) the officials of all grades from Viceroys to yâmen runners shall be paid adequate salaries (instead of having to live by "squeezes"), and (*b*) the inland and terminal taxes on trade shall be adjusted in such a way that while the

Administration of the Empire shall receive its just dues the development of foreign commerce shall not be interfered with.

4. The adoption of no step which is likely to give opium-smoking a greater hold than it has already.

As to No. 1, it is only fair to remember that it was only in July 1899 that the enlightened Government of the Mikado saw its way clear to open the interior of Japan to foreign trade. With regard to No. 3, it has to be borne in mind, as already pointed out, that money must be raised somehow, and that the Viceroys' resources in the matter of indirect taxation—the people are not accustomed to direct taxation—are limited. As Mrs. Bishop says, "nothing could be better for China than the drastic reforms suggested by Lord Charles Beresford, but some of them involve what would be unwarrantable interference with her internal organisation." Sir Robert Hart is believed, however, to have expressed approval of a well-considered scheme of likin reform, and is also understood to think that something could well be done in the way of Army reorganisation with a view to the better protection of commerce.

CHAPTER XIV

The Views of the Chinaman

Unconscious of "Decay."—What are the Chinaman's own ideas as to the Future? Here are four reports on the subject, as representative, perhaps, as can be had.

If the best guarantee of friendship is self-interest, surely the friendship of a nation of 400,000,000 people ought to be worth cultivating (wrote the *Chinese Minister at Washington* in May). China does not ask for much. She has no thought of territorial aggrandisement, of self-glorification in any form. All she wants is gentle peace, sweet friendship, helpful exchange of benefits, and the generous application of that Golden Rule which people of all nations and all creeds should delight to follow.

You think that because the Chinaman is inert, careless, and simple, he is a child (said a *Chinese gentleman in London*, who was described as a "Boxer" to a *Daily Express* interviewer). There never was a greater mistake. He has learnt the secret of being happy. His life is placid, and nothing troubles him so long as his conscience is clear. There you have our character in a sentence. Let us alone, and we will let you alone. We want to be free to enjoy our beautiful country and the fruits of our centuries of experience. When we ask you to go away you refuse, and you even threaten us if we do not give you our harbours, our land, our towns. And now, having carefully considered the matter, we of the so-called Boxers' Society have decided that the only way to get rid of you is to kill you. We are not naturally bloodthirsty. We certainly are not thieves. But when persuasion, and argument, and appeals to your sense of justice, are of no avail, we find ourselves face to face with the fact that the only resource is to put you out of existence.

We desire nothing better (*Li Hung Chang* told a London audience

in 1896) than to cultivate our fields, and to be allowed to carry on our industries and our commerce free from molestation, free within and free without, and if we have relied altogether too much on our own pacific feelings to save us from unprovoked aggression, that is a fault—if it be one—which has been naturally engendered by a very long course of national experience. You are well aware of the deep-rooted habit of the mass of our people to fix their thoughts exclusively on the past, only a few daring even to contemplate changes, still fewer to make provision for the inevitable. No one would be so sanguine as to expect to change the current of thought of a people so numerous as the Chinese in a single generation. Time must be allowed, and also a good deal of patience and forbearance, before China as a whole could be brought to regard international affairs from the same standpoint as that of the peoples of the West. The basis of all real progress on the part of China towards the national ideals of other countries is conservatism. The first essential is that our integrity be observed, for, if that be threatened, or if the prestige of the Government be seriously impaired, we have no alternative but anarchy, which with us means general and prolonged devastation.

The plain fact is (declares *Sir George Taubman-Goldie*, founder of Nigeria, who has lately returned from China, of the situation in which he is a specially competent judge) that apart from the small proportion interested in European commerce, the Chinese people—although, as a rule, most courteous to individual travellers[1]—do not want us or our customs, or, above all, our religion. This last is the main grievance, and has been so for a century. No doubt Europe has much to teach the Chinese in the art of war, in pure science, and in mechanical and other arts. But apart from these, which the Chinese people do not consider as necessaries of life, Europe cannot teach them much; while it has something to learn from them. Their code of ethics is as high as ours, and their system of local government (by parish councils) had,

[1] There have been more Chinese done to death in North and South America alone than there have ever been Europeans murdered in China. Although, in the words of Dr. Morrison, "during the past twenty-three years foreigners of every nationality and every degree of temperament have penetrated into every nook and cranny of the Empire," one of the most trustworthy writers on the Middle Kingdom, himself an American missionary, declares that "it is less dangerous for a foreigner to cross China than for a Chinese to cross the United States."

until the first intrusion of Europeans, a durability which every Western nation must admire and envy.

The "sick man's" innate cheeriness (says *Mrs. Bishop*) is scarcely clouded by our repeated assertions that he ought to be dead, and he faces the future which we prophesy for him without misgiving. On the whole, peace, order, and a fair amount of prosperity prevail throughout the Empire. The gains of labour are secure, taxation, even with the squeezes attending it, is light. The phrase "ground down" does not apply to the peasant. There is complete religious toleration. Guilds, trades' unions, and other combinations carry out their systems unimpeded, and the Chinese genius for associations [for protection against local oppression as well as for trade and social purposes] is absolutely unfettered. China is one of the most democratic countries on earth. A Chinese is free to emigrate and to return with his gains, free to rise from the peasant's hut to place and dignity. We have to deal in China not with a mass of downtrodden serfs[1] but with a nation of free men.

The Throne.—China has been called "a straight people with a corrupt Government." No good purpose would be served by discussing once more the question of the real strength of that Central Authority and the probability of its permanence: the Powers must have accumulated at Peking better data on which an opinion may be formed than have hitherto existed. For the present, a Chinaman would probably say, with a great authority, that his countrymen's "prepossessions and prejudices and cherished judgments are the growth of millenniums," and that a nation, mighty in spite of its shortcomings, which, having made respect for elders almost a religion, has always shown a devotion to a "Queen Bee" of one hive or another,

[1] As to that "misery," on which some writers, with a scanty range of information, expatiate, what an erroneous impression of the condition of the people of England might not a Chinese journalist carry away from this paragraph in a London paper?—"There are more people living in an illegally overcrowded state in London alone than the total population of any other city in the whole British Empire."

will not readily withdraw its engrained loyalty from the throne.[1]

Utilisation of Western Science.—It is a mistake to assume that China is not, however slowly, "making progress." No European has had his hand on its pulse so long, or has had such opportunities of getting almost a "family-doctor" acquaintance with the patient, than the veteran Inspector-General of Customs. And Sir Robert Hart says—

> China, though many years behind the times, is undoubtedly going ahead—advancing slowly, it is true, but still advancing; and every step she takes forward is a decided one. In spite of sarcasm and adverse criticism she adheres to her slow, steady pace, and, so far, has never receded a single step. As compared with Japan, with its superficial state of civilisation and comparatively recent enlightenment, she always reminds one of the old fable of the hare and the tortoise.

On another occasion the same authority wrote to a friend—

> China passes through various mental phases, now suspecting interested motives, now fearing to fall into snares, now somewhat bewildered at being taken for an idiot, and for the most part inclined to say, "I know my own business: if I feel ill, I had better starve a little than swallow so many doses." China has wonderful "stay," and, certain peculiar traits apart, has a wonderful civilisation; and, as for China's future, you know how firmly I believe in her greatness, in the time yet to come. Premature births are always bad things, and what is to be the full period of a nation's gestation depends on more things than I have time to write about.

Sir G. Taubman-Goldie speaks of Europe being able to teach the people of the Middle Kingdom three things—war, science, and engineering. As to the two former, the

[1] "Take your Queen Bee inland to Nanking," was the advice given to the Chinese by Gordon, who thought the Imperial Court too much exposed to foreign influences while at Peking.

grim news on one day (Aug. 7) that "the casualties of the Allies are reported to be 1200," or on another (July 17) that "the Chinese authorities, in addition to turning out rifles and cannon at a great rate, are manufacturing no less than five tons of ammunition daily in the Kaing Wan Arsenal, near Shanghai," hardly points to the pupil having failed in aptitude. Sir Halliday Macartney graduated in the Chinese service as Superintendent of the Chinese arsenal at Nanking, and similar institutions have been established in different parts of the Empire; and—however badly it may have been cared for afterwards—have turned out in many cases more than passable work. As has been already mentioned, there are also up-to-date Chinese manufactories, and important native Steamship Companies and mining concerns (in some of the latter of which Li Hung Chang is largely interested).

Railways and Telegraphs.—Some 317 miles of railway have been opened, and in a Reuter's message about the Newchwang line (published in July) we read that "it is a perfect mystery where all the passengers come from. On sections of the line, which apparently run from nowhere to nowhere, the trains are simply packed with a seething mass of Celestial humanity." The goods traffic in its turn "appears to promise equally well." One begins to think of what Li Hung Chang once told an interviewer—

> Before half a century shall have passed China will be covered with a net of railways, and her immense mineral resources will be developed. We shall have smelters and rolling mills and foundries, and I do not think it unlikely that China will control the metal industry of the world. It seems to me that the solution of the great labour question which threatens to disturb the peace of America and Europe will be found in China. My countrymen have shown that they are capital workmen and artisans; they can work hard and manage to live cheaper than Americans and Europeans, and when once China will be opened up by railways she will be in a position to supply the world's market cheaper than any other country.

A well-known Manchu diplomatist, Wen-siang, lately expressed himself with similar confidence—

> Give China time, and her progress will be both rapid and overwhelming in its results; so much so, that those who were foremost with the plea for progress will be sighing for the good old times.[1]

The Imperial Telegraphs have already some 4000 miles of wires in use. Three years ago an Imperial Post Office was established, and the Government recently intimated to Switzerland the intention of China to enter the Postal Union. Large quantities of Western inventions (sewing machines and cameras, for instance), and translations of English works on Science, Philosophy, Economics, and History are bought.[2] Mathematics has been made a "compulsory subject" in the examinations of the Literati, naval and military colleges and torpedo schools have been opened, and before the war a well-manned Foreign University ("College of Foreign Knowledge") was doing good service in Peking. Several excellent missionary colleges in the capital had also plenty of students.

The Reform Movement.—The Chinese Ambassador in Paris has advocated the adoption of Western methods of education. The Minister in London, as everybody is aware, has published a translation of Herbert Spencer. The powerful Viceroy, Chang Chih Tung, lately made enlightened proposals in a well-known work, and added a journal for the advocacy of Progress to the number of Chinese newspapers—about a hundred of which are

[1] "This mysterious race [the Chinese] will divide the earth with the Anglo-Saxons and Russians a hundred years hence."—Sir Lepel Griffin.

[2] In this connection a Chinese saying may be quoted—"If you wish to irrigate a piece of land you must first carry the water to the highest level, so, if you wish to enlighten a nation you must begin with its leaders."

published in the Empire, not a few, including the thousand-year-old *Peking Gazette*, being issued daily. The Viceroy of Nanking helped to find £50,000 with which an Agricultural College was started, a missionary being invited to take charge of it. The recent ill-fated Reform movement showed that even the weakling Emperor had been an assiduous student of Western political literature,—he is said to have a knowledge of English,—and that in his Empire there was a large number of men of education with enough patriotism — that quality in which the Chinese, on scant evidence, are charged with being deficient—to take their lives in their hands, and in some cases to go to the execution ground for their principles. With regard to Religion, the hand of a mediæval priesthood lies heavily upon it, but the recent steady growth of a variety of new sects successfully inculcating purity of life, the highest Christian principles in relation to others, and exalted ideals is not without promise of far-reaching results in the future, especially if the Reformers are aided, as they well might be, by the wise and patient co-operation of Western well-wishers of China along obvious lines, and, perhaps, unfamiliar also.[1] If China be in process of regeneration, the power of Great Britain to render acceptable assistance, and the claims upon her by reason of her commercial and historical position, cannot allow her to refrain from offering a helping hand, guided by knowledge, sympathy, and "enlightened self-interest."

[1] As some of these sects absolutely forbid the use of opium, it is conceivable that help may one day be asked for in dealing with the traffic. It would be no use, for instance, putting a heavy tax on home-grown opium if the Indian product were as free to come in as ever.

APPENDIX

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER AND THE BOXERS

ON August 17 the text of several important Edicts issued in Peking reached London. The first addressed to the Ambassadors of China abroad was dated June 29, and was to the following effect:—

China and the Foreign Powers are at variance through the irregular clash of many causes, acting in a way contrary to our hopes, and producing quite unexpected results. In the two provinces of Chili and Shantung a number of disorderly people went into villages to practise boxing and pretend to magical powers. The local magistrates failed in their duty and made no inquiry. These Boxers became powerful in numbers and popularity. A few weeks saw them spread widely, and they reached the metropolis. They were regarded with admiration, and crowds joined them. The more crafty of their adherents urged them on to persecute the Christians. By about June 15 they began on a sudden to burn the Christian churches and to murder the Christians. The whole city was in uproar and could not be controlled.

The Foreign Ministers requested that they should be allowed to send for foreign troops to protect the Legations. We, on account of the pressing dangers of the hour, consented to this change; the number was not to exceed 500 men. This is proof of China's liberality and anxious care to maintain unbroken harmony with the Foreign Powers. The representatives of the Foreign Powers have maintained order in the past, and there has been no trouble, but when these 500 soldiers arrived they not only protected the Legations, but they sometimes went up on the walls and fired off rifles. They also paraded the streets in companies of four, and often fired at and wounded persons. They went where they pleased, and wished to enter the Imperial city, and only stopped when their attempt was resisted. The soldiers and people grew angry at the conduct of the foreign troops, and maliciously-disposed men of the lower sort seized the opportunity to kill Christians

without fear or restraint, and burn their property. The Foreign Ministers then sent for more soldiers, and they were checked on the way to Peking by the Boxers, and so many killed that they could not advance.

Matters have come to such a pass that the unruly characters of the two Provinces, Chili and Shantung, have formed themselves into a compact mass. It is not that the Imperial Government does not wish to issue the command to stay these marauders, but we cannot do so because it would be cutting off our own arms and legs. With too much strictness just now we should not be able to secure the Legations from the violence of our own people. The situation would then be much worse. Besides, we fear that throughout the two Provinces the missionaries and Chinese Christians would be exterminated. We cannot but fear, if we were to show a strong hand, that all would be lost. We therefore indicated to the Foreign Ministers that they had better arrange to depart for Tientsin for a time.

While negotiations were proceeding on this matter the German Minister, Von Ketteler, went one day early to the Foreign Office, and was killed on the way there by the rebel Boxers. The German Minister had, the day before, written to say he would go. The reply of the Foreign Office was that on account of the disturbances in the city on the road to the Foreign Office they would not expect him. After this the rebellious Boxers became more violent and ferocious than before. It became impracticable to escort the Foreign Ministers to Tientsin. It was only possible to give very strict orders to the soldiers who guarded the foreign Legations to be extremely watchful against any sudden attack.

Then, on June 16, foreign officers went to demand from Lo-yung-kwang, our general, the surrender of the Taku forts. If he refused they would fire on them at two o'clock next day, and take them by force. General Lo naturally could not consent. On the day and hour fixed they fired first, and struck the forts. After a day's fighting the forts were taken.

This was the commencement of the war, and it was not our doing. How, indeed, could China venture to begin a war with all the European Powers at one time? How could China rely on the help of a host of rebels to fight for them with several powerful nations? The foreign Governments may well reflect upon these circumstances, showing, as they plainly do, the difficulty of our position. Our intention is, as before, to protect the foreign Legations, as we are able, and we shall also devise means to punish and reduce to order these rebel bands, which have caused the present trouble.

An Edict issued to the Viceroys Chang Chih Tung and Lui Kun Yi, Governors Lu, Wang Sung, and Yu, and Special Commissioner Li-Ping-Neng—who had advised the subjugation of the Boxers and laid stress on the weakness of China as

against the Powers—was to very much the same effect, but the frank phrase occurs, "*While we were uncertain whether it was best to extirpate or encourage the Boxers*, the foreign fleets sent to demand the surrender of the Taku forts." The concluding sentence of the rescript illustrates the bewilderment of the Palace—"The Viceroys and Governors in the Provinces should all carefully obey the Imperial decrees, doing what appears to you best, and whatever ought to be done, do it vigorously as your duty is."

Yung Lu, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief and "Prime Minister," also addressed a message to the high officials named, in the course of which he wrote :—

The Empire founded by our ancestors has fallen into misfortune. The Government has been deceived by rebel pretenders to magical powers. Lightly they have thrown away their great inheritance. It needs no special wisdom to see the folly of this action. Palace and people must expect retribution from the aggrieved Powers, and of the most painful kind. The present popular movement of the Boxers rests on a claim that Heaven has sent them. I, with my small ability, urged the danger of encouraging them. I was unable alone to prevent the adoption of an opposite policy. I have been sick, and during the time of my leave of absence I have sent up seven memorials. I vehemently urged my views, but all the princes held opinions of another kind, and I was alone. The Ministers and eunuchs joined with the princes.

Half of the subordinate staff in the households of the Empress and Emperor and of the princes are Boxers. More than half of the troops, Manchu and Chinese, who now pass along the Peking streets, like locusts for their number, are also Boxers. It is the most difficult thing possible to restore order. The wisdom of the Emperor and Empress Dowager cannot, though they are at the head of affairs, control these many thousands. A celestial fate has brought matters to this pass. Just as I was planning a determined effort at the Foreign Office to turn back the almost irresistible tide of adversity, on that very day the German Minister was attacked and slain. No Power could control the march of events. Prince Ching is disposed for harmony and kind feeling, and agrees with me, but what can we do? What could my death accomplish? What I fear is to be condemned in the judgment of all ages as wanting in duty. Only Heaven can know the depth of my grief. Great has been the favour bestowed on me by the Emperors and Empress. I look to the spirits of the departed Emperors of this dynasty in Heaven to send help. Such is the present posture of affairs that no course is open for me except to beg of you, the Viceroys and Governors along the river and down the coast, to do your very best to restore peace to our distressed Empire.

MEN OF THE TIME IN CHINA

Chang Chih Tung.—Venerable Viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh at Wuchang, in the Yangtsze Valley. Honest, patriotic, and progressive, with intelligent grasp of state of Europe. Supervising Peking-Hankow Railway, which he originally suggested. After being regarded as a reactionary, issued book in favour of reform. Strongly opposed to opium. Received small British loan Aug. 1900, for payment of troops. Said to be on friendly terms with Li Hung Chang, though formerly opposed to him. Spent large fortune in public iron foundries, etc. Watchword, "China for the Chinese." Urged suppression of Boxers.

Chang Yen Huan.—Special Envoy, London, Diamond Jubilee. Been all over world. Banished to Turkestan in connection with Reform agitation. In Aug. 1900 ordered to commit suicide.

Ch'eng, Marquis.—Representative of Ming Dynasty.

Ching, Prince.—President Tsung li Yâmen. Nearly 60. Amiable and courteous. Described as "leader of the Opposition" by a Chinaman, but not hitherto regarded by Europeans as a man of vigour.

Emperor.—Tsait'ien, cousin of his predecessor. Born 1871. Proclaimed Sovereign 1875, as Kwanghsü or "Succession of Glory." Married '89, and assumed government. Deposed by Dowager Empress during Reform agitation, '98. Had dismissed thousands of men from office, made far-reaching proposals for administrative reorganisation without sufficient power to carry them out, challenged Peking officialdom to a trial of strength, and ordered arrest of Empress Dowager. Described as well-intentioned but weak man with sorrowful face. Always been in bad health. Been in virtual captivity.

Empress Dowager.—Tsze Hsi (Hsi pronounced She). Born Peking, 1834. Daughter of official, who gave her excellent education. Slave-girl story untrue. Became concubine of Emperor Hienfung at 17. On bearing a son, raised to rank of Empress. On Emperor's death, reigned as Joint Regent with first wife, who died 1880. During

famine stopped supply of meat to Palace and sent money to poor; in course of Japanese War gave her Jubilee presents to war chest. Deposed nephew on score of incapacity, '98, after taking advice of the six Boards. Being Manchu, her feet not cramped. Li Hung Chang has praised in poem her stature, neck, and teeth. Hair is still raven black. Woman of great intelligence and force of character and of much vigour of body. Said to be artist and poet. Several Foreign Ministers have spoken favourably of the impression she made upon them; woman's view given by Mrs. Conger—"She seemed bright and happy. Her face was aglow with goodwill. There was no trace of cruelty to be seen. In simple expressions she welcomed us; her actions were full of freedom and warmth. She reached both hands towards each lady, and said, with much enthusiastic earnestness, 'One family, all one family.' She was very cordial, and when tea was passed to us she stepped forward and tipped each cup of tea to her own lips, and said again, 'One family, all one family.'" Latterly, few folk have had a good word to say for Empress. Held to have countenanced Boxers, and to be primarily responsible for what has happened in Peking. See Edict of June 29. Writer in *North China Herald*, writing earlier in the year, says: "Perhaps we have all rather misjudged the Empress. When she deprived the Emperor of power and upset Kang-Yu-Wei's apple-cart, it was taken for granted that personal ambition and love of power were her actuating motives. But is it not possible that she foresaw the danger of a crisis such as has now arisen and was trying to stave it off? . . . The Reform people talk about a sham eunuch in the palace. What does any one know of the Empress's private life except by second-hand tales coming through notoriously unreliable channels?" As to Empress's feelings towards the "foreign devil," she is said as a young woman to have fled with her child from the Summer Palace before its destruction "in a Vandal-like manner" by Anglo-French troops. "The grandees hate us after what we did to the Palace," wrote General Gordon.

Hart, Sir Robert, Bart., K.C.M.G.—Inspector-General Imperial Maritime Customs. Entered service from Consular Service 1859. Became I.G. 1863. Spent almost all his life since in Peking. Man of remarkable industry and method. Creator and autocrat of Customs Service. Trusted implicitly by Chinese. Accepted for a few hours post of British Minister 1885, but resigned on entreaty of Empress Dowager and consideration of claims of I.M.C. Received titles from "Son of Heaven" and from head of nearly every other State. Married and devoted to children. Violinist.

Ikotenga.—Manchu Viceroy, Manchuria. Described as ablest Manchu official in China. Fought in Japanese War.

Kang Yi.—Manchu. Grand Secretary. Next most powerful man in Peking after Yung Lu. Violent anti-foreigner. Said to be at Prince Tuan's beck and call. Conducted executions of Reformers, '98.

Kang-Yu-Wei.—Reformer sentenced to death by "slow and lingering" process. Reward of £7500 offered for his arrest. Living under British protection, Hongkong. 35.

Li Ching Fung.—Called "Lord Li" in England. Nephew of Li Hung Chang.

Li Hung Chang.—(Li Chung Tang means Grand Secretary Li.) 77. Pure Chinese blood. Called, before Japanese War, Bismarck and G.O.M. of China. Though now old and ailing, stands six feet, and when in London had commanding presence and piercing eyes. Made earl and received Yellow Jacket for services in suppressing T'aip'ings. After dealing with Tientsin rioters became so-called "Imperial Tutor," Grand Secretary, and Minister Superintendent of Northern Trade, continuing to hold these high offices for quarter of a century. While practically at head of Government negotiated many Treaties. In one Sir T. Wade makes concession "in recognition of the frankness with which he had negotiated"; in other French Minister renounces indemnity "to pay a mark of regard to the patriotic wisdom of H.E. Li Hung Chang." During great famine Li fed 1000 daily from his table. Though he pleaded in two memorials to the Throne to be allowed to retire from office on his mother's death, his appeal could not be acceded to. On 70th birthday had presents from all Royalties and addresses from officials throughout Empire, written by Chang Chih Tung. Temporarily deprived of Yellow Jacket thrice. Opposed French and Japanese Wars. Kept back his own "young and developing army," admirably trained by Europeans, and other progressive Viceroys' armies, from Japanese War, to save them from destruction in useless struggle. Built fortifications, arsenals, etc., and in own words "spent hundreds of thousands of taels for the most improved weapons and guns." Sent many young Chinese abroad to study. Negotiated prompt settlement with Japan in face of Chang Chih Tung's and other officials' opposition. Friend of Marquis Ito and General Grant, whose tomb he annually honours. Admitted that "China is hampered by antiquated customs which prevent desirable reforms"; but says "reformation must not be effected in too great a hurry." Appreciative of Western inventions, but always Chinaman and Confucianist. Has criticised Buddhism and Taouism to Emperor. When in Europe

visited Bismarck and Gladstone. Entertained at Hatfield and by China Association. Latterly, removed from Metropolitan Province to Vice-Royalty at Canton. Of recent years widely asserted to be "Russophobe" and severely criticised in British Press, which declares his influence in China not what it was. Always been close ally of Dowager Empress. Gordon contemplated idea of Li seizing throne one day; Sir T. Wade said this was utterly improbable.

Li Lien Yin. — Chief of Eunuchs, and alleged to be Empress's "favourite." Said to have been bastinadoed by Yung Lu.

Li Ping Hien.—Capable man, soured, it is said, by losing Vice-Royalty of Shantung at German instance.

Liu-ping Chang.—Some years ago Governor of Sze Chuan. Disgraced at demand of Great Britain in connection with anti-foreign riots, Kucheng.

Lo Feng Luh. — Ambassador in London. Knight of Victorian Order. Protégé of Li. Man of enormous ability and wide education. Written great deal in English. Impressed Gladstone very favourably. Of middle age.

Lui Kun Yi.—Strong Viceroy at Nanking. Sixty-two, and told Mr. Walton wants to retire from office, but younger than Chang Chih Tung, with whom has ruled most of Yangtsze Valley for quarter of century. Has efficient army and "Nanking flotilla." Repeatedly expressed amiable sentiments towards British. Urged suppression of Boxers. On friendly terms with Li Hung Chang.

Ma.—General. Fought in Japanese War.

Macartney, Sir Halliday.—First comes into notice as an Army surgeon fighting with Li Hung Chang against T'aip'ings. Next became Superintendent of Chinese Arsenals at Soochow and Nanking. Relative Lord Macartney. Many years Councillor Chinese Embassy. Peking Government owes more than generally known to his diplomatic talent.

Nieh.—General. Stationed before war between Peking and Tientsin. Commands pick of Army. "Fought creditably in Japanese War." Friend of Yung Lu.

Nui.—Ex-official. Chief of Boxers.

Pu-Chun.—Son of Prince Tuan. Chosen heir to throne at time of *coup d'état.* Well-grown, healthy-looking youth.

Sheng.—Taotai at Shanghai and Director-General of Railways. Owns coal and iron mines. Formerly protégé of Li Hung Chang. Hard things said of his "acquisitiveness."

Tuan, Prince.—Manchu. Cousin of Emperor, and nephew and

grandson of two previous Rulers. Close ally of Empress, anti-foreign, and said to be in relations with Boxers.

Tung-fuh-Siang.—General. Ex-Mahommedan. Commands fierce troops of Mahommedan extraction which have destroyed European property. Blocked Admiral Seymour's advance.

Wang Wen Chao.—Viceroy of Pechili, but very old.

Weng Tun Ho.—Ex-Tutor of young Emperor. Living at Shanghai. Russophobe.

Yuan Shih Kai.—Manchu. Called power behind the Throne, '94. Betrayed Emperor's Reform tendencies to Empress. Governor of Shantung. Involved in Boxer movement. Said to be on friendly terms with Li Hung Chang.

Yung Lu.—Manchu. Repeatedly described before the war as most powerful man in China. Generalissimo Chinese Army, and practically Prime Minister. Saved Emperor's life twice during Reform troubles. Formerly liked by Europeans. Sometimes spoken of as reactionary and sometimes as progressive. Been Viceroy of Pechili and had a seat on Tsung li Yâmen. Closely connected with Empress Dowager. Opposed in seven memorials to the Throne encouragement of Boxers.

[Particulars of the careers of some of the less known men have been derived from an article by Mr. D. C. Boulger in the *Contemporary Review* for August.]

GLOSSARY

Candareen.—10 cash.
Cash.—About two dozen to a penny.
Catty.—$1\frac{1}{3}$ lb.
Chou.—Sub-prefecture.
Eleuth.—Western Mongols or Kalmuks (Kalmucks).
Fan-tan.—Game of chance, played with cash in a bowl.
Fu.—A prefecture.
Futai.—Governor of Province.
Gioro.—See KIOH LO.
Han-lin Yüan.—Han-lin College.
Hsien.—Sphere of government of district magistrate who ranks after tao-t'ai.
Ho.—River, as Hoang-ho.
Kalmuck.—See ELEUTH.
K'ang.—Mud slab or brick heated chamber, used as in Russian peasants' houses, for resting or sleeping on.
Khalkha.—The more remote Mongol tribes.
Kioh Lo.—Gioro, or collateral relative of Imperial House, claiming descent from its early ancestry. Wears red girdle.
Li.—Nearly a third of a mile.
Lin.—Fabulous animal said to appear as the forerunner of the death of great personages.
Mace.—10 candareen.
Nenufar.—The great Southern secret society. Anti-dynastic. Reform tendencies, but preaches China for the Chinese.
Picul.—$133\frac{1}{3}$ lb.
Shan.—A mountain.
She Tsze.—Heir apparent.
Swallowing gold.—Merely a euphemism for and not an ordinary means of suicide.
Ta Jên.—Title given to high officials in conversation.
Tael.—$1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. avoirdupois. Haikwan tael, 3s. $0\frac{1}{8}$d. (in 1900).
Tai Tsze.—Heir apparent.
Tao-t'ai.—Intendant of a circuit, ranking after viceroy and futai.
Tsungshih.—Imperial clansman, descended from founder of Manchu dynasty. Wears yellow girdle.
Tsung-tuh.—Viceroy.
Thiendianhien.—The great Northern secret society, or Society of the True Ancestor, 2500 years old. Brings the bodies of members home from abroad for burial in China. Friendly to Dynasty.
Tourgut.—A large section of the Mongols.
Vermilion Pencil.—Equivalent to "royal sign manual."
Wan.—A bay, as Talienwan.
Yâmen.—Office or residence, or both, of an official.
Ye Ho Chuan.—The "Boxers."

A NOTE ON THE "BEST BOOKS" ABOUT CHINA

THE "Best Book" about China as a whole has yet to be written. Three of the most useful works on the people are from the pen of women—Mrs. Bishop's *Yangtsze Valley and Beyond* (Murray, £1, 1s.), Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming's *Wanderings in China* (Blackwood, 6s.), and Mrs. Little's *Intimate China* (Hutchinson). *Village Life in China* and *Chinese Characteristics*, by Dr. A. H. Smith (Oliphant, 7s. 6d. and 9s.), and Professor Douglas's *Society in China* (Innes, 6s.) may also be mentioned. The photographs which give the most complete idea of what China and its people are like are perhaps those which appear in Thomson's *Through China with a Camera* (Constable, 21s.). For thorough accounts of China, Wells Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, and Gray's *China: History of the Laws, Manners, etc.*, can be recommended in spite of the fact that they date back to 1847 and 1878 respectively. They are in two volumes, and are of course expensive. *An Australian in China*, by Dr. Morrison, the *Times* correspondent, is an excellent book. A handy compendium of history is Professor Douglas's *China*, in the "Story of the Nations" Series (5s.), but many readers will prefer Mr. Boulger's *Short History* (Allen); it is 12s. 6d., but a larger book. For the earlier relations of China with European countries in the period before the Japanese War, R. S. Gundry's *China and Her Neighbours* (Chapman & Hall, 9s.) is admirable. Later history is treated in Lord Curzon's *Problems of the Far East* (Constable, 7s. 6d.), Henry Norman's *Peoples and Politics of the Far East* (Unwin, 7s. 6d.), which also deals with Japan, Korea, Siam, and Malaysia—both written before the Japanese War,—A. D. Colquhoun's *China in Transformation* (Harper, 16s.), and Lord Charles Beresford's *Break-up of China* (Harper, 12s.).

No one of these works suffices to give a complete idea of China and her people, their ideas, and foreign relations. Even when an author

has narrowed his field, he is often stronger in one direction than another. In considering the value of expressions of opinion in any particular book regard should be had, of course, to such points as these—(*a*) the time the traveller spent in the country; (*b*) the opportunities he enjoyed of seeing it thoroughly; (*c*) the means he possessed of getting into close touch not only with the mandarins but with the people; (*d*) whether he spoke a useful language; (*e*) his standpoint in judging the Chinese; (*f*) his knowledge of their history and literature; and (*g*) his acquaintance with other Eastern countries and peoples.

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