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Fox, F.

Observations in China.

1884.



OBSERVATIONS IN CHINA,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

CHINESE COLONIZATION,

THE FRENCH,

THE OPIUM QUESTION,

AND

ENGLISH COLONIES.

BY

FORTESCUE FOX, M.B. LOND.

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“HUMANI NIHIL À ME ALIENUM.”

TERENCE.

TO
SIR ANDREW CLARK, BART.,
M.D., LL.D., ETC.,
THESE
OBSERVATIONS
ARE,
BY KIND PERMISSION,
INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

I HAVE not attempted, in the following pages, any elaborate historical summary. They must be taken as embodying simply the observations of a chance traveller and medical man, who has endeavoured to approach the consideration of disputed questions with an open and unbiassed mind. The first half of the paper touches lightly on some points in the social condition of the Chinese. The second completes the too scanty survey by reviewing four questions of major importance:—China as a Colonizing Power; France in the East; the Opium Question; and the State of the English Colonies and Trade.

In publishing these observations, my chief aim and hope, if I may aspire so high, is to encourage the growth of an opinion on these topics which shall be just, moderate, and kindly,—worthy, that is, of our age and country.

STRATHPEFFER, OCT. 1884.

OBSERVATIONS, ETC.

CHINA, which includes Central and Eastern Asia, an area of about four and a half millions of square miles, is supposed to have a population of three hundred and fifty millions, or, roughly speaking, one quarter part of the human race.* It is a land rich in coal-fields and undeveloped mineral resources, the extent and richness of which are only now beginning to be realised. The climate is very various : thus it is bitterly cold in northern China ; subject to great extremes of temperature in the intermediate latitudes ; and tropical, but of great fertility, in the south and in Tonquin, the promise-land, as they suppose, of French colonization. China is a country of great rivers, and from the interior mountains and table-lands of Thibet and Mongolia, valleys and broad plains stretch eastward to the sea, intersected by streams and water-courses, and planted with rice and other grains, while tea is cultivated only upon the hills. It is a dominion which embraces many distinct populations, each of itself sufficient to constitute a separate nationality. In spite of their wide differences in race and language and customs, these are all united more or less under the sway of one authority—the Imperial Government of Peking. The Manchurians and the pastoral tribes of Mongolia, or Chinese Tartary, in the north ; the men of the

* “250,000,000;”—Mr. A. F. Hippisley, of the Customs.

“300,000,000;”—*Times* Correspondent, August, 1884.

western highlands of Thibet; and even the Koreans and the somewhat independent tribes of the south (Yunnan)—all these acknowledge the Chinese Emperor as their Lord; not to speak of the crowded communities in all parts of the empire, living in great cities which almost rival our own; nor of the millions in the coast towns, and those other millions of *riverain* population, who spend their years, generation after generation, upon the water. In spite of all that we hear as to the weakness of the Central Government, surely these facts bear no slight testimony to the efficiency of a control that is able to maintain intact and undivided so many varying elements, can form of such heterogeneous parts a whole so comparatively harmonious.*

The study, then, of China and of the Chinese must always be a matter of the greatest interest, for perhaps no land has a history so ancient, and certainly none a people so numerous. The history, indeed, relates to the Past alone, but in the circumstances of the population we find phenomena of the Present, and very significant for the Future. If we would have anything like a clear understanding of events, in which this great Empire must have a large share, it is necessary to attain to some perception of China's

* Beyond the limits of the empire there are wide territories over which China claims to exercise suzerainty rights. According to the *Book of the Collected Edicts of the Tartar Dynasty*, the tributary states of China comprise Korea, Loo Choo, Annam, Siam, Borneo, Burmah, the Laos Tribes, Holland and the States of the Western ocean generally, of which four are specified,—Portugal, Italy, and England, together with a potentate described as the "King of the Missionaries," probably the Pope. These States are not *compelled* to tender allegiance. Thus after the Tartars came to power the allegiance of Annam was eighteen years in being offered and six in being accepted. It was to be presented biennially with elephants' tusks, rhinoceros' horns, silk, incense, betel, etc. According to the same authority, the State England sent tribute by her envoy Lord Macartney in 1793, which is a view of his mission unusual in this country.

real attitude and of the general tendencies and impulses of her people.

It is not only a matter of China and France : it is not merely the question of opium-smoking, and of our right or policy in maintaining a lucrative trade in that drug with the Chinese ; nor yet a question, as some would have it, merely of British commerce ; nor is it, indeed, comprised in the problem of the conversion of Chinamen to Christianity. These are surely important and interesting topics, but they are only subordinate to the main question. Their present prominence is but symptomatic of the life that is stirring among them, and certainly shows forth a continually lessening indifference on the part of the Chinese nation to their own welfare, and to the great political and social problems with which they are beset.

Their Government is rousing itself at last, and putting on more energy ; official eyes, heavy with hereditary slumber, are grown more willing to receive enlightenment from the " Barbarian," and also more ready to act up to their new lights. We have before us the spectacle of a nation shaking itself from its sleep, and have yet to witness the full activity of its waking hours. For not only the Government, but the people far and wide, are moved by a new energy and enterprise, which prove their popular origin by this, that they are manifested again and again in all directions, often to the terror of their governors, and in spite of the traditional restrictions of authority. China, which we are so apt to regard as nearly paralyzed by an exclusive Conservatism, has made in reality during the last few years very substantial advances, which probably augur better for her future than, in the case of Japan, do those hasty and almost revolutionary changes by which that country has sought to rush into conformity with

Western ideas. The contrast between the national characters of the two peoples shows us that with the Chinese remain industry, endurance, and practical business aptitude,—qualities, which, however they may moderate the speed of progress, are likely to give it thoroughness and stability.

In the *Straits Times* for May 28th, 1883, a report is given of the annual meeting of the “Celestial Reasoning Association,” being a society of Chinese gentlemen, which meets fortnightly at Singapore for discussion. Among other matters, this question was recently debated by the Association,—“Upon what do great achievements mostly depend, perseverance or intelligence?” Tso-ping-lung introduced the subject in a speech, and the meeting decided in favour of perseverance. In that decision these Chinamen were in full harmony with the traditions and the policy of their country, which may be described as perseverance, guided by a fluctuating quantity of intelligence. Another decision of this Association may serve to illustrate the Chinese attitude in regard to ethical questions, and the practical worldly-wisdom on which their own system of conduct is largely based. Being asked by Low-ling-shang to determine, “Is it sinful to tell a lie in order to relieve a man from certain distress?” they finally decided in the negative.

In Military strength China has made great advances since this country last measured swords with her. Arsenals and forts have been built at many places, and placed under the management of European officers, who are instructing the natives in the manufacture and use of weapons. Numerous warships have also been purchased, and are commanded by skilled “foreigners,” whilst the approaches to some of the harbours and rivers are defended by torpedoes. Certainly if a European Power were to

engage in prolonged or serious conflict with China, the latter country could now offer a much more effectual resistance than any she was able to oppose years ago to the English armies. It is said that the Chinese, if well led, make excellent soldiers, for endurance and bravery. One of the effects of opening so many (nineteen) of the more important ports to European trade has been to render China a country far more difficult to subdue than formerly. Not many serious blows can now be struck without jeopardizing the interests of some neutral State. Many authorities consider that the Chinese, if they chose to prolong war, could effectually tire out France or any other hostile Power. As respects their soldier-like qualities, M. Huc says: "In China are to be found all the elements necessary for organizing the most formidable army in the world."

In regard to trade, there is some reason to believe that a great development of Chinese trade would take place, if it were not hampered by circumstances arising out of the opium traffic. To that question we shall again return. All observers note the remarkable business capacity of Chinamen: indeed the commercial activity and enterprise of every class are very conspicuous wherever one comes into contact with them. The Chinese are acute "men of the world," and rarely fail to utilize any opportunity that can afford them an advantage. Although this disposition to push and drive a good bargain may be sometimes objectionable in individuals, it is probably a quality very necessary for a progressive people. In every considerable Chinese community one finds abundant examples of prosperous men, whom their own keen business faculty and patient industry have raised to a position of wealth and luxury. Some who began life as salesmen of vegetables or coral, engaged, by small degrees and more and more, in

little enterprises of trade, then rose perhaps to the position of ship's comprador, or foreman in a European "go-down" (or office), and finally have been able to retire with a large fortune. In the better parts of Singapore, for instance, in the cool of the evening, you often meet these Chinese grandees in fine equipages, with servants in liveries of brilliant and gorgeous colour, proceeding slowly along the drive as though for greater display.

On the principle that straws indicate the direction of great currents, many circumstances might be cited showing that the policy and drift of China is onward. Thus, when European medical men introduced the practice of vaccination not many years since, the Chinese authorities were quick to perceive its benefits, and now it is largely followed in the cities. Several thousands are annually vaccinated in the China-city at Shanghai alone, and it is to be hoped that the next generation of English travellers may not see so large a proportion of those that throng these large towns hopelessly disfigured by small-pox as is the case to-day. This ready appreciation of vaccination by such a people as the Chinese is not devoid of a needed lesson to some in our own country. Small-pox, indeed, as was once the case amongst ourselves, is probably the most destructive and terrible of the diseases of China, and occurs in a very virulent form, which is the scourge of the cities. Cholera, which is in all its symptoms identical with the true Asiatic epidemic disease, occurs chiefly endemically (*i.e.* locally) in China, and, although very fatal, is never such a terror as small-pox.

Speaking of medical work in China, at Swatow the Presbyterian Medical Mission was visited with much interest. The following day I went to the hospital and saw some of the out-patients with the doctor. He was good enough also to send out into

the streets for a number of lepers, whom we examined upon the balcony. There are many severe cases of all kinds amongst the Chinese, and the hospital can accommodate about 300 of these. My medical *confrère* is most thorough and painstaking in his work, and performs many operations, especially in that very important branch of Eastern surgical practice which relates to diseases of the eye. It says a great deal for a man that he should devote himself to such a work in a climate where the duties of a conscientious English doctor are very arduous and exhausting, in such isolation, and for the sake of a population at first sight so unprepossessing.

The masses of poor creatures in these ports present, of course, a wide field for the observation of disease, such as, for instance, cutaneous affections, of which there is a great variety; you may also succeed in alleviating a little suffering in the great sum of pain; but to labour single-handed, and to take on oneself year after year the responsibility of every form of surgical and medical practice, conscientiously to apply with all one's might the best remedy of healing, to contend at the same time with the opposing forces of prejudice and ignorance, and often, also, with other difficulties arising from the action of those who should be your helpers; and to do all in the face of physical weakness, and in a land where other Europeans lead lives of luxury and indulgence, what is this but giving up one's *life* for others? It is remarkable that everywhere you find the opinion that the medical missionary is in many ways the best form of missionary; and numbers can admire *his* efforts and sympathise with them who look upon the project of changing the religion of a nation with little favour.

At Hong Kong the writer called more than once on a surgeon who has been very successful in his treat-

ment of eye affections among the mandarins. One case, in which he restored the sight of a high official, soon spread the fame of his skill at Court, and many now come from a distance for his treatment. I was ushered into his consulting-room. The priest, officiating in the Temple of Science, sat at his table, surrounded by the mysterious instruments and paraphernalia of his calling. I could imagine how strangely they would strike the eyes of the lofty Chinese magnate, used to regarding the foreigner as quite beneath his notice, and from whom he would never believe that enlightenment, mental or physical, could ever proceed. But the process has now begun, and these proud "Celestials," strong in the traditions of a hundred generations, are learning that the Present has lessons for them as well as the Past; that Time does not stand still, the passive guardian of his accumulated treasures, but is ever advancing to fresh conquests; that progress is the condition, as it is the sign, of Life; that, in truth, stillness is Death. Surely these are no slight lessons, nor the Conversion to them of China's rulers an unimportant work.

The Railway, although pretty general in Japan, has not yet found a footing in China. The nearest approach to it is, I believe, a steam tram, running in connection with some mines at Tien-tsin.* There was, indeed, a short line of railway between Shanghai and Woosung on the river, but the prejudice and excitement of the people rose so high that it was torn up not long since. Telegraphs, however, are now laid to Tien-tsin, and the line from Hong Kong to

* Since the above was written the order has been given to commence a line which shall connect Tien-tsin with the Capital. The Viceroy Li memorialized the Throne in favour of this project so long ago as 1880, but has only now succeeded in overcoming the *vis inertie* of the Central Government. With the rail at Pekin we may hope to see the example widely followed, and without much delay.

Shanghai was completed a few months back. Many of the leading statesmen of China are favourable to the railway, but it is no easy task to override the set opposition of the people. Corruption among the ruling classes and petty authorities on the one hand, and on the other superstition among the masses, are fearful obstacles in the way of an enlightened and progressive policy. Yet, although there is something to condemn and much to deplore, there is very much that is to be commended in the Chinese, and in the political as well as the social institutions of their country. I would simply allude to their system of Land tenure as a sample of the former, and in regard to social excellence it may be said that these people possess a power to which no nation in hopeless decay can lay claim, namely, the power of replenishing the ranks of their great ones, not by unworthy descendants, but from the people themselves.

There is one figure worthily pre-eminent in the estimation of men, and which still dominates the horizon of the Far East,—the figure of a man universally acknowledged to be the foremost statesman of his country, and the ablest leader of the people from whom he sprang. His Excellency the Viceroy, Li-Hung-Chang, is sometimes described as the Gladstone of China. He is at present sixty years of age, and holds, as leader of the Party of Progress, probably the highest position of permanent power and influence in the empire. I have conversed with one who has been on intimate relations with this great man for several years, and who speaks of him not only as extremely able and far-sighted, but also as honest and disinterested. This gentleman assures me that Li is a most careful student of Western methods and Western thought, and, relying upon these for the real advancement of his country, is anxiously labouring for their acceptance. It is he who, years ago,

has spoken out on the opium question: it is he who carried the telegraph to the Capital: it is he who is labouring to bring the mind of the people to accept railways; and he it is who is trying also to introduce our improved manufacturing systems into the country. His attitude is one of no little difficulty and even danger, by reason of the existence of a powerful anti-foreign party at Peking, which is now and again dominant in the Imperial councils, and threatens death and degradation to all who may resist it. Hitherto the great personality of Li has proved superior to all these fluctuations of policy; and on him reposes to-day, more than ever, the hope of patriotic Chinamen.

In little things and in great, the Viceroy has strikingly illustrated his independence of the traditional prejudices under which so many even of the educated classes labour. Thus, for several years he has used coal-gas in his "yamen" (or office) at Tientsin, where he has translations of the English papers read to him. A generation ago as a soldier he took a leading part with Gordon in suppressing the great Taiping rebellion. As a diplomatist he has been equally distinguished. After the murder of the French at Tientsin, in 1870, it was mainly by the efforts of Li-Hung-Chang that war was averted. He signed the famous Chefoo Convention of 1876, and since then has had the troublesome province of Korea to deal with, which province he opened to Western trade in order to avoid the simultaneous designs of Russia and Japan. Finally, he has to meet the war-like designs and enterprises of France, in disposing of which it is to be hoped that the tactics of the skilful diplomatist may be equally successful.*

At Shanghai an interesting visit was paid to the

* To the position of the French in the Far East we shall presently return.

“city,” by which is to be understood Chinese Shanghai, a walled town of about 150,000 inhabitants. There are in the neighbouring European Settlements, or “Concessions,” about an equal number of Chinese and some 3000 Europeans, making the total population of Shanghai a little more than 300,000. I have been assured that Shanghai is to be *the* great city of the East, and pointed to the rapid advances made in recent years for confirmation. Certainly the “Bund,” built on land reclaimed from the river, with its handsome banks and offices, its rows of electric lights, telegraph posts, public gardens, and broad roadway, is as fine a thoroughfare as can be readily found in England.

From the returns of the Shanghai General Hospital for 1882, it appears that the largest number of deaths in the year were from cholera. Thirty cases of *alcoholism* were received, of which three proved fatal. The Police Returns state that 208 foreigners were arrested during the same year, including 92 drunk and incapable, and 50 drunk and disorderly. During the same period 10,964 Chinese were arrested, of which only 97 cases were for drunkenness, 3,725 being for vagrancy, 3,520 for running dirty “jinrickshas” (the common vehicle, like a small hansom cab, but drawn by a Chinaman), and 920 for larceny. In the case, therefore, of Europeans, two out of three arrests were in consequence of drink, whilst the proportion in the case of the more temperate Chinamen was one arrest in 113. It may be added that the police force at Shanghai consists of 30 foreigners and 170 natives.

In “Chinese City” we visited many “joss-houses,” or temples, and witnessed the observances of their worship, which in some points strongly resemble the ceremonial of Rome. Hard by, the carver in his shop was busy making gods in the likeness of men, and one could not but call to mind David’s pungent

words, "Eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not. *They that make them are like unto them.*"

The city streets, five or six, and never more than eight or ten feet broad, are crowded with open shops and stalls. In the wider spaces native priest-doctors and fortune-tellers sit at tables with all the mysterious array of their art. Here and there conjurors, surrounded by a large crowd, swallow porcelain cups one after the other, and perform other strange tricks. In places the odour is very overpowering, and one is obliged to stop the breath and hurry on. The Chinese do not seem to have the smallest idea of sanitary arrangements in their cities; but, strange to say, they are sometimes more free from fever than the Europeans in the adjoining Concession, who have laid down elaborate drains. The latter, no doubt, rather than preventing, may serve to propagate disease.

A broad-minded Minister in this place told me many interesting and curious things about the habits and customs of the Chinese. For example, the gates of the city are built in a curve or zigzag, in order that the evil spirits may not get in. These spirits can only go in a straight line; and on an open space of ground in field or garden one often sees a grave with a short piece of brick wall built across the direct approach to it, in order to keep the spirits away. A couple of rude images, dogs or horses, are sometimes set in front of the wall facing each other, so as to indicate that the avenue of approach lies between them. A small cruciform hole in the grave itself is to let the "devil" (*i.e.* the spirit) of the departed go in and out at pleasure. I remember, on first landing in China, how the eye was immediately attracted by certain strange-looking objects in the fields, lying on the ground and resembling long, low

rabbit-hutches. These proved on examination to be graves.

The Chinese are particular to be "buried" on their own land, and many vessels bring back from the colonies great numbers of lifeless bodies for this purpose. These often lie for months near the dwelling-houses until the priests, at considerable expense, have determined the exact locality for the "grave." Then a rough thatch is built over the shell, or, if the deceased has been richer, it is walled in completely or encased in brick. The appearance of these objects among the crops is odd. The departed is provided in his last rest with a piece of money, and letters are inscribed outside the tomb to fright away inquisitive and evil spirits. This people worship the "devils" of their ancestors, but chiefly for fear they should do them a mischief. Thus it will be seen that the Chinaman combines a dread of evil spirits with a certain amount of contempt for them, as beings of lower intelligence, but worthy to be conciliated, because they are powerful as well as stupid. This is shown by the clever arrangements he continually makes to deceive them. He brings not silver to the fire he kindles at the tomb, but silvered paper, which he thinks will be mistaken for the precious metal; and all the details of his home, as well as the construction of cities and graves, as above, are founded on the confidence that he can cheat the powers of ill.

We walked along the top of the city wall, the defences of which are in rather a ruinous condition, consisting mainly of an occasional cannon tumbled from its rotten carriage, and of sentry-houses in which a mild-looking soldier and fierce dog live together. Although there is much that is disagreeable in the city, and the people do not show to advantage, in the settlements one meets with really handsome faces among them. Most of the lower class of tradespeople and coolies, with their hard wrinkled faces,

carry, if any, rather a coarse expression; but among those better off—some of the young officials especially, with their mild pale countenances, jet-black hair, twined with great care into a magnificent pig-tail, long thin hands as white as any European's—one often finds something to admire. There is also a curious curve of the upper lip, which is slightly lifted to show the teeth. This feature gives to many Chinese faces an expression of scorn, but to others a peculiar beauty.

It is often remarked that something seems wanting in the faces of the Chinese, and, after the study of a good many, it appears to be the quality of *pity* that is absent. There is plenty of intellect, and even reverence and generosity written in some countenances, but none the less are they unfeeling, unpitiful, devoid of the mercy which is "twice blest." This point in the Chinese character is illustrated every day in their treatment one of another. Yet it must be admitted that the streets of Shanghai have a certain amount of elegance, and delicacy, and refined feature to boast of in those that throng them, thickly as any London street is thronged; although, certainly, what with their waddling gait (from their miserably deformed feet), small stature, preposterous head-dress, and unengaging faces, the Chinese *women* are not very pleasing.

The common forms of Punishment may be instanced as indicative of the national cruelty. When the writer was in Shanghai, a Chinaman was "captured" begging in the settlements. Around his neck had been securely fixed a heavy chain, which carried at the other end a stone, weighing 35 lbs. The chain and stone were fastened on him eighteen months before, as a punishment for thieving. Afterwards, whilst we were at Han-kow, six hundred miles up the stream of the Yang-tsze-kiang, the authorities were occupied in suppressing a rebellion. One hundred

heads were struck off in a few days, and hung up over the city gates. Men were starved in iron cages, and exposed to the scorn of the passers-by until the end came; the majority were beheaded. These people when taken to their execution show the utmost composure. "Ah," they say, "go on, cut away; it is *your* turn now; had you been a few hours later *we* should have been doing this; cut away!"

It is said the rebels* had arranged to put Han-kow in flames, and begin the massacre on a certain evening. On the same afternoon the first† European tea-ship passed up the river, and anchored close to the "Bund," while we followed in a much larger steamer a few hours after, to the further satisfaction of the Europeans on shore.

This place is one of three large cities,—Han-kow, Han-yang and Wuchang, the capital of the province,—situated at the meeting of the Han with the Yang-tsze rivers. Their united populations are estimated as equal to that of London. Han-kow is the chief treaty port of the Yang-tsze-kiang, and has a foreign trade of ten millions sterling. Han-kow is another instance of a densely crowded and very dirty Chinese city. The main street or bazaar is a long alley, roughly paved, repulsive with all forms of corruption, and vocal with the cries of coolies laden with burdens, swung from bamboo poles. From above, where the houses are joined by cross poles and bridges, long banners dangle down, bearing gorgeous inscriptions in gold and red concerning the various stores beneath. There are a great many beggars and diseased creatures lying out in the path to move the passer-by to pity, but it seems that disgust and pity, in their higher developments, are somewhat incompatible.

* Members of the secret "Sect of the White Lily."

† Of the season 1883.

A considerable part of the progress which China has made in the last half century can undoubtedly be traced to the efforts of Missionaries. Although it is customary with many of the English in the East to depreciate their religious work, yet most will admit that on the whole they have had a general civilizing influence. An old resident, now a pilot on the great river, although stating that he considered the only sin of his life to have been the subscribing when a child to the missionary-box, yet even he bore testimony to the excellent educational work carried on by some French Catholic missionaries in Central China. At all events, whatever may be thought of their endeavours (and there appears to be room for a considerable difference of view), no one can deny the extreme difficulty of the task they have set themselves, the almost insuperable nature of the obstacles in their way, and the zeal and persistence of their efforts to overcome them.*

Abuses can, of course, be readily found in most systems, and the evil perhaps most common in this one is the disposition to make a profit, by trading and other means, out of what should be a purely religious service. It is, however, perfectly natural that amongst so large a body of workers some few at least should be infected with the love of worldly gain, which is so universal among our countrymen, more particularly in the East. Perhaps we may be glad that the cases of such infection are so exceptional. It is often, also, a surprise and shock to the uninitiated to find that so many of these excellent persons can calmly estimate as devoid of good the temporal and eternal lot of the thousands who surround them. When we believe that without our exertion there is no redeeming

* "The Chinese are cold and indifferent to religion of any kind : humanly speaking, nothing less than a miracle will convert them to Christianity."
—*Fortune's Travels*, 1855 circ.

feature in the prospect we are lifted to a dangerous elevation in this large world, and to a position which some of us must decline to acknowledge.

One special difficulty of the English missionary, or indeed of any of our countrymen who seek to influence this people, arises from the fact that they are, in the eyes of the Chinese, the representatives of a Power which is their enemy both in peace and in war, whose hostile armies are but succeeded by a hostile opium-policy more ruinous than the sword. "They defeated us that they might poison us; and they poison us that they may enslave us,"—such appear to be the bitter thoughts of great numbers of the Chinese. The missionary, in fact, has to maintain before this people an attitude very different, as it seems, from the attitude of his country at home, and different also from the attitude of great numbers of his countrymen abroad. Forsaken, then, by both country and countrymen, it is his to carry alone into a strange land the standard of a merciful religion and a pure example.

The inertia, also, of Chinamen, the traditional obstinacy that is set against the acceptance of any new lesson, are rocks against which many a wave of Western enterprise is likely to break ere they are swept away. Probably missionary effort in China, steadily and patiently continued, is as much effectual in modifying the disposition of the Chinese mind towards the world in general as in any more direct religious conversion. Such a work in respect to a huge empire, little enlightened, with little means of expression or desire for knowledge, is, of course, infinitely difficult; but there can be no doubt that a very appreciable impression is being made.

In a recent conversation with a Buddhist priest who occupies a very influential position in Japan, that gentleman made some very interesting remarks on the state of his own country and of China. He

believes that always in the history of peoples the two movements of religious and of worldly progress are at the same time either backward or forward. The one declines or advances with the other. Yet it is, he says, very rare to find the two causes proceeding *pari passu*, and one movement is generally considerably in advance of the other.

Seven hundred years ago Japan was in very much the same condition as regards material progress that China has known, more or less, for nearly two thousand years. A century and a half since Japan was experiencing a strong progressive religious movement. Buddhism obtained an extraordinary position in the country, the priests became very powerful, and from Emperor to peasant all were devout Buddhists. At this time, however, the general progress of the country was very slow. When, about a generation ago, another Dynasty succeeded, a complete reversal took place:—Civilization began to take a rapid onward advance, while religion, although progressing, is now left far behind. Foreigners, twenty years ago hardly safe, are now highly respected in Japan. Meanwhile, Buddhism, still the faith of the lower orders, is neglected more or less by the educated class. The statement made that China is stationary because the Buddhist religion inculcates the annihilation of Desire, is founded on a complete misconception of that system, nor is it, indeed, necessary to find an explanation for a condition which does not exist.

The same high authority has an ingenious explanation for the rapid advance of Japan. The rate of progress, he says, depends on the character of the people. In Japan all are Japanese, and all are of one nation. Changes introduced there become quickly general, and civilization, as now understood, once started, quickly spreads. China, on the other hand, is composed of many nations: they differ in

race, in speech, in manners; the country is vast, and communication slight and uncertain. Therefore changes take a long time to become general. At the same time he admits a very decided progress in China, and thinks that the Chinese will one day be the foremost nation of the East, as well as the greatest Eastern Power.

As regards the condition of Buddhism in China, it is much the same as in Japan. The poor are its most devout adherents, whilst the upper classes are growing more speculative and independent of priests. But in Mongolia, where every family, if there be more than one male, rears a son for the priesthood, the influence of Buddhism is more considerable. The priests are educated by Government grant at Peking.

So far we have attempted a very rough and fragmentary sketch of some points in the general condition of China's inhabitants. We may grant that the mass of common people are unenlightened, but after all, in spite of their darkness and superstition, they do themselves make to our common manhood an appeal of irresistible force. Most happily for the world pity is not dead, nor that compassion which once looked upon the multitude.

In further Asia, the real "East-end" of the world, we seem almost to get beyond the region of oriental indolence. As in the East-end of our own metropolis, we come upon a large and crowded population, employed for the most part in manual labour. In spite of poverty and disease, and the special sufferings of diseased poverty, these people are distinguished by a certain steady industry, which gives them the not ignoble title of "working class." The Chinese among the nations might well be designated by the same epithet, and it is open to question whether they will not definitely before long take

their place as such. Most of the domestic servants employed in the East are Chinamen, and on the whole prove reliable and faithful. They also have the faculty of living on less than any other people, and are good workmen in every climate. They have filled the whole East: it is not improbable they may some day find a footing in the West also.

At this stage we are naturally led to the further examination of a question of peculiar and pressing interest at the present time; namely, the position of China as a Colonizing Power.

It is always of interest to consider a people which has stood aside, as it were, from the race of humanity, being enabled by geographical position and by temperament, to escape the struggle of a world's existence, and to take on a separate and solitary development. We notice how slow are the changes such a community undergoes, compared with such as live in constant friction one with the other. This has been the lot of the Chinese; and we find the result fixed in the national mind to-day,—*reverence* for their own institutions, *indifference* to the outer world and to the “barbarians,” its inhabitants. It is certain that those impressions have been, until quite recently, both intense and universal in China. But as those who boast of Liberty very loudly are generally themselves subject to some form of bondage, so Pride came to forge for this people fetters no conqueror could impose, and national isolation brought national stagnation.

In the face of these considerations, it seems a strange assertion that, with one exception, China is the greatest Colonizing Power of the age. Such, however, is the case; and it appears to be one of the many results of steam. When posterity comes to pass judgment on the Nineteenth Century, and

the progress of men is traced to its real causes, probably none of these will have been more directly fertile of great events than the *increased means of locomotion*, which is the prominent characteristic of our time. A greater movement, of course, involves a greater friction. There is, however, no discovery but carries a preponderating good; by this free locomotion, multitudes, else hopelessly sundered, are brought together, and all that is best in our invention, thought, or aspiration, tends to become the common property of mankind.

Even unwillingness on the part of the recipient does not, strange to say, utterly invalidate the resulting good. The morality of our forced intercourse with China since the beginning of this century is, to say the least of it, questionable. That intercourse has been resisted at every point with an obstinacy only equalled by that of our own countrymen. Yet out of it have certainly arisen great capacities, hitherto latent in China, chief among which is an extraordinary capacity for successful Emigration.

The traveller receives at Singapore his first impressions of this emigration. This island, which, on our first possession of it some sixty-five years ago, supported only a Malay fishing village, has now about 150,000 inhabitants, of whom about two-thirds are Chinese.* Moreover, in all the neighbouring parts,—the Malay peninsula and Penang, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Philippine Islands, Siam, Cochin, Burmah, &c.,—either the prevailing element is Chinese, or it is fast becoming so. The majority of the small traders, and of the labouring class, is made up of an industrious Chinese population. If we go further,—to Australia, Mauritius, America, and elsewhere, we

* These are the figures given (for 1884) by Sir F. A. Weld, Governor of the Colony.

hear the same tale,—that the last few years have seen a large influx of these people. Everywhere the bulk of evidence goes to say that they are excellent workmen, laborious, thrifty, persevering. Without entering upon the disputed question of Chinese labour in these and other countries, it is clear that the fact of the injury to other labourers, by reason of the reduction of wages wherever these emigrants come, is only a further testimony to the industry and frugality of the Chinese.* Whether the present

* The following is taken from an account of Melbourne about 1855, being part of a "Speech by Quang Chew, lately arrived, a man, being good in his reason and affections, and fifth cousin of the Mandarin Ta Quang Tsing Loo, who possesses many gardens near Macao." The speech, although amusing, is a very true account of the varied capacities of the emigrant Chinese, and illustrates also their professions of humility.

"Kind people of the gold-enticing country,—I, a man of some years beyond the rest of us Chinese who have recently disembarked upon the hospitable shores of your yellow fields; also a man wishing very humbly to express the gratitude of his heart, and of all those who accompany him or who have gone before him, and not forgetting all those who are humbly on the way; I, being moreover a man of moderation and cautious judgment, even after looking on both sides of the bridge according to the wise advice of Cung Foo T'see, cannot but give words to my surprise at some of the roughly-split and knotty bamboos, which, as we are informed by the tongue of our interpreter Atchai, have been swung threateningly above the shoulders of all the golden sea-crossing people of the Central Flowery Empire, our much-distant native land. Man, being subject to many changes and dark clouds, must submit with resignation. Man must be patient, and likewise exceedingly respectful. All good laws teach this; and all dutiful Chinese reverence the laws, because they are the finest fruits and flowers which the heavenly sun extracts from the roots of wisdom. Therefore man must always bow before his governors and superiors, because they are the roots of wisdom. With all becoming ceremonies we wish to approach and bow before the Governor of this town. But in what things have we, the Chinese, humbly landing on your delightful shores, given just cause of offence? . . . Understanding by the assurance of many respectable people . . . that there were no people of any country which were excluded . . . but were welcomed with both hands, and the sound of triangles and kettles . . . I therefore, a very humble man, but having reason, do not think it will justly balance when bitter and unfruitful counsellors (more literally,—mandarins made of orange-peel) propose that all nations shall be welcomed here, except the Chinese. I appeal to

state of affairs be fortunate or otherwise, the foreigner* has certainly brought it upon his own head. Since our steamships have been forced into the ports and rivers of China, they have been and are the channels for the overflowing of the people. Swarm after swarm pours forth from the Asiatic hive, which never appears to be less full. All the neighbouring coasts and islands feel the influence of the living tide. Singapore, the "Lion City," has naturally received something like the lion's share, and it has not always been composed of the choicest of the population. Thus, it is said that not long since a Chinese general, in the course of five years, reprieved 80,000 young men under capital sentence, on condition of their emigrating to Singapore.

you if this would not be a hard-grained and distorted proceeding. At the thought of being sent home with disgrace, and for no wrong done, we blush though innocent: we tremble excessively, though free from guilt. Among our numbers we have men well skilled in gardening, and the cultivation of all sorts of fruits and flowers, likewise carpenters and workers in fine wood and in ivory also cunning agriculturalists, who know how to manage the worst as well as the best soils, particularly Leu Lee and his five nephews, also two men accustomed to make ornamental bridges, and a skilful man named Yaw, who can make the best kites, having wings and great glass eyes not to be surpassed. Likewise Yin, who understands the breeding of fish, and birds, and dogs, and cats: also many excellent cooks, who would allow nothing to be wasted; and moreover we have lock-makers and toy-makers, and many umbrella-makers, greatly needed, and inventors of puzzles and fireworks, and carvers of fans and chessmen, and some who make musical instruments, which others can play. Why should all these things be sent back with disgrace? Should it be deemed prudent not to allow above ten or twenty thousand Chinese to come here, it surely would be a harsh proceeding to send away any of those who have already come so far, and all full of respect. . . . If this speech have any reason in it I know it will be heard with a close ear, and a head leaning on one side, and I most anxiously hope that the Governor will condescend to weigh and measure and reflect a little on my words. In the belief of which, with all humbleness of heart and respectful ceremonies, we await in silence the vermilion-coloured reply."

* Europeans in China very candidly give themselves this name.

Along the Straits of Malacca, at Singapore, in the Dutch settlements, and in the other islands north and south of the line, there is a great and continuous demand for labourers. The Malays are fickle and unreliable, and withal comparatively few in number : Klings and Arabs are also scarce. The Chinaman alone, by the nature of the work and climate, by his own endurance and industry, is thoroughly fitted to supply this demand ; and consequently there is a continual stream of "Celestials" southwards, from their own crowded "flowery" land to countries yet more flowery than it, but less celestial in point of temperature. Take, for example, Borneo, typical of twenty other places in the East which modern enterprise is opening up to trade. These places are rich in natural products ; their soil is fertile, but covered with feverous marshes or tangled jungle. The European finds his way thither ; buys up tracts of country at a dollar per acre, on the stipulation that he clears it within twenty years. His coolie, coming with axe and spade, clears the ground, waking thereby slumbering miasmas and deadly fevers, which wreak their first and worst vengeance upon him. The splendid edifice of the foreigner is cemented by his sweat and blood : and thus it is that the European lavishes his money, and these men their lives, on the advance-path of civilization. The coolie leaves China, thinking to return to wife and kindred in three or four years. Many die ; many more stay and flourish in the new country. Thus there are at present in the island of Java about 160,000 Chinese. It is thought that about 10 *per cent.* return alive. Hundreds and thousands are embalmed after death, and carried home to be buried, according to the directions of the priest, in some particular spot of the old soil.

At Amoy, Swatow, and other ports there are

Chinese firms, supplying these emigrants. They send "runners" into the interior, who tell the people they are leading a wretched life, and how much better it would be to emigrate awhile to the south, earn good wages, and return rich. As a consequence thousands of men flock down to the coast, and collect in the ports. A great many of them have no money. The agent, or "compradore," of the firm houses them in large sheds, and gives them "chou" (food), until the big steamer comes. He then pays their passage-money for Singapore (say, four and a half, or five dollars), places them on board, and undertakes their food supply until arrival in the Straits. In this manner the compradore gets each man in debt to him, perhaps to the amount of six or eight dollars; and this money the employer now refunds him, so that the debt comes to lie between the coolie and his future master. Professedly, this is to be deducted from his wages, but the employer knows that it is to his advantage to retain a hold over his servants, and may not suffer him to get out of his debt for many years. When, by long service, he has again become free, the coolie must then save enough to pay for his return passage. Another and better class of emigrants are such as have money of their own to start with, who pay their own passage, and do not land under obligation to any one.

At Amoy our steamer took on board between 600 and 700 coolie emigrants of the latter class. It is a sight to see them come on board, after which the visual sense is supplemented by others. They swarm over, like so many pirates, shouting and gesticulating. The torrent pours over the ship's side by every variety of improvised ladder or rope, and the great flat boats below, where the men still stand thick as ants, never seem to grow emptier. As many as 18,000 of these emigrants left Amoy in one year

recently. At Swatow, on the following day, we found another consignment—between 500 and 600—awaiting us, which more than completed our stated capacity for such passengers, viz., 1226½.* The men from Swatow emigrated, as I understand, under the first-mentioned system. In former years this traffic was very improperly conducted, and the men sold into what in fact amounted to slavery; but it seems that the abuses of this system have been largely rectified; thanks partly, no doubt, to the action of the Chinese Protection Department, which has now been established at Singapore for five years.

Observation of this class of people, whether aboard ship or ashore, although it may enlarge one's conception of humanity, yet leaves an almost despairing conclusion on the mind. They are so far off: how shall we understand them, or influence them? Perhaps the animals in the streets have monopolized our sympathies; but must we not allow to these men, if we claim them ourselves, the hopes of this life and of a life that is to come? And what is their life present? Verily, they eat and drink and to-morrow they die: but they do another thing, they *labour* for those who eat, drink, and die only. It may be there is some true nobility in such existence, even more than we sometimes think. It may be there is virtue in the simple patience which fulfils a plan neither they nor we understand. Undoubtedly, one thing is certain;—there are many besides ourselves. They are different from us in race and manners and dress, in their waking and sleeping, eating and drinking, in their thoughts and fears and hopes, their aversions and desires, beliefs and disbeliefs. If one of them is bitten by a snake he lies down complacently to die,

* I am told that 35,000 from the various ports have arrived at Singapore in twelve months; most of them, of course, passing on to other colonies and settlements.

as he would lie down to sleep. He fully understands that all is over, and is as fully content. He knows nothing of the fear that seems to follow in the train of some of our higher teaching. He is a savage—what reproach is there in that? But he is a savage philosopher. How shall we meddle with these men: how approach them save on the common ground of human needs and sufferings? There all meet as brothers, and realize the truth so finely expressed by the Hon. Mrs. Norton in the lines:—

“God hath built up a bridge ’twixt man and man,
Which mortal strength can never overthrow;
Over the world it stretches its dark span;
The key-stone of that mighty arch is WOE!
Joy’s rainbow glories visit earth, and go,
Fading away to Heaven’s far-distant land;
But grief’s foundations have been fixed below:
Pleasures divide us: the divine command
Hath made of *sorrow’s* links a firm connecting band!”

After discharging the emigrants at Singapore, our steamer proceeded to Saigon to load with rice. Admiral de la Grandière, when he laid the plans of this town, made provision for an ideal city of five million souls. Doubtless it was with an equally sanguine expectation that his countrymen concluded the Franco-Annamite treaty of 1862, by which they finally acquired the six provinces since known as Lower Cochin China. There, with Saigon for centre, they would found a colony that should rival the English colonies; a trade that should enrich France! Saigon would be another Shanghai, a portal through which the East should yield her treasure to the West. In 1874, the same vision was before them, only more splendid, when by the treaty of Hué, the French right of trade was extended into Tonquin,—the vision of *une nouvelle France*, a glorious colonial empire, embracing the Indo-Chinese peninsula. As it was at the beginning it is now. The French are still dream-

ing the same dream,* and are seeking to give effect to it by military operations which are continually extending in their scope. These operations have certainly led to one definite result. By a subtle attraction, well known in history as in chemistry, the large drop consumed the little drops. That which was Annam suffered first dismemberment and then piecemeal destruction. Cambodia proved troublesome and was swallowed up.† Even Siam was several times in danger, and only saved by the presence of European residents at Bangkok. But these restless activities could not be confined. The Republic entered by force of arms on the active "protection" of Tonquin, and encountered that Power on which the Tonquinese always look as their Suzerain.‡

* "This expedition is one of the grandest things of the age, and it is to this attempt at colonial expansion that the majority attaches its legislative honour."—Speech by the French Premier, 14th August, 1884.

† See *Times* correspondence,—*France and Cambodia*, Aug. 4, 1884, where an interesting account is given of this singular transaction.

‡ The recent history of the Franco-Chinese difficulty is wearisome, both from its length and display of bad temper. The latter, coming from the Representatives of Western nations, belies their boasted civilization and Christianity, and is an exhibition much to be deplored, and not without effect on the keen-witted Chinese. Those who watched the diplomatic fence between the Chinese plenipotentiary, the Marquis T'seng, and the Foreign Office at Paris, must have been struck with the firm but courteous demeanour of the Eastern statesman, and the happy contrast it formed with the blustering behaviour of M. Tricou at Shanghai. T'seng in Europe gave the world a splendid sample of that diplomacy in which his countrymen have always excelled. What is called his "failure" appears to have been inevitable. The taking of Bacninh by the French followed, and shortly afterwards the fall of the Peace Ministry at Peking, with the accession to power of the warlike Prince Chun. T'seng was removed from Paris: the French demanded a war indemnity, refused by China. At this critical moment in the spring of this year negotiations were happily set on foot through the efforts of Mr. Gustav Detring, a Prussian gentleman, and these terminated in the treaty that was signed at Tien-tsin, 11th May, 1884, by Captain Fournier and Li Hung Chang, on behalf of their respective countries. This excellent instrument of conciliation and compromise promised to set all difficulties at rest; when the sky was suddenly darkened by the news of the affair at Langson. This, among

We have now to inquire how the high expectations above referred to have been fulfilled. The French have been established in Cochin China for a little more than twenty years, and it is interesting to compare Saigon with the British Colonies and Settlements in the East. Commercially, no comparison could be more striking. The colony of Saigon, so far from flourishing, requires a periodical subsidy from home; and with questionable policy, seeks to draw a revenue from an export tax on rice.* Five

other towns in Tonquin, China had undertaken by the treaty to evacuate "immediately." The outrage consists in the fact that the French, marching to take possession of the town were refused entrance, and subsequently fired upon by the garrison. The Chinese commander declared he had received no orders to give up the place. It was to no purpose. The French officer, who has since been severely censured by his superior for this action, brooked no delay; and forced a needless and lamentable collision. Thence dates the present conflict. By their censure admitting error, the French Government demanded an enormous indemnity on account of this "treacherous violation of treaty." Reduced from 250 to 80 million francs, they make the refusal to pay it a *casus belli*. Meanwhile, in the fluctuation of Chinese politics, Li Hung Chang is discredited by the failure of his treaty, which was always unpopular; and the war party strengthened and the nation incensed by the extravagance of the French demands. Then we hear of reprisals; sudden seizure of "material guarantees"; bombardment of forts by ironclads, which in time of peace had passed up the River Min to a secure anchorage from which they commanded, most ungenerously, the undefended side of the Chinese works; burning and destruction of villages, as in Madagascar, with slaughter of many innocent men. All this and more, but not "war" as yet.

Disraeli said of Palmerston, in 1857, when that statesman was leading England into a war with China as inexcusable on every moral ground as these operations of the French: "With no domestic policy he is obliged to divert the attention of the people from the consideration of their own affairs to the distractions of foreign politics. His external system is turbulent and aggressive, that his rule at home may be tranquil and unassailed." Doubtless that was not all the truth. There was another excuse which, as we shall immediately see, is lacking to the French. Nevertheless, pre-eminent commercial capacity and great success in our enterprise do not afford a perfect justification for all that our own nation has done in the Far East. [See p. 47.]

* In 1883 this was 15 cents per picul; a picul being 133½ lbs.

million piculs are sometimes annually exported to Hong Kong and China in European ships alone; but owing to this duty the trade to *Europe* has lapsed, in favour of the rice not subject to a tax, such as the Burmese. This duty will bring to the French treasury as much as seven million francs in a good year; but it can scarcely be looked upon as a healthy source of revenue. There is at this place, and with greater reason, a heavy import duty on Indian opium, which is largely consumed by the Chinese, and by a few of the Annamese, at Saigon. Here, as in so many other eastern towns, the business quarter, as has been well said, is in fact a Chinese city. The whole of the internal trade is in the hands of Chinamen. It is a more significant fact that of the *external* trade of Saigon only about 15 per cent. is conducted by the French. Of the 267 vessels which entered the port in 1880, 162 were British, 40 German, and but 35 French, the latter having a tonnage of 13,000 out of a total of 200,000.

The insignificant proportions of French commerce in the Far East are at once evident from a study of the figures relating to the foreign trade of China.

For 1883, out of a total of 143 millions of taels* (73 millions being imports and 70 exports), the trade with Great Britain heads the list with 41½ millions. Hong Kong follows with nearly 48, India about 18, the United States 10, Russia 5½, Japan 5, Continental Europe, *including France and Germany*, 10 millions, Australia and New Zealand and Singapore, 2 millions each, and Cochin China and Annam, half a million. The statistics of shipping tell the same story. In 1883, 23,863 vessels cleared the open Chinese ports. These, with a tonnage of about 17½ millions, represent the foreign and coast-

* A Haikwan tael = 5s. 7d. of our money.

ing trades of China taken together for that year. How are they distributed amongst the nations?

England takes 14,205 ships, of 11 million tons; China has 6,265 ships, with a tonnage of nearly 5 millions; Germany, 1,610 ships of 774,000 tons; whilst France is represented by 177 vessels only and a tonnage of 181,000.

It appears, then, from these figures to be more than doubtful whether the France of to-day shares in any appreciable degree those capacities for colonization and successful foreign trade which we have already seen to be eminently conspicuous in the great people with whom she seems to be drifting into conflict.

How does France fare in Tonquin, where her commercial interests are specially favoured by treaty? In truth she has but little commerce, even in that country, to "protect." Of course of late her armies have ruined all commerce; but let us consider the antecedent period, and take the statement from the mouth of her own chronicler. According to M. du Cailland,* during the three years following 1875,—that is, when the treaty of Annam with respect to Tonquin, came into operation,—Haiphong (the chief seaport town in Tonquin) received English, German, and Chinese vessels, but "not a single French ship." The last-issued report for Haiphong has reference to 1880. During this year 253 considerable vessels cleared the port, not to mention 205 Chinese junks. Of these vessels 35 *per cent.* were English, 23 *per cent.* Chinese (to a large extent officered by Englishmen), the remaining percentages being 20 for America and 11 for Germany, whilst France and Holland were equal, carrying 5 *per cent.* each of the shipping under their respective flags.

According to the Trade report for the same year, the Imports and Exports of Haiphong amounted

* 'Histoire d'Intervention Française au Tonking.'

together in 1880 to 13 million francs. Of the Imports 97 to 98 *per cent.* entered from the British colony,—Hong Kong,—and only $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* from Saigon. Of the Exports 79 *per cent.* were delivered at Hong Kong, 16 *per cent.* (chiefly silk) at Saigon. Well may M. du Cailland say that in spite of the privileges granted to Saigon by this treaty, the merchandise imported thence into Tonquin was insignificant when compared with that from China; while as to export trade from Tonquin, Saigon in the three years following on the treaty received “not one piastre.” “These results,” laments the French historian, “were certainly not those we promised ourselves from the opening up of Tonquin to commerce.” And again: “If ever the route by Tonquin acquires the importance which it ought to have, it will be Hong Kong that will benefit by it. It is on that English town, and not on our colony in Saigon, that the trade with the interior of China will pivot.” Yet, in spite of these discouraging circumstances, military enterprises continue. France would appear to be confident that ultimately the golden harvest of Trade will ripen over fields of blood. Perhaps it may be so; and English wars might be cited in confirmation of that doctrine; but in the case of our own country, the merchant has nearly always *preceded* the soldier, whose aid has been only or mainly invoked to safeguard a trade we already possessed.

The French have a number of missionary stations in different parts of China, and in Tonquin. In the latter country, where the Spaniards have a mission also, the number of Catholic converts is estimated at from one to two millions. Some of them, those at Cape Paklung, have been armed by the French, in order, they say, to make war against pirates on the coast. It appears probable, from their numbers and military strength, that the Catholics will one day prove a powerful element in the country. The re-

ception met with from the Chinese by Catholicism and Protestantism respectively affords a comparison of growing interest. For some reasons,—for example, the similarity of its ceremonial to the Chinese observances,—it would not be very surprising to find Catholicism gaining more adherents than the simpler reformed faith. The French Government, however, at the present time, appears to be less disposed to support the priests than formerly. Valuable educational work is being carried on at Hankow and other places; and as regards the French hospitals and medical charities, these, so far as the writer's observation went, are well administered and much appreciated.

Probably there is no question connected with China that has at the present time a stronger hold on the mind of the thoughtful Englishman than the question of Opium. It owes its complexity to the fact that it comprehends within itself a host of subordinate considerations. These, however, may, for present purposes, be classified under three distinct heads. Firstly, the *moral question*. Under this head we have to consider what is our right, and what the right of the Chinese. These considerations, so long as States profess to found their policy on justice, must be of the very first importance. Secondly, the *question of policy*. In this are involved the circumstances arising out of the history and present condition of the opium trade, and of our relations with China, the poppy growth in that country, the state of English and Chinese opinion, the prospects of our Eastern commerce, and the implication of the Indian Government and finances. Lastly, there is a question which I would submit is mainly *medical*, namely, as to the effect of opium-smoking in its various degrees on the Chinese people.

With regard to the moral question, most candid persons, who have read the history of our wars with China, will admit that we have founded our right of trade simply on the possession of superior force. In 1840 England made free use of this force to support a contraband traffic in opium, to which, at that time at least, we know that the greatest objection was made by the Chinese. And throughout we have considered, not the wishes or protests of China, not the widespread effects of the introduction of the drug, but solely the interests of the Indo-Chinese trade, and the means of securing and enlarging its yield of revenue. These facts appear to be indisputable, and carry to many minds the conviction that England has entered upon and is pursuing a course of very questionable morality.*

Under the second class of considerations only one point will be here referred to—the future of British commerce in the East. As to its present condition, some idea may be formed from the Returns of the Foreign Trade of China for recent years, which, inasmuch as we possess three-quarters of that trade, indicate the state of the Anglo-Chinese commerce with sufficient exactness.

The entire Foreign Trade of China, for 1882, amounted to 145 millions of taels as against 163 millions in 1881 [143 in 1883]. As regards *Imports*, which are less by fourteen millions, the decline has seriously affected English goods (cottons, woollens, &c.), and also, to a notable extent, Indian opium, which shows a deficiency of seven millions of taels in 1882. In the *Export* trade there is a similar reduction, of four millions since 1881, of ten millions since 1880. The two staple articles of export, tea† and silk, leave the country in a quantity which is steadily

* See Sir E. Fry's Essays in the *Contemporary Review*, reprinted by the Anti-Opium Society.

† The export of tea was reduced by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1883.

diminishing year by year. Such a condition of affairs is far from satisfactory. Unless this depression can be unmistakably traced to some temporary cause, it cannot fail to be of evil augury for the future of our trade, and demands on grounds of practical policy an early rectification.

We must remember that the Chinese are at the present time bound by a treaty for the ratification of which in 1860 they were violently coerced by the English and French forces. From this treaty, or rather from the Shanghai Agreement of the previous year, dates the first legal recognition of the opium traffic. At that time opium was placed upon the tariff at a certain duty, by the act of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, subject, however, to any further transit duties which their Government might see fit to impose. Thus constituted, however, it would appear to be a continual "thorn in the flesh" to the Chinese authorities, who never forget that behind the smuggler and behind the trader have been and are the English armies, ready to enforce what they have imposed. This applies to all our intercourse with China. We obtained the right to trade in nineteen ports; we obtained for our missionaries the right of preaching throughout the empire; and it is true, as was admitted by Mr. Bourke in the House of Commons, in 1876: "Everything we have obtained by treaty from the Chinese we have obtained by force," or, as Sir Thomas Wade expresses it, "extorted against the conscience of the nation." These are not circumstances calculated to make our commerce flourish; for commerce must depend ultimately more upon friendship than on fear.

That it is injuriously affected by the opium trade in particular there is considerable evidence. As long ago as 1839, when the trade was contraband, Captain Price, Chief Government Inspector of British Trade

in China, wrote to Lord Palmerston on the damaging effect of this traffic on the British commerce ; and in 1842, 235 merchants and manufacturers addressed Sir Robert Peel in the same strain. It is, moreover, the sale of English goods that is chiefly depressed. Those who appear well qualified to judge state that our trade is injured, directly, because our opium pauperizes the Chinese, and deprives them of the will to purchase, and the means whereby to pay for our goods, and indirectly, in the strongest manner, because the English merchant in the mind of the Chinese is identified with the opium traffic, and consequently finds his enterprise hampered at every turn by hostile suspicions and restrictions. Chinese exclusiveness, on this view, has for once an excellent justification. If this grievance were removed there might probably result a more willing and speedy opening up of the vast resources of the country.

At all events we must not judge of Chinese intentions by the declarations of twenty or forty years ago, any more than we can estimate the present military strength of this people from our experience of easy victory a generation or two since. If China has advanced in power she has also advanced in the practical wisdom which makes a great nation. In nothing is this more strikingly shown than in the adaptation to new conditions of life which is taking place with remarkable energy in China. The "Celestials" are a singularly practical race, skilful at turning the inevitable to their own advantage. We shall be mistaken if we shut our eyes to the fact that a Change is coming over Chinese policy. That great diplomatist and statesman, the Marquis T'seng, speaking recently to an English audience, thus gives expression to it:—"We sometimes hear it asserted that the Chinese strive to avoid intercourse with European nations. This is not true : we do not fear contact with foreign nations : nay, we court it, for

we know the advantages of it. *But we refuse to have our hand forced.* We believe that commerce to be beneficial must be a free gift, and that the spear is not the Moses' rod to make it flow into the great ocean of the world's wants." Who is it but ourselves, a nation the most intolerant of a foreign yoke, who are now forcing China's hand; and in the opinion of China, although this is immaterial to the argument, forcing her hand against herself?

It has, further, to be borne in mind that our opium trade, and therefore revenue, is itself diminishing, more particularly in the north of China and Manchuria,* owing to the increased growth and improved quality of the native drug. By this means the Chinese are slowly driving the Indian opium out of the market. From this circumstance England, of course, derives no credit; so that a change which might be wrought by us, greatly to the advantage (as it seems) of our friendly relations with China, is slowly being accomplished under our eyes, with no such desirable result.

We come now to the third point of view from which this great question may be approached, and this is the *medical* aspect; and we have to consider: What is the nature and extent of this opium smoking; and what its influence on the physical welfare of the people? It has been well pointed out by Sir E. Fry and others, that whatever be our conclusions on these points, they do not affect, one way or the other, the paramount moral question above

* "Both foreign opium firms have closed their establishments. Trade in the Indian drug appears doomed in North China. The quantity of opium imported at Chefoo was in 1879, 3536 piculs (picul = $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs); 1880, 2402; 1881, 1759; 1882, 1108."—Report from Chefoo, 2nd April, 1883."

"The three northern ports in one year show a loss amounting to 27 *per cent.* of their total imports (of opium) . . . even though the foreign prices have been reduced from 9 to 24 *per cent.*"—*Times* Correspondent, 15th August, 1884.

referred to. It is upon these topics, however, that the writer has endeavoured, by personal observation as far as possible, and by frequent interrogations of residents in different parts, to gather up the elements of a sound opinion.

One evening, under the guidance of a courteous Chinaman, we visited the largest opium-house in Shanghai. The visitor is astonished at the magnitude and brilliancy of the establishment. One is mindful of the stock descriptions of the opium smoker's haunts; and remembers, perhaps, the opium "dens" of Singapore—mud huts, at short intervals along the road, overshadowed by cocoa-nut palms, and denoted by coloured paper, inscribed with Chinese characters, and by small signboards, with a suggestive notice such as this, "*Licensed Opium House, No. 214.*" But here, at Shanghai, the broad entrance is flanked with flaring lights, and scores of well-dressed Chinese are passing in and out. On the ground floor bowls and billiards are played. The room is large and brilliantly lighted. From the centre an airy stairway passes up to the first floor, and is crowded, like Jacob's ladder, by Celestials, ascending and descending from what is, to many of them, their earthly paradise. Making our way with difficulty up the flight, we found ourselves in the centre of a spacious room, divided, by many zigzag partitions, into a number of recesses. Towards the centre of the room around the stairway were placed small tables of polished wood and marble, and here many were taking tea and tobacco, as we did, the smoke of the latter being drawn through water. Nowhere in the establishment did we meet a single European. The celebrated dwarf trees, trained with great care into the shapes of eagles, antelopes, &c., were placed at intervals. These are valued at a high price.

The recesses before noted are closed on three sides

by walls panelled and elegantly decorated; couches are ranged around, and two or three tables stand in the centre of the space. Perhaps three or four Chinese will lie smoking on the couches in one recess, and six or eight will be standing beside—either attendants, or smokers awaiting their turn. The opium smoker reclines on one side, leaning against pillows. At the end of his couch there is an oblong tray, containing the pipe, lamp, opium, &c. These he manipulates with a languid air, and stolid, indifferent countenance, which sometimes gives evidence to his habit, by its emaciated appearance, and dull, bloodless lips. Slowly he turns the wire on which he has taken up the opium, like a small drop of treacle. Then he heats it over the lamp, moulding it by a rolling movement on the pipe-bowl into the form of a minute cylinder upon the wire. At the proper moment the wire is withdrawn, and the perforated cylinder is left, swollen and volatile by heat, resting over the minute aperture in the centre of the pipe. Then he draws the heated smoke into the bowl, breathes it into his lungs, and after an interval gives it forth again by the nostrils. This performance the smoker repeats until the opium purchased is exhausted. Often I have watched the same process among the Chinese emigrants on board ship, of whom a large number, although few in proportion, smoked opium every night. The smokers of tobacco were much more numerous.

It is very difficult to obtain trustworthy information in regard to the extent of the habit in the nation, and its degree in individual instances. As to the proportion of smokers, the following facts are of some value. In 1882, among 3737 Chinese prisoners, mostly adult males, at Shanghai, there were 844 opium smokers; *i.e.*, one in four or five, or 20 *per cent.*, for the poorer classes of a city. My friend, Dr. Lyall of Swatow, himself an opponent of opium

smoking, after a long series of observations, estimates at 3 *per cent.* the proportion of smokers in the rural population in the neighbourhood of that town. The number doubtless varies in different parts of the country, and also according to the social state. It is said that the Mandarins, for example, are much addicted to the practice. Dr. Humboldt of Hong Kong assures me, and excellent observers in different parts of China and at Singapore confirm the observation, that opium smoking of a certain degree is almost universal among the Coolie class. To smoking by the Coolies we shall presently revert. There is yet another, but most uncertain, method of calculating the extent of the practice. Reckoning the average daily consumption per smoker, as we shall immediately see can be fairly done, at somewhat under $1\frac{1}{2}$ mace,* (say 4 scruples), the imported drug can supply at the utmost two million persons; and much fewer if, as is often contended, our estimate of daily consumption be too small. Adding to these two millions an equal number who may be supposed to smoke the native-grown or Chinese drug, we have four millions, or a little more than 1 *per cent.* of the entire population. The uncertain element of adulteration, however, deprives this estimate of much value. Facilities for smuggling, and for the native growth, largely increase the number of smokers in any district.

In regard to quantity consumed, we are again threatened by fallacy and error; so small, indeed, is the range of *accurate* European observation. Let us take, in the first place, statistics of the medical treatment of smokers applying at Swatow for the cure of the habit.† It is fair to assume that the quantity of the drug consumed by these was somewhat *above* that of the average smoker. These cases, with the exception of one woman, were adult men. Out of

* A mace equals 58 grains.

† For these figures I must again thank Dr. Lyall.

208 smokers applying for cure in the years 1882-3, 95 *per cent.* consumed three mace or less, 83 two mace or less, and 44 *per cent.* less than one mace daily. The average quantity for the entire number was nearly one and a half mace *per diem*. The Indian drug was the only opium used, and one mace would cost the smoker about 90 cash (8 cents.). Native opium, which is largely used in the north and exclusively in the western provinces, is commonly about half this price. In the same manner Dr. Myers in Formosa places the average daily quantity between one and two mace.

From testimony of this kind I am led to believe that great numbers of the opium smokers never go beyond the limits of moderation, using the opium pipe, as so many take tobacco, for its mildly stimulating and soothing effect. It is a mistake to suppose that thus taken opium causes sleep or stupor. Of course in a good opium house, such as the one described, there will be many smokers sufficiently wealthy and dissolute to smoke to excess, and one sees the evidence of it in their faces. Among the lower class poverty is very generally a sufficient preventive of excess (I use the term with reference to the actual quantity taken): and the coolies who work twelve or fifteen hours in the streets; who subsist on the scantiest diet of rice, and such poor vegetables and animal food as they can obtain; and who are habitually exposed to cold and wet, as well as to dirt, overcrowding, and disease—these men, whose endurance and capacity for labour astonish us, come to look upon their evening smoke as the one luxury of their lives, when the wearied limbs are rested, the tired muscles unstrung, and a general sense of comfort obtained, prior to the slumbers of night—huddled in damp, comfortless hovels, devoured of vermin, and self-poisoned by a vitiated air. “*Why do you smoke opium?*” was asked of a shoemaker,

who had thereby reduced himself and family to poverty : and the answer is full of meaning—“*Because it is the only pleasure I have.*”

Therefore in the case of these men—the coolie and labouring class—it behoves us to consider well the peculiar circumstances of their life, and make provision for the recreation which is necessary to the life of men and nations. We have to beware of that misguided philanthropy which interferes only to deprive men of their pleasures. Among ourselves perhaps the most effectual Temperance work is such as provides for the poor an alternative attraction, and wins them from a harmful to a harmless indulgence. Is not this principle applicable to the case before us? Can we wonder that the Chinaman, who now leads the life of a beast of burden, with a maximum of labour and a minimum of pleasure, in his short-sightedness hails the opium pipe as a deliverer?

In yet another manner is opium smoking among these men comparable, in my belief, to the drinking habits of our own poor. In both cases the practice entails very serious evils, which are directly due to daily waste of time and money, with loss of work and insufficient food. These evils it is impossible easily to overrate. Furthermore, the opium smoked by the lower class in China is often a most inferior article, composed of pipe-scrappings and other refuse. The physiological effect of this compound is less than that of the pure drug smoked by the wealthy. Among the poor, then, opium in excess is pernicious partly as a poison, but mainly, in my opinion, as an instrument of pauperization and starvation.

Doubtless we are not justified in looking upon opium smoking as an isolated phenomenon, which calls for immediate abolition by reason of its special enormity. That, however simple and convenient, is very far from being a true view of the case. Sir

Rutherford Alcock has shown * that there are more than fifty substances in common use by all races in every climate as stimulants and narcotics; and he comments on the evidence which this fact affords to a universal craving for products of this kind, which must be met, and for which nature everywhere abundantly provides. Every national indulgence of this kind presents special features, and appears to be closely related to tribal and climatic conditions. On the malarious delta of the Donnai in Lower Cochin China, I was astonished at the universality of *betel chewing* among the Annamese. Betel is the seed of the Areca palm, and is chewed wrapped in a leaf of pepper with some lime. The effect is powerfully astringent and stimulant. The practice is prevalent in Indo-China, Burmah, Hindustan, and elsewhere. In most of these places Europeans contract marsh fevers, dysentery, cholera, and allied complaints; and the question arises, are not substances such as the betel of prophylactic virtue to the natives against these diseases, by which in hot and marshy climates they are continually menaced? And if we admit this probability in regard to betel, what shall we say in regard to haschish or Indian hemp, and what in regard to opium? These three substances together are in common use among populations comprising two-thirds of the human race,† and we have to consider whether they may not fairly be placed in one category with alcohol and tobacco, as national stimulants and narcotics, to which must be conceded a certain legitimate place in the economy of human life.

Before leaving this question allusion must be made to two or three points sometimes, as I believe, the subject of misconception. It is often said, for example, that opium rapidly reduces the strength, and destroys

* *Vide Journal of the Society of Arts*, 20th January, 1882.

† *Vide Sir R. Alcock, loc. cit.*

life in a very few years. On the contrary, we have the fact that men may smoke opium twenty, forty, or even fifty years, and often do so.* As to breaking the habit, undoubtedly that is a matter of great difficulty (the same may be said as regards alcohol); but in the foreign hospitals in China many cases of cure are reported yearly, and appear to be permanent.

Again, great fear is sometimes expressed lest opium smoking should come to infect America or our own country. I should not like to express too strong an opinion on that subject; but we have to bear in mind that this habit is especially Chinese.† Though the Chinaman takes it wherever he goes, he does not readily impart it to other people. For example, the distribution of opium smoking amid the mixed populations of the Straits and East Indies is, I believe, strictly or mainly national. This leads us to the last point to be mentioned here. It is impossible to expect that any action England may take will effect the disuse of this drug by the Chinese. It is prevalent throughout the East among this people. At Singapore it is imported in quantities, and large fortunes are made by the Government monopolists, or "opium farmers," who are commonly Chinese. The same applies to the Dutch colonies. Both English and Dutch draw a large revenue from the drug, but neither English nor Dutch can prevent the bold smuggling which still takes place, under great penalties, but with profits proportioned to the risk. An engineer on a steamer running from Singapore to Java, informs me that he has had offers of 100 per cent. profits from a large firm if he would convey to

* A Chinese acquaintance of my own in London has already smoked opium for forty-two years. He has sometimes consumed as much as three ounces *per diem*, but is at present taking a much less quantity. He smokes the Turkish drug.

† Of course we have long had opium *eating* and *drinking* in England, habits of more direct deadliness.

the Dutch ports opium sealed up in milk or sardine tins. Lastly, we have the circumstance that in China itself a very large and increasing proportion, probably more than one-half, of the opium consumed is of native growth and manufacture.

Hong Kong, that is to say Victoria, is sometimes and aptly described as an "English town, in which the serving class is Chinese." Approaching by water, the traveller is struck by the *English* look of the houses and cathedral, but the moment he has set foot on shore there is no question as to the people among whom he has come. It is strange to reflect upon the immense activities that are focussed in this little island, with its thirty-six square miles, when compared with the historic sleep of the great mainland, close within sight. It is stirring to remember that little more than forty years ago this place was an obscure and unimportant islet, with a fishing population of some two thousand, and that, owing to the enterprise of our countrymen, it has grown to be one of the chief trade centres of the world, towards which so many currents of commerce set. The population of Victoria is now about a sixth of a million, of whom, of course, the great majority are Chinese, while English, Germans, and Americans are next in order.*

We English go to China as the representatives of a mighty nation, proud of her achievements in arms and in science. We are the representatives of the great Western Culture, and in China, as elsewhere, if we do not avow, we in effect *claim* the right to impose our superior wisdom upon the world. We knock at the gates of distant peoples, first with mild persuasions, then with threats, then, if they still will not listen and obey, with violence. By force of arms

* By the Census of 1881 the population was 160,042, of which number some 3000 were Europeans.

we oblige them to receive ourselves, our goods, and even the glad tidings of peace that we proclaim. It is said by one of Shakespeare's clowns—

“Well, then, the world's mine oyster, which I with sword will open.”

That is the experiment we have tried with China. We have opened her ports with the sword: have we thereby done anything to open her mind to a friendly intercourse? At the best we have loaded China with benefits at the same time as we have loaded against her our guns. We have presented the one with the other. Meanwhile, it is perfectly natural for the Chinese to say, “Are these good things going to benefit us or you, that you bestow them thus anxiously at the sword's point?” We have given them steamboats and increased means of locomotion. At the same time we ourselves in hundreds and thousands have poured into the towns, and, with benevolent desires, established ourselves in splendid idleness, giving John Chinaman all the work,—letting him live that we may luxuriate.

It is, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance that the English colony is no longer the chosen home of that section of our countrymen whose unbending honesty and stern sense of right unfit them to comply with the established usage of their time. We do not to-day drive into exile the advanced wing of thought; our colonists are no longer Puritans; and, with some exception in the case of the great Continental nations, a totally different principle of emigration now obtains, namely, the principle of overflow. The struggle for existence presses hard upon the weak in the mother country, and the emigration of the un-fittest is often the natural consequence, being, indeed, the most popular remedy of our civilization.

This circumstance probably tends to aggravate the evils now to be mentioned. The English colonist and the Briton abroad have an unfortunate attitude

of contempt for foreigners, a habit of regarding them as necessarily inferior, and consequently of expecting from them all service, glory and honour. This is very galling to a people who have, like the Chinese, a self-respect perhaps equal to our own; and the unfortunate thing is that when any, the smallest, sign is made of reluctance to render all that he demands, the Englishman can afford to be insolent. In a word, the name and prestige of his country are such that he is a bully by a sort of natural right. This element enters into most of our transactions in China. Thus it is that a dispute like that of the *lorcha Arrow*, in 1857, becomes a *casus belli*. Even the disapproval of the House of Commons could not stay the unjust struggle, for an appeal by Lord Palmerston to the passions of the people was triumphantly successful. It will be seen that such a temper is most unfavourable to any growing tendency for the English and Chinese to look upon each other with respect, and a willingness to accept one of the other such advantages as there may be to give. We assume that, as we are better, so our religion and civilization are incomparably superior. The Chinese, with their ancient traditions, hoar antiquity of government and lofty philosophy, regard us, in their turn, as a nation of yesterday, troublesome and intrusive to-day.

There are, of course, in a place like Hong Kong, Englishmen of earnestness and ability, who are exerting themselves by writing and speech to stimulate intellectual life, raise the tone of the colony, and establish worthier relations with the Chinese. But with these honourable exceptions, and speaking of the average Englishman, the visitor is painfully impressed by a certain mental and bodily sloth, and narrow, intolerant ideas, in which an ungenerous contempt of the Chinaman is sadly conspicuous. "Let my China-boy do that; we do nothing in the

East," they say. The foreigner is here an upper class, and, possessing gigantic strength, he uses it like a giant. Money is made with great ease, and lost with great ease also. The dollar is here spent where we spend the shilling, and really purchases little more. There is a perpetual temptation to live up to or beyond one's income, and comparatively few men save. Moreover, we find the inevitable defects resulting from a society almost deprived of ladies, and in large part replenished, as previously hinted at, by unfortunate or disappointed adventurers.

Hong Kong, and its environs, are extremely beautiful both by sea and land. Let the visitor on a fine day ascend the "peak," or highest hill, where the residents have erected many beautiful houses, to which they resort in the heat of summer. From the summit he will see the islands spread out as on a chart. Northwards is the mainland, perhaps half a mile distant, and forming the little peninsula of Kow-loon, where the English have put up a club and other buildings. Chief and first among the islands looms the huge and hilly mass of Macao. Not the eye only, but the mind lingers in contemplation on this historic island, still the resort of that nation of which it was once the pride and glory. The Portuguese still inhabit Macao, not to direct the unrivalled trade of yore, but chiefly now to throng its gambling saloons,—

"To cheat, and be cheated, and die,"

and to maintain, or suffer to be maintained, a sluggish, apathetic, and bigoted Government, which serves itself and none other. Macao is dead: its light is extinguished: but *there* the relics lie, and the everlasting hills on which human greatness has waxed and waned; and we gaze on them as we gaze on the tombs of antiquity, with something akin to reverence for what is buried there.

The destiny of England's influence in China is something more than an interesting matter of speculation. Certainly, as we have ventured to point out, and always conceding many noble exceptions, those that replenish the English settlements in the East are *not* of the calibre of the men who planted the Anglo-Saxon race in the West. One very much fears that, with little sound basis of morals, and little even of the outward observance of religion, there may be no enduring edifice raised. Will Hong Kong become a second Macao? The standard of life and thought of some of these places seems to the visitor most unsatisfactory. Great numbers are mere pleasure-hunters; a few, who prefer dollars to pleasure, are set down as misers. Beyond that, what is there?—a good Bishop, a large cathedral, and a small congregation. The Government, moreover, of these Crown Colonies, is, in fact, a sort of despotism, benevolent or otherwise, according to the disposition of the Governor. Although happily, thanks to an energetic press, there is some public spirit, the English residents are in good part politically impotent. The mind dwells upon the vision of what a British colony *might* be in the hands of high-minded and energetic men, both as regards its present influence on the Chinese, and in its future, which would be spared the inevitable fate of unsound institutions,* and could give a splendid example of truth and enlightenment to a remote time. To-day Hong Kong is wealthy, populous, and influential: let her also be sober, humane, and just, for close at hand is Macao!

Great are the obligations imposed on nations and men by possession. He who is strong to win must be wise to govern, unless his trust is to pass to another. The sword, however potent for the acquisition, is but a feeble instrument for the retention, of empire. It

* "If individuals are punished or rewarded in the nether world, it is in *this* that nations expiate their crimes."—*Correio de Macao*, April, 1883.

confers, moreover, no title to possession but the title of the robber. A far better, but even then a transient one, is founded on *doing good*; transient, because with growing knowledge, power also grows. Our obligation, therefore, lies in securing at least this transient title.

If, in the case of the great Eastern nations under the rule or influence of England, we look beyond our present policy to its ultimate result, we shall see that this must consist in educating them for their own self-government when the time shall come. In the case of India, we cannot disguise from ourselves the approach of that day. In regard to the Chinese, as we fought them, so we strengthened them; and every victory of the English arms was in reality of far less importance for ourselves than for the building up of a strong and independent China. We need not to shrink, on any grounds of false patriotism, from this inevitable end—teaching our dependents independence; for it draws its sanction, not only from principles of enlightened and liberal policy, but from the whole course of history. It may be disavowed by warrior and statesman, but it is unconsciously promoted by both. We have taken into our hands, whether by strict moral right or no, the liberties of millions. Happy will it be for us and them if we render back, not Liberty only, but Liberty combined with Law, and to a people who have learned of us to prize the one and revere the other.





