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IN THE



Light of

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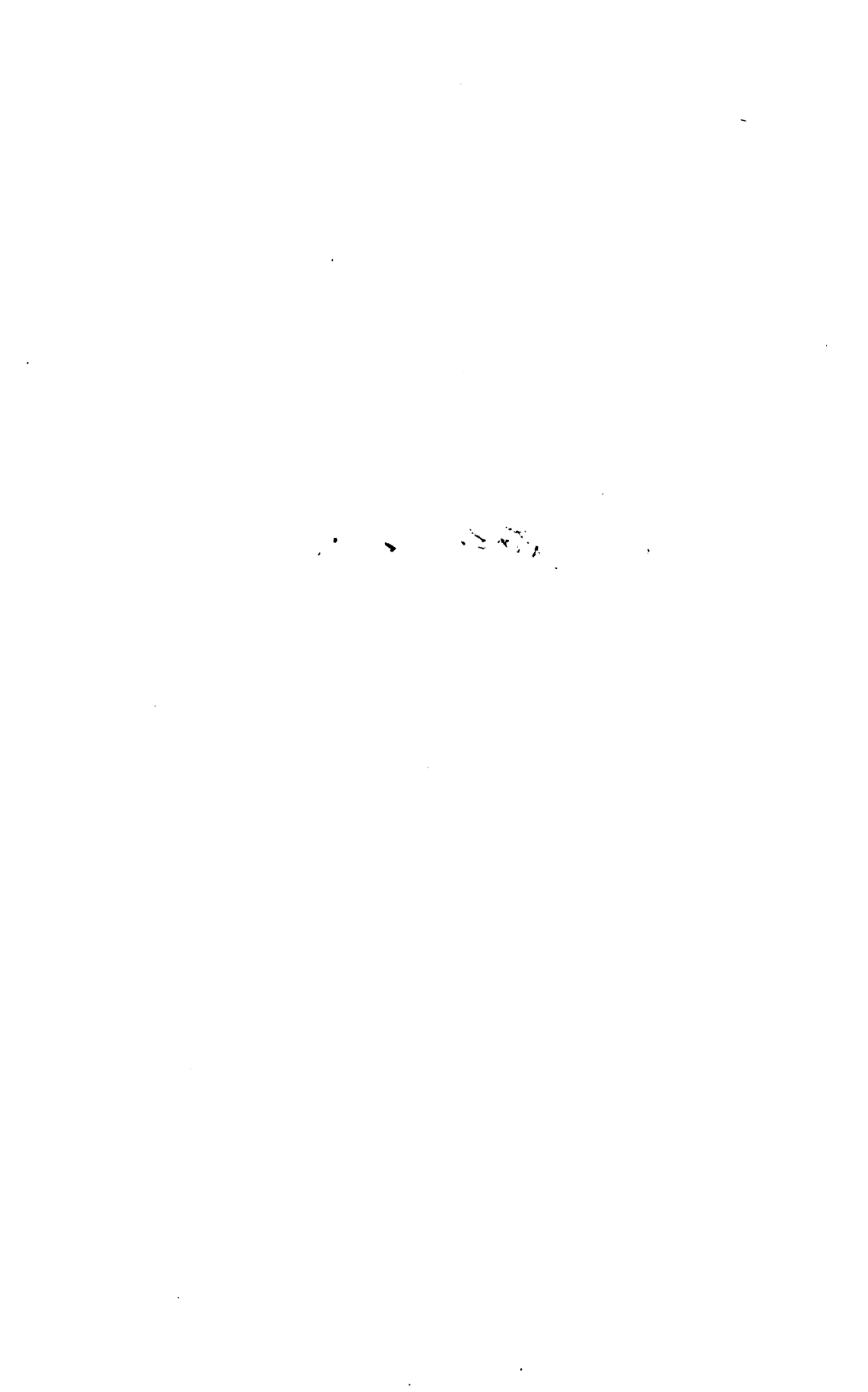
BY

Ernst Faber.



Lecil Johnson.
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CHINA
IN THE
LIGHT OF HISTORY,

BY

Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

Alg. Ev. Protestant Miss. Soc.

Cecil Johnson

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY F. M. H.

WITH APPENDIX:

A MISSIONARY VIEW OF CONFUCIANISM.



Shanghai:

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INTRODUCTION.

WHO is not aware that China possesses the oldest civilization in the world? But how many readers could clearly explain the peculiar characteristic of Chinese culture and the relation it bears to Christianity.

Just now China has been pitifully humbled by Japan. Her civilization seems old and effete, incompetent to cope with the serious and unavoidable claims of modern life. Even China will be compelled by force of circumstances to break off with the old and to begin a new era. Unfortunately such a step is beset with even greater difficulties in China than was the case thirty years ago in Japan. The probable future of China is such an important question in connection with the future of Europe that it is worth while to offer an explanatory treatise. The future is, however, always the outcome of various factors which are at work in the present. This elementary truth needs no proof. The reason why it is universally difficult, even for a careful observer of historical situations, to foretell coming events with any certainty, is because it is seldom that all the active principles are recognized in time, and because generally it is difficult to estimate rightly the strength of each one in particular. Then, too, the intricate workings of life are revealed in such manifold ways that unforeseen circumstances may arise and bring about an entirely different result to that expected by the wisest. The forces which affect the social and political life in China may be classed under two heads. These may be briefly expressed as "the Chinese traditional instinct of self-preservation" and "the influence exerted from without by the foreigners." This foreign influence can be subdivided into that exerted by merchants, politicians, scientific delegates and missionaries. These are working with different methods for different objects, but yet are all in opposition to the traditional customs of the Chinese nation.

The Chinese nationality is, as every other, only an abstraction; the real representatives being the Emperor and his family, the ministers and officials, including military officers, the scholars, generally called the literati, the peasants, merchants and artisans.

Parasites and other dangerous elements abound too. Naturally each class has its own special interests, and endeavours to promote these at the expense of the others. The condition of any one state is always the result of the balancing of the particular interests of its various corporations. Individuals cannot exist in an isolated state, but are by force of circumstances obliged to unite to protect their own interests. Thus in China there are guilds for artisans and merchants, clans and village communities for the country people, associations for the literati and secret societies for the influential political factions.

It is impossible to understand these without reviewing China's past history. To do this it would be necessary to have a circumstantial statement of the history of the existing state of affairs in China, not only from a political, but also from a social point of view. But as my time is fully occupied with Chinese work, and the contents of a pamphlet must of necessity be too limited for the purpose, I am unable to prepare an exhaustive work, which would be enjoyable to German readers. Therefore a few original papers must do duty until something better is offered from a more competent source.

Note.—Chinese names have as far as possible been avoided. Should anyone desire them the majority may be found in S. von Fries' *Abriss der Geschichte Chinas*, Vienna 1884. This is a short but very serviceable work, of which I have made some use. China, by M. G. Panthier (in German by Dr. C. A. Mebold, Stuttgart, 1839), contains important supplements. A short "History of China, by Boulger," is more detailed in the modern history. Mayer's "The Chinese Reader's Manual" contains historic tables with Chinese characters as well as biographical notices in 974 numbers. "Chinese Government," by the same author, is also useful for reference. Watters' Guide to the Tablets in the Temple of Confucius, will be found helpful too. Unfortunately a good Chinese history is still wanting. * To make use of Chinese authorities is most wearisome, and takes up much time, so I was unable to scrutinize every sentence I have written. This is really necessary, for the Chinese compendiums are not free from faults. Even the large authorized editions of the history of the dynasties contain errors. It is hardly possible to master all the material at hand in a single lifetime. Many experts have to clear the way by special researches. It has been my endeavour as far as possible to allow facts, and indeed only authenticated facts to speak for themselves. If a mistake has crept in unobserved the author would feel grateful to be informed of it at the publisher's address.

* I have in preparation a Student's Hand-book of Chinese History.

E. F.



CONTENTS.

1. Extent of the Chinese Empire.
2. History of the Extension of the Dominions.
3. Productions.
4. Organization of the State.
5. Local Administration.
6. Extracts from the History of the Emperors of China.
7. The Imperial Women.
8. History of the Imperial Family.
9. The Eunuchs.
10. Ministers and Officials.
11. On the History of Civilization in China.
12. History of Chinese Literature.
13. Taoism.
14. Confucianism.
15. The Temple of Confucius.
16. Buddhism.
17. Darkness of the Present.
18. Stars of Hope.
19. Dawn.
20. Break of Day.

Conclusion.

APPENDIX :—


A Missionary View of Confucianism.

CHINA IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY REV. ERNST FABER, DR. THEOL.

Translated from the German by H. M. H.

I. *Extent of the Chinese Empire.*

BOUT fifty years ago the empire of China reached its greatest dimension, covering, according to the best computation, an area of about 5,300,000 English square miles (nine English square miles=about one German square mile). At the present time this area has been reduced to about 5,000,000 square miles, and about 20,000 square miles have been lost by the treaty with Japan, but still an enormous territory remains. In size China is the third kingdom in the world. The empire of Great Britain ranks first with 8,851,951 square miles, then follows Russia with 8,660,882 square miles, while the United States of North America with 3,596,521 square miles, and Brazil with 3,217,645 square miles, rank below China.

The entire German empire (without colonies) contains 208,590 square miles, and is therefore less than one-twentieth part of the entire Chinese empire. It would take twenty-four German empires to equal the extent of the Chinese empire, while on the other hand, the population of China is only eight times as great as that of Germany, so that the average population of Germany is three times denser than the average population of China.

The printed statements as to the excess of population in China, which so often appear, are due to the superficial observations of travellers who have only seen some of the main highways of commerce. Only the river-basins are overpopulated, whereas in the interior vast districts are almost uninhabited. The lack of means of communication is the chief hindrance to the increase of population in districts which lie away from the rivers. The Chinese empire consists of China Proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan, Kokonor and Thibet. The former tributary-states of China, *i.e.*, Burmah, Corea, Annam and Cochin China are no longer regarded as forming part of the empire. The physical conditions of China Proper, are most favourable. High mountain chains with their far-stretching ranges contain many valuable minerals. Several gigantic and many smaller navigable rivers and also innumerable canals intersect the land and form the chief means of communication. The wide-spreading river-basins and plains are extraordinarily fertile and populous. An extensive and indented coast-line

affords many very good harbours. Productive fisheries are carried on among the innumerable islands with which the coast is studded. Even the highlands of Thibet and Mongolia are adapted to cattle-rearing, and were more populous in former centuries than at present. The climate is moderate and varied, the rainfall, which depends on the monsoons, is almost universally regular. With but very few exceptions all parts of the great empire are well watered. China ought therefore to be able comfortably to support at least five times the number of its present inhabitants, for not only are its physical and climatic conditions more favourable than those of Germany, but the Chinese are on the whole more frugal than the Germans. Even this arithmetical proportion throws an unfavourable light upon Chinese administration of state.

II. *History of the Extension of the Dominions.*

The commencement of Chinese history is veiled in mythological darkness. Three hundred years before Confucius, *i.e.*, about 800 B. C., the kingdom was of small dimensions, situated on the Yellow River where it changes from a southerly to an easterly course. It lay on both sides of the river extending half way to the Yang-tse on the south to nearly as far north as the promontory in the Shantung province. The feudal states which were founded at the commencement of the Chow dynasty were inhabited by aborigines, who were partly independent. But by degrees the vassal princes subdued their own subjects and extended the Chinese dominion on all sides. They made war on one another for several centuries till at last in 220 B.C. the King of Ts'in (west) put an end to all vassal states and to the reigning dynasty. Then began the consolidated empire or rather the struggle for a Central-government which has lasted with but few intermissions until the present time. The whole period of the Chow dynasty (1122-221 B.C.) was one of uninterrupted warfare, in which millions of people were slain. The assertion that the Chinese empire has existed since about 3000 B.C. is wholly unfounded. From the fact that at the beginning of the historical period, 800 B.C., the aborigines were very powerful, not only on the borders and in the inaccessible mountains, but also in various great vassal states, on the rivers, and on the coast, it is plain that before the beginning of the Chow dynasty, 1122 B.C., the Chinese empire proper must have been limited to a very small territory. The so-called emperor was possibly the suzerain of a number of chiefs who were the heads of families or clans who assumed different titles according to the number of their followers. It is supposed that there were 1800 of these chiefs, but only 124 names have been preserved, and of these fifty-five were tributary to the Chow dynasty. Only about twenty-four

of these states ever became important. Five of them lay on the north, the others south of the Yellow River. It was not until the end of the Chow dynasty that the southern border of the Chinese empire was extended beyond the Yang-tse. Under the Ts'in monarchs the eastern boundary reached to Korea, and the northern to a little beyond Peking. On the west the Empire only included the eastern part of Kan-suh and Sz-chuen as far as the present port of Chung-king, while Annam formed the nominal border on the south. On the north the boundary was restricted by the frequent incursions of Mongolian tribes. The Chinese endeavoured to protect themselves by walls, which were gradually amalgamated into the Great Wall of China. It was begun as far back as 240 B.C. by three tributary states, who had Mongols as neighbours, and even in the time of the Mings, 1547 A.D., 800 *li* (Chinese miles) of wall were built north-west of Peking. So the Great Wall is the work of 1800 years. Since about 200 B. C. the sea has formed the natural boundary on the east. On the west the boundary was never definitely settled. An expedition to the west of thirteen years' duration, from 135 B. C. ff, penetrated as far as the Caspian Sea, but without accomplishing any lasting result. From 1000 B. C. to within quite recent times Chinese history is full of bloody wars carried on with the barbaric tribes of the west—the Jung, Tanguts, Turfans, Turcomans and Tibetans. It is well known that the Mongols even penetrated into Europe until at Liegnitz 1241 they met with vigorous resistance. But the Emperors of the Manchu dynasty have been the first to incorporate the lands to the North, *i.e.*, Manchuria and Mongolia, as well as the lands to the West, *i.e.*, Thibet and Turkestan, from Hami to Kashgar and Ili, with the Chinese empire. Kang Hi carried on wars in Central Asia with enormous armies from 1691.—1720. Other military expeditions took place in the same regions in 1724, 1729, 1734, 1756, 1759. In the year 1768 a Chinese army 200,000 strong entered Burmah and made it a tributary state. In 1791 the Gorkhas made an incursion in Thibet, but were repulsed and pursued by 70,000 Chinese.

War was often carried on with Corea, *viz.*, in 108 B. C., in about 600, 610, 613, 645, 668, etc., A. D. But in the year 1593, at the request of the Coreans, a Chinese army repulsed a Japanese invasion. China also often came into collision with Japan, as *e.g.*, in 660, when the latter country helped one of the northern states which had been subdued by China, though without success. In 1274 and 1281 Chinese expeditions against Japan proved failures. But in 1374 a Japanese fleet was captured near the Liu-kiu islands. In later times Japanese pirates often harassed the Chinese coast. In 1873 the Japanese landed a force on Formosa, because the

Chinese government had refused to give compensation for the murder of the crew of a stranded vessel. On the intervention of England China agreed to pay 500,000 taels, and the Japanese withdrew from Formosa till a more favourable opportunity should offer. In the war which has just been concluded Japan has gained an important advantage over China, and will in future probably have a decisive voice in the politics of Eastern Asia.

From the above sketch it is obvious that it was by means of her military power that China was enabled to achieve her important successes. On the other hand, China could not hold her own against the superior hordes of Mongolians and Manchurians, and was ruled by these countries until they were absorbed into the Chinese empire. In the same way Japan conquered by reason of military superiority, and shows the same tendency to amalgamate with China. But under existing circumstances Japanese characteristics would remain predominant. This would be no misfortune for the East, if Japan became more and more open to the influence of Christianity. Eastern Asia formed into one well regulated state or into a confederacy of states would be a guarantee for universal peace, while the existence of a number of small states would lead to internecine war and be a cause of jealousy if not of avarice among the Western powers, with the possible result of sanguinary struggles.

III. *Productions.*

Products are always the result of culture. The idea of Culture includes a great deal, but one of the simplest meanings is that of making nature subservient to human needs. This was done in China in the most remote ages in a far more superior way than in the surrounding countries. Agriculture was always highly thought of, especially the cultivation of grain, also of beans, melons and other fruits. Cattle rearing was carried on in the prehistoric ages, for mention is made of horses, oxen, pigs, dogs, sheep and goats, also of poultry, the silk-worm, and somewhat later bees and another wax-making insect (*coccus*), and also of fish breeding. Carts and ships were used for transportations on land and water. Bows, arrows and shields as well as other weapons were in use, and in the olden times towns and market-places were fortified. In very early Chinese pictures (the beginning of written characters) we find representations of all kinds of household and agricultural implements and tools. As far back as 5000 years ago houses were built for shelter as well as comfort, and graves and monuments were in existence. Outer and inner, upper and lower garments, caps, shoes and trinkets are probably as old. Both vegetable and animal food

were used, and were prepared by cooking. Several industries were carried on—weaving, working in stone and in metal, pottery and ceramic art, joinery and other wood work. Goods were made of bamboo, rushes and grass, fur and leather. Glaziers, builders, armourers, tanners, rope makers, etc., were at work. Of the fine arts music was largely practised, and eight kinds of instruments were in use. Driving and shooting with the bow and arrow were regarded as an art. Skill in war was most highly prized. Until 1000 A. D. the Chinese excelled all surrounding lands in weapons, in the organization of their armies and in military tactics. Medicine was practised, and gradually about 1500 drugs came into use. By cultivating the art of writing an extensive literature was greatly developed, superior to that of the neighbouring lands. Gradually painting, sculpture and the drama (acting) were developed. We may mention also the important discoveries, some of which are more than 2000 years old. The compass, gunpowder, printing, porcelain, paper, pens and ink, woodcuts for illustrating and printing, brandy, tea, perfume, fireworks, fans, mirrors, cosmetics, (rouge), umbrellas, cooking stoves, beds that could be heated, colours, sugar, oil, mining and refining of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, quicksilver, cinnabar, iron, sulphur, alum, etc.; charcoal was mixed with earth, pressed into moulds, and so prepared for cooking purposes. For many centuries have been known the art of enameling, the use of money, paper-money, canals, bridges, suspension bridges, highways, weights and measures, scales, lanterns, lamps, varnish, lacquer, embroidery, glass, horn and ivory goods, a state-calendar, state newspaper, a postal service for governmental use as well as some private post arrangements, hotels, water-clocks, astronomical instruments, machines for irrigation, etc. Horses, oxen, mules, donkeys, yaks and sheep were used as beasts of burden. A few years ago I had a list made from the great Chinese encyclopædia of all the natural and industrial products of China which are in use in modern times, and I obtained 8093 names. Of grain 862, bamboo 257, flowers and herbs 1972, vegetables 832, fruits and other trees 1097, birds 154, mammalia 251, scaled animals (*e.g.*, fish, snakes, reptiles) 786, insects 297. Of industrial productions, mineral 263, botanical 151, animal 157. Of other human productions 654. Of the whole, 5020 belong to botany, 1848 to zoology, 1225 to industry. However, many of the names can only be determined by comparing the different articles. For this purpose a museum is indispensable. Many of these products are unknown to other lands, and some of them might perhaps become articles of commerce. Besides these there are many more natural products, the value of which is still unknown to the Chinese.

IV. *Organization of State.*

Even in the earliest times in China ties of blood bound people together in families. In course of several generations these families grew into clans or tribes, of which the oldest father was the natural head. In times of common danger probably a number of clans united under one leader, who afterwards retained the dignity of chief for the common welfare. At first the office was elective, the best man being chosen, but later on it became hereditary. Yao, the first chief mentioned in the classics, found it necessary to have helpers, and so chose capable men, each of whom undertook some special business of state, consisting of the superintendence of public works, such as the regulation of the rivers and canals, supervision of workmen, of agriculture, instruction in social duties, the administration of justice, the regulations of forests and of religious observances, of music and singing. Special care was bestowed on the calendar. As this was regulated by the moon it had to be brought into accordance with the solar year, in order to maintain fixed seasons for agriculture, etc. Later on these old institutions were changed to six Boards of Administration—those of Civil Service, Finance, Ceremonies, War, Law and Public Works. Each Board has two presidents and four vice-presidents. These are controlled by two cabinets, which is composed of the chief secretary's office, four secretaries and two assistant-secretaries. Two of these secretaries are Manchus. Ten councillors and about 200 other officials are attached. The imperial seals, twenty-five forms, are preserved here. The chief cabinet council, which consists of the heads of the Boards and of the other cabinets was only formed in 1730. Its resolutions are published in the *Pekin Gazette*. Mongolia, Thibet, Ili and Turkestan are under the Foreign Office. Since January, 1861, all dealings with the Western Powers have been carried on by the Foreign Office—the Tsung-li Yamên. It is estimated that there are 20,000 officials of all grades employed in Peking, three-fourths of whom are Chinese and one-fourth Manchus. The divisions of China Proper varied under different dynasties. During the present century it is generally reckoned that there are eighteen provinces, but recently Ili and Formosa have been counted in, so that altogether there are twenty provinces. Of these only two—Chili and Szchuen—have a viceroy each; thirteen provinces are divided among six viceroys, and four are ruled by governors only. As the eight viceroys are assisted by twelve governors there are altogether twenty-four high dignitaries. There is a viceroy over Manchuria, but it is governed in a different way. More

than 2,000 imperial officials are employed in the provinces. In several respects the provincial administration is somewhat independent of the Central authority. The distances from Peking are in many cases too great, and the means of communication too insufficient to enable this defect to be speedily remedied. The telegraph has caused some improvement already. But the need of a concentrated organization has been proved by the late war with Japan. The fleet remained scattered, and only the northern squadron came into action. It was the same with the army. Even when different forces were united there was no united generalship. As long as every high mandarin does what is right in his own eyes, without reference to the general law, great success is impossible.

The number of minor officials whom each mandarin appoints according to his own will and pleasure, or who fill permanent local posts (on account of their acquaintance with all local details they are indispensable to the mandarin) is considerably greater than the number of actual mandarins. Then too there are a great number of candidates who are only waiting for an opportunity of taking office. It is a strange fact that many local officials receive no salary, and therefore have to provide for their own present maintenance and future support. On the other hand, the imperial officials are paid so badly that they too are obliged to depend on perquisites. The natural result of this uncertain income is that the thoughts of the officials are too much set upon getting money, and in many cases all official action is directed towards this end. The welfare of the people is neglected, and China's position among the other nations of the world only receives consideration when circumstances compel.

But the people tolerate the office of mandarin, because it is not reserved to a privileged class, but is open to all, and, as often happens, a peasant or an artisan can rise to the highest office if he passes the prescribed examination. A hereditary aristocracy does exist, but it is generally only of the same duration as the reigning dynasty, and only descends to the eldest son. The descendants of an emperor sink a degree in the social scale in every generation, until they reach the rank of the common people.

V. Local Administration.

Although theoretically the Emperor has absolute power, his despotism, and unfortunately also often his best plans, are considerably hampered by the mandarins. In the same way, though the mandarins have considerable scope for despotism, they also are somewhat controlled by superiors, observed by their underlings, and all in turn

by the people. The people find their natural representatives in the graduates. Many of these men formerly filled some high office, but retired either on account of the legal twenty-seven months of mourning for father or mother, or for other reasons. Naturally they possess a great influence in their own immediate neighbourhood. Some have the right of presenting memorials straight to the throne, and thus their influence is very great in the local courts and also with the viceroy of the province.

There is considerable organization among the people. The larger families or clans have their own headmen and assembly places in the ancestral halls, where sacrifices, feasts and gatherings take place. The elders can administer punishments, chiefly corporal punishment. The punishment of death is illegal, but is sometimes imposed. Expulsion from the community, which is equivalent to the loss of all civil rights, is of frequent occurrence. Very often clans and villages coincide, but there are some villages where the people are of different clans, and either live in separate quarters, or intermingle. In such cases the village elders are chosen from among the old and respected men. The observance of many village customs, which are enforced by the elders, prove a heavy tax on the poor, *e.g.*, subscriptions to idol festivals, public theatricals, extravagant expenditure at weddings, and on the birth of sons, at funerals, etc. Those concerned are often obliged to pawn or sell their houses and lands, or even to sell their girls, in order to be able to conform to these absurd customs. Once in debt the people are almost sure to be ruined, for the rate of interest is very high, 36% or more. In towns and in the larger market places the merchants form guilds, *i.e.*, tea, silk, drug and money guilds. Artisans, such as joiners, tailors, barbers, etc., have their guilds too. Some high graduate is generally at the head of these guilds to act as the mandarin's attorney. These guilds exercise considerable influence on the members, on the general public and on the local courts. Even thieves and beggars have their societies. Policemen are nowhere to be seen. Watchmen are to be heard at night, and also protect from thieves during the day. On the other hand, begging is allowed to all. Cleanliness is quite a personal matter. Everyone is allowed to sweep in front of his own door if so disposed, or to stand the most objectionable pails outside if he please, as is often the case. The dead are buried anywhere, but innumerable coffins are to be seen in the fields or in the open spaces within the cities, and the smell proves that they are not hermetically sealed. Everyone has a right to make a noise in his own house, or in the street outside, by day or night, without fear of police interference. As a rule roads and bridges are allowed to fall into ruins. Here and there a philanthropic gentleman or a society have them put into repair, but these efforts are quite

local. The custom houses are the plague of the country. This does not refer to those in the ports where the customs are controlled by foreigners. In the interior of the country the custom houses are farmed, and unfortunately a great number have to be passed on one highway, as on the Rhine in the good old days. These custom houses also prevent foreign goods from entering the interior. Passports mitigate the evil somewhat, but cannot remove it, as all goods must pass through the hands of Chinese traders. Confucianists have no religious communities, but both Buddhists and Taoists have monasteries. The priests and monks are subject to penal law and to the mandarins like the people.

VI *Extracts from the History of the Emperors of China.*

When one reads in books about China that Taoism teaches that temperateness and silent endurance are the highest virtues, that Buddhism requires self-denial and the preservation of life, that Confucianism inculcates love and justice which is united with strict subordination, one concludes, and in fact often finds it stated, that the Chinese are a peace-loving nation, that their history, their social and political relations are far superior to those of the Christian lands of the West. The following facts will furnish the impartial reader with subject for thought, and probably cause many a preconceived opinion to be considerably altered.

The last Emperor of the Chow dynasty died while in captivity to one of his vassal princes in 256 B.C. In 227 B.C. an attempt on the Emperor's life failed. In 194 B.C. the first Emperor of the Han dynasty died of the wounds received in a fight with a rebel. After the death of a childless Emperor in 73 B.C. his nephew was placed on the throne by one of the generals and dethroned again in twenty-seven days. In the year 6 A.D. one of the chief ministers poisoned the reigning Emperor. In 25 A.D. the Emperor had to flee before a victorious relative, but was caught and executed. In the year A.D. 147 the young Emperor was poisoned by the brother of the Dowager-Empress. In 190 both the Emperor and his mother were dethroned, at first imprisoned in the palace and then put to death. In 214 a general caused the Empress and her father to be put to death, and then married his daughter to the Emperor. In 313 the Emperor was dethroned by a powerful prince, and after a banquet he, his generals and chief ministers were all executed. His successor also was put to death in 317. The same year the heir to the throne and the whole reigning house were murdered by a general, who was thereupon slain with all his family. From 328-333 there was a succession of murders of claimants to the throne. These horrors continued some decades until the formation of seven states, which

made war upon each other. In 419 a general of the army murdered his Emperor. Three ministers dethroned the Emperor in 424, and soon after murdered him. His successor died by the hand of his own son. In 465 one Emperor was murdered by an official, and another by a general in 477. The same general forced the succeeding Emperor to abdicate in his favour, but soon after murdered him and his whole family. In 494 a great-uncle murdered successively two Emperors and then slaughtered seven cousins and seventeen great-nephews. In 500 the Emperor was dethroned by his brother, and the latter was poisoned a year later by the vice-gerent. Another general shut the reigning Emperor up in his palace and starved him to death in 549; murdered the heir, and the following Emperor in 551. This general, who made himself Emperor, was defeated in battle and then executed. The next Emperor lost his throne and his life; his son abdicated in favour of a pretender, but nevertheless was put to death. In 568 an uncle had two ministers murdered and dethroned the Emperor. In the year 588 the Emperor had to take shelter in a well with some of the ladies of the palace from the soldiers of an adjoining state, who had captured his capital. He was discovered, and died in captivity. A sensual Emperor was murdered by a distant relation in 618, as were also his son and successor only six months later. The same horrors went on in the separate states. One of the Emperors of the Northern Wei fell by the hand of one of his servants in 452. In 471 an Empress poisoned her husband the Ex-Emperor. The Dowager-Empress poisoned her son, the reigning sovereign, in 528, and together with the new Emperor was drowned by a general. On the latter being killed by the succeeding Emperor the brother of the murdered general had an uncle of the Emperor put on the throne, but had him strangled in 531. He soon after dethroned the next Emperor and placed his cousin on the throne, who was shut up in a monastery by a vice-gerent and poisoned. His successor was poisoned in 535 by another vice-gerent. In 559 twenty-five families belonging to the dethroned Imperial house were cut off by a usurper, who in his turn was a few months later dethroned and then murdered by his uncle.

This kingdom was put an end to by a neighbouring state and the reigning house annihilated. In 557 an Emperor tried to get rid of a powerful minister, and was himself disposed of by murderers. His successor and half-brother was murdered by the same minister in 561, who, however, was beheaded by the next Emperor. Once again in 581 the entire imperial family was exterminated. In 684 the Empress' mother dethroned her son, and had hundreds of officials as well as some members of the Imperial house executed. The

Emperor was poisoned by his wife in 710, and in 821 the Emperor was removed by the eunuchs. A powerful minister murdered the Emperor in 905, forced his successor to abdicate in 906, but caused him to be murdered also later on. Another Emperor violated his sons' wives, and so was murdered by his eldest son in 913. The son in his turn was murdered by his brother, who finally took his own life, because he was shut up in the capital by an enemy. In 926 the Emperor lost his life in a fight with the seditious musicians of the palace. A usurper dethroned the Emperor in 934 and caused him and his favourite wife with her four sons to be put to death, but after reigning three years was himself overpowered by the son-in-law of the murdered Emperor, and so burnt himself to death, with the imperial seals. In 950 the Emperor was killed in action against the troops of a rebellious general. In 960 a general was made Emperor by his soldiers, and the six-year old child, then on the throne, was deposed. In 1125 the ministers forced the Emperor to abdicate in favour of his son. The latter was carried into captivity with his wives in 1126 by the Gold-Tartars. One of the Tartar (Kin) sovereigns was murdered by his cousin in 1149, who also murdered his mother, uncle, brothers and cousins and took their wives into his harem. He was murdered by his own soldiers. A minister murdered the Emperor in 1213, and in 1234 the then Emperor killed himself out of despair. In the same year the last of this dynasty was killed in battle, and his body afterwards decapitated. In 1276 the Emperor and his mother were taken prisoners by the Mongols and kept in captivity till their death. The last Emperor of the Sung dynasty, his mother and a minister drowned themselves in the sea in 1279. In 1324 the Emperor was murdered by the son of a minister, who was therefore executed. In 1330 the Emperor was poisoned, presumably by his brother. The last Mongol Emperor fled to Mongolia. A fearful massacre was perpetrated by the Emperor's uncle in 1402. The Emperor fled disguised as a monk, and died in prison. Another uncle was defeated in 1426. In 1450 the Emperor was taken captive by Mongols and released in 1451. There is a suspicion that the Emperor was poisoned by the eunuchs in 1620. The last Emperor of the Ming dynasty hanged himself in 1644. Is it not enough to make one's hair stand on end that such human beings, the majority of whom were of very small importance, some of whom were criminals, and all of whom led more or less immoral lives, should be called "sons of heaven," "representatives of God on earth" and also "the Buddhas of the present age"! That they should have presumed to claim not only supreme power over all the rulers of the world, but also over the invisible world, and the power to bestow upon the dead offices and honours, or to inflict punishment on corpses! The History of the Chinese Emperors

is the most striking refutation of Confucianism. Wholesome reform must begin in the imperial palace, or all attempts at reformation will prove vain. Let the reader take Chapters VII-IX to heart.

VII. *The Imperial Women.*

Polygamy was introduced by Yao, the first ideal Emperor of Confucianism, when he gave both his daughters as wives to his successor. But the system of the harem did not come into vogue till 1000 years later. As a rule only one wife was considered Empress, though the Mongols and Tartars had several, until modern time, when only one was legally appointed.

But besides this one the Emperor has nine wives of the second rank, twenty-seven of the third, eighty-one of the fourth, and innumerable others of lower rank. Sometimes the number exceeds 10,000, and is seldom less than 2000 or 3000. Several have to be in attendance every day, but are exchanged daily by others. The Empress is the head of them all, but as long as the Emperor's mother lives, is under her authority. This superiority is only nominal and connected with ceremonial etiquette, for generally a favourite wife rules the Emperor, and consequently the palace, and sometimes even the Empire. Some such examples are to be found among the famous women of China. Confucius' success in Lu, his native country, was ruined by eighty pretty girls, who had been sent as a present to the duke by a neighbouring state. Confucius was no longer listened to, and so sorrowfully withdrew to other lands 495 B.C. The story of the mother of the powerful Emperor who destroyed the tributary states of China, and is known as the burner of books, is hardly credible. His mother is supposed to have been the secondary wife of a merchant, who gave her to the prince, and then became the mother of the heir to the throne. After her husband's death she returned to her first husband, but he, fearing to keep her, gave her to another man. The latter was betrayed, and the king ordered him to be torn in pieces by five horses, his two sons to be killed, whilst the mother was banished; twenty-seven officials who interceded for her were executed, but the king listened to the 28th and recalled the mother. The infamous Empress Lu, 194 B.C., caused a secondary wife to be mutilated in the most inhuman manner, and poisoned her son. When her own son, the Emperor, died, she caused the son of one of the palace ladies to be made Emperor, but killed his mother, so as to retain all influence over him herself. Soon after, she murdered the boy-Emperor and ruled alone from 187-179 B.C. In the year 71 A.D. the then Empress fell ill. The wife of

a minister, who wished her own daughter to become Empress, bribed the female physician to administer poison to the patient, who died. Later on the same woman plotted with her two nephews to dethrone the Emperor and place her own son on the throne. The plan failed, she and her nephews committed suicide, but her son was taken prisoner and cut in two. In the year 102 A.D. an Empress was degraded on the charge of magic. The King of the Southern State, who had his residence at Nanking, kept 5000 actresses in his palace. His kingdom was taken from him by the founder of the Tsin dynasty. In the year 300 A.D. the heir, who was the son of one of the ladies of the palace, was poisoned by the Empress. The Emperor took no steps in the matter, but his brother forced an entrance into the palace with some soldiers, killed the Empress and dethroned the Emperor, but was defeated and slain by two other brothers. A lady of the palace suffocated the Emperor in 396, because he wished to put her away. In 471 the Ex-Emperor was poisoned by his wife, and in 528 another Empress-mother poisoned her son, the reigning Emperor, because he blamed her immoral life. Therefore she was drowned by a general. The Emperor Yang, 605-617, travelled from one residence to another with a retinue of 4000 palace ladies. The all-powerful Empress Wu began her palace career as an inferior wife of the Emperor. After the latter's death his son and successor took her into his harem. She succeeded in ingratiating herself so highly in his favour that she was raised to the position of Empress. She caused hundreds of officials to be put to death, the crown prince to be set aside and had his brother poisoned. She set up and dethroned two Emperors and then reigned herself until 705. She lived with two lovers, who were then put to death. The sacred Buddhist writing, "The Great Cloud Sutra," was dedicated to this woman, and in it she is called "Maitreya," the coming Buddha. She ordered this writing to be distributed throughout the realm, and bestowed several public posts on Buddhist priests.

The following reigning Empress had intercourse with a nephew of the former Empress. She poisoned the Emperor in 710, and was put to death by his nephew. A prince, who intrigued against the succession, was taken prisoner and forced to commit suicide. One of the palace ladies brought about the execution of the Empress and her three sons in 737. The famous Yang Kwei-fi completely ruled the Emperor, but still kept her own lover. She was put to death by the soldiers in 756. In 948 the Empress Li wisely advised her husband to make use of the accumulated treasure in the palace instead of laying on more taxes, which was done. But the equally good advice of the Empress of a separate state, that the Emperor should give up

his senseless extravagance, was not followed. The horrible atrocities which were the outcome of the jealousy of the women of the palace is illustrated by a story from about the year 1000. Lady Li gave birth to a son. Lady Liu stole the child and substituted a skinned cat, which she showed to the Emperor. The latter was so horrified that he dismissed Lady Li. The boy was given to a slave woman to be thrown into the river. The slave was arrested by the head-eunuch, who gave the child to the Emperor's uncle to be secretly brought up. Later on Lady Liu grew suspicious, and caused the slave to be flogged by the head-eunuch, in order to wring a confession from her. However the latter allowed herself to be tortured to death without confessing. The eunuch perpetrated this cruelty in order to save himself and the child.

The capable Empress of 1044 was forbidden by the Prime Minister to interfere in the government. In 1092 the Empress was degraded, and a palace lady put in her place. In 1190 the Empress sowed mistrust between the Emperor and his father the Ex-Emperor. In West Liao the Emperor's sister practically reigned for fourteen years, as the Emperor was too young: but she led an immoral life, and so was put to death by her father-in-law, a general. The favourite wife of Emperor Hien, 1465-1488, plotted against the life of every lady of the palace who was likely to have children. She murdered the mother of the heir to the throne, who was secretly brought up by the eunuchs. In 1621 the nurse of the Emperor, whose mother died soon after his birth, was in power, but was executed in 1626.

The success of the Manchus in China may also be traced back to a woman's influence. The wife of General Wu San-kwei, who afterwards became Viceroy of Yunnan, had been carried off by Li, the leader of the rebels. The latter had already taken Peking, and hoped that Wu would join him; but in revenge for this deed Wu called in the help of the Manchus and drove out Li. Then Wu helped the Manchus to subdue China. Later on he rebelled, and his revolt was only put down after several years of bloodshed. Women, specially the mothers and widows of the Emperors, have very often held the reins of government in China, but although they have ruled peacefully their rule has not resulted in the development of this enormous Empire, which needs a very strong hand at the helm. There is no salvation for China as long as the imperial palace remains in its present horrible condition.

VIII. *History of the Imperial Family.*

As far back as the commencement of the Chow dynasty three sons of the deceased king allied themselves with the brother of the dethroned sovereign against their brother Duke Chow, who was

ruling as minister for the young king. Their attempt failed, and the eldest son was executed 1114 B. C. His younger half-brother murdered the ruling Prince of Wei 719 B. C., for which both he and his accomplices were beheaded in a neighbouring state. The Prince of Lu paid a visit with his wife to her half-brother, who ruled in the state of Tshi. The latter was guilty of incest with his half-sister, and caused her husband to be murdered. As the state demanded satisfaction for Lu's death the murderer was executed. The guilty Prince of Tshi was afterwards murdered by a relative, who suffered the same fate at the hands of an official 685 B. C. A younger half-brother of the king conspired with some barbaric tribes in 648; but his plan of making himself king was discovered, and he fled, but later on was pardoned. In 642 five princes struggled for the succession of the state of Tshi. The first who gained the upper hand was murdered, and an adjoining state had to interfere to restore order. In one of the small tributary states a son murdered his reigning father, because he had settled the succession on a brother. In 520 also, after the death of the Emperor, two sons disputed the succession. In the year 440 B. C. the eldest son succeeded to the throne, but three months after was murdered by his brother, who five months later was also murdered by a younger brother, who then reigned for fifteen years. The hereditary prince who entered a remonstrance against the massacre of the scholars was banished in the year 213, and later on forced to commit suicide. In 209 his brother had twelve of his brothers murdered, together with the families of several leading statesmen. Two brothers of the Emperor rebelled in 177 B. C., but were defeated; one took his own life, the other was banished. Seven princes belonging to the imperial family rebelled in 155 and forced the Emperor to have his minister executed. Later on they were defeated; three committed suicide and four were beheaded. In 91 B. C. the hereditary prince was degraded on the charge of using magic arts, which were supposed to have caused the Emperor's bad dreams. As the prince fled he was caught, and both he and his mother were executed. One of the ladies of the palace was raised to be Empress and her son appointed heir to the throne. But in 90 B. C., at the Emperor's command, she was forced to take her own life, as the Emperor feared that after his death she might misuse her power. In 80 the Emperor's elder brother and a princess conspired with two statesmen against the Emperor, but the plot was discovered, and they committed suicide, but the two officials were executed. One of the Emperor's relatives created jealousy by his military achievements, so was murdered in 23 A. D. The year 300 A. D. was a time of horror. The Empress poisoned the heir, the Emperor's brother forced his way into the palace with

soldiers, killed the Empress, banished the Emperor and ascended the throne. Two other brothers made war on and slew this brother and restored the Emperor. Another brother grew jealous of the eldest of these two, so had him murdered by a fifth brother, who lost his life at the hands of the other two. One of these fell in battle with another, and finally still another brother, the 25th son of the Emperor, ascended the throne. The brother of the deceased king of a separate state set aside the heir in 338 and took the throne himself, but was overcome by a relative, who took his place. Similar events happened in the year 349 in another state. The king was put to death by his uncle, who seized the throne, but was murdered by a relative six months later. The murderer fell by the hand of an official after two months. This man caused the royal family to be exterminated. Two years later he was defeated by an adjoining state and executed. In 355 a king, who had cruelly slain many people, was murdered by his cousin. In the northern kingdom the Emperor was killed by a relative in 409, who was murdered by the Emperor's son. In 453 the Emperor wished to degrade his son and heir, who thereupon murdered his father and ascended the throne, but two months later was made prisoner and executed by his third brother. In the year 465 the Emperor placed thirty-six young men at the disposal of his sister, and was murdered a few months after. The Emperor's nephew assumed the imperial title in 466, but being taken prisoner by the Emperor's brother he was beheaded. The Emperor adopted the son of one of his favourites and caused a number of his family, who had nearer claims to the throne, to be murdered. In 494 a great-uncle murdered the Emperor, and three months later his brother and successor; he then ascended the throne, and had seven cousins and seventeen great-nephews put to death. The Emperor was dethroned by his uncle in 568, who then murdered two ministers and took the throne. The crown prince poisoned his father, who wished to appoint another son as his successor, and also two ministers. As Emperor he was the greatest profligate. A degraded crown prince conspired with another brother, but lost his life in 627. In 710 the Emperor's son broke into the palace with soldiers and killed the Ex-Empress who had poisoned her husband. A princess who plotted to set a prince of the direct line on the throne in 713 was condemned to take her own life. The Emperor's eldest son, who had not been appointed heir, murdered his father in 761. In 913 the Emperor defiled his sons' wives while they took his part against a rival. For this deed the eldest brother murdered his father, but was himself killed by his fourth brother, who ascended the throne and shared the general ruin of the state ten years later. In 926 an Emperor caused his three

brothers with their mother to be put to death, so that they could not dispute the throne which he had illegally gained by the help of the ministers. In the same state an adopted son of the former Emperor drove out the son and successor and had him assassinated with his wife and four sons. The son-in-law of the murdered Emperor called in the help of the Tartars against the usurper, who burnt himself to death in a tower with the imperial insignia. In the free state T'shu the king was murdered by his brother in 961. As the latter ruled most tyrannically he was incarcerated, and his brother put in his place. But he did no better, and was conquered by a neighbouring state in 962. A veritable monster of cruelty ruled the Southern Han state for twenty-five years. His son succeeded him without observing any mourning for his father and was murdered by his brother in the following year. The latter endeavoured to surpass his father in cruelty ; this state ceased to exist in 971. In 933 the king of the free state of Min was murdered by his brother, who was soon after killed by his own son, who three years later was killed by his uncle, who was also assassinated. The assassin was ruined by the fall of the state in 946. The sovereign of the free state of Yen had his father imprisoned, his eldest brother murdered, and assumed the title of Emperor in 911 ; but in 916 was conquered by the founder of another free state, and he and his whole family were put to death.

In the year 976 the brother of the founder of the great Sung dynasty ascended the throne on the wish of the Empress, as his nephews were too young. But later this prince appointed his own son as heir, and by ill-treatment forced his nephews to commit suicide. In the free state of West-Hia, Tanguts, in the present province of Kansuh, the reigning king was murdered by his son in 1048, because he had taken his betrothed. In 1206 the king was murdered by his brother. In 1149 the ruler of the Gold-Tartars was murdered by his cousin, who also murdered his mother, his uncle, his brothers and cousins. The wives of the latter he took into his harem. In 1403 the Emperor of the Mings was driven out by his uncle, and his two-year old son imprisoned. When after fifty-four years the boy was released he had lost his reason. A prince of the Imperial house revolted in 1519, but was captured and executed. In 1570 a Mongolian prince stole his nephew's wife. The nephew went himself to the court of the Emperor, but seems to have received presents instead of justice.

In 1803 an attempt was made to take the life of the Emperor Kia-hing. A number of the Emperor's relatives were found to be among the conspirators. In 1813 the Emperor was attacked in the palace, and again princes were implicated ; many were put to

death, and several hundred connections of the imperial family were banished. The Emperor Tao-kwang's son died in 1831 at the age of twenty from a blow inflicted by his father. The Emperor's elder brother endeavoured to seize the throne in 1831, but failed. A similar attempt in 1850 also proved a failure. In 1861 the government of eight princes of the Imperial house was overthrown by a palace conspiracy, headed by Prince Kung and the widowed Empresses. The eight princes were taken prisoners; one was publicly beheaded, the others were privately allowed the use of the silk-cord (strangulation).

IX. *The Eunuchs.*

The evil practice of keeping eunuchs seems to have been introduced into China in the beginning of the Chow dynasty, 1100 B. C., probably when the imperial harem was established. This practice was naturally followed by all the tributary princes. Castration was one of the five legal corporal punishments. Later on it was inflicted not only on criminals, but on boys who were bought, or who were destined to this fate by their parents. Some parents hoped to gain influence in the palace by this means. History records nothing but evil of these men. But still there may be and have been some noble characters among them, but these are the rare exceptions. In any case much moral strength is needed to be able to bear such a fate with resignation; as a general rule the natural disposition is embittered, and all evil passions roused by a desire to take revenge on society. A few examples will suffice.

A feudal prince about 651 B. C. had a favorite wife and a favourite eunuch. The latter was offended by the hereditary prince. He therefore poisoned the lady's mind against the heir by lies. She at last accused the prince to his father of having designs against herself, whereupon the prince ordered the eunuch to behead his son; but the son fled and escaped with difficulty. After his father's death he ascended the throne, and at once had the eunuch's head cut off. About the year 250 B. C. the Emperor kept 3000 beautiful women. Among his eunuchs was one who became notorious. First he helped the minister to get rid of the heir to the throne, and then got rid of the minister. In 207 he dethroned and killed the Emperor, but was thereupon murdered himself. China's most celebrated historian suffered castration by the Emperor's orders in 100 B. C., merely because he had brought forward a humane petition. In the year 92 the Emperor caused the murder of a powerful general by the help of a eunuch, and similarly in 159 A.D. another minister and his whole family were assassinated. At the instigation of the eunuchs a scholar was put to death with over 100 of his

pupils. In 190 the eunuchs murdered the brother of the Emperor, but were all, it is said, to the number of 10,000 butchered by his soldiers. The daughter of one of the ministers was one of the Emperor's secondary wives, 300 A.D. The Emperor was to be murdered, in order to place his son on the throne. A eunuch introduced the murderer into the palace, but the scheme failed, and so the eunuch had the would-be murderer secretly poisoned, lest anyone should be betrayed. In 722 a eunuch was sent to restore order in Annam, which he succeeded in doing. At the same time another eunuch helped the dissolute Emperor to carry on his extravagances for fifty years. A powerful eunuch caused the Empress and her two sons to be murdered in 762, but a year later was secretly assassinated at the instigation of the Emperor. One Emperor was secretly got rid of by the eunuchs in 821, and in 827 another Emperor was murdered while in a state of intoxication, and his brother likewise. The following Emperor wished to break the power of the eunuchs, but the latter forestalled him, butchered two ministers with their 1000 (or 3000 ?) followers, and in 841 dethroned the Emperor. They endeavoured to keep his successor under their influence by providing him with amusements. In conjunction with a powerful vice-gerent they murdered the ministers and ten princes in the year 900. The Emperor wishing to interpose was carried away captive, and only released after two months by an officer, who had to kill the head-eunuch and some of the others. The musicians of the palace, who slew the Emperor in 926, were also eunuchs. In the year 1064 they sowed discord between the Emperor and his mother, with the result that the latter had to withdraw from the government. In 1403 a eunuch was sent on a voyage of inquiry to Siam and Bengal, another to Java and Sumatra and a third to Thibet to invite the chief Lama to Peking.

When in 1410 the Emperor set out on a hunting expedition he commanded General Kang Ping to keep watch over his palace. As the latter feared evil reports he became a eunuch, and so was able to refute the accusations which were eventually brought against him on the Emperor's return. The Emperor made him his head-eunuch, and after his death placed him among the gods. From that time the eunuchs have considered him their guardian and have built a special temple to his memory.

In 1443 the whole state government fell into the hands of a eunuch. In 1510 a conspiracy was discovered, headed by the favoured eunuch, who was therefore beheaded with all his adherents and his head exposed to public view. In 1552 a eunuch caused the death of the Emperor's son-in-law by false accusations. The

Emperor's daughter explained matters, and the eunuch was wrapped in cotton wool and slowly burnt to death. Another eunuch opened the gates of Peking to the rebel Li, but was rewarded by having his head cut off. About the year 1621 there were 12,000 eunuchs in the palace. Some of them became very wealthy; one kept over 10,000 horses, and another had amassed 140,000 pounds of gold, sixteen million pounds of silver; two quarts of diamonds, two golden cuirasses and more than 4000 girdles set with precious stones. In 1628 a head-eunuch anticipated his execution by taking poison. His body was torn in pieces by the people, and several temples which had been dedicated to him were pulled down. Another eunuch was made commander of the army against the Manchus, but took bribes, and so was strangled. In 1662 a head-eunuch was beheaded and 4000 of his colleagues driven out of the palace. A law was passed that in the future no eunuch should be allowed to hold office, but nevertheless in the time of Kienlung eunuchs were as imperious as ever. In 1736, at the instigation of an influential minister, all the eunuchs were examined, and many re-castrated, the majority of whom died. The eunuchs were implicated in the conspiracy of the "White Feather Society," which was almost successful in 1814, and over 100 of them were beheaded. In more recent times the boys of distinguished rebel leaders were made eunuchs, as for example Jakub Beg's sons. Recently one who had been forced by his parents, when twelve years old, to become a eunuch, and belonged to the Dowager Empress, made himself famous. The Empress allowed him a great deal of money and liberty. In 1867 with a retinue of thirty people he made an excursion into the province of Shantung, but the whole company were captured by the governor and executed by order of Prince Kung. After the death of Tungchi in 1874 the eunuchs endeavoured to get control of the government, but the head-eunuchs were put to death by the widowed Empress.

According to law the Emperor keeps 3000 eunuchs in the palaces for various purposes. It is asserted (Stent, *Journal C. B. Royal As. S.*, Vol. XI) that at present there are not more than 2000. Besides these each son and each daughter of the Emperor has thirty eunuchs in his or her household. Each nephew of the Emperor has twenty, each grandson ten, a great-grandson six and his sons and each great-great-grandson of an Emperor, of whom there must be a great number, four each. The hereditary nobility, *i.e.*, the descendants of the dignitaries who helped the Manchus to conquer China, are not only allowed, but bound to keep twenty eunuchs in each family. There are also eighteen eunuchs in the palace who discharge the office of Lama priests. They receive

a double salary, but are mostly very ignorant men. Over 300 eunuchs are actors. The rest are divided into forty-eight classes, each with a head-man, but are all under one chief eunuch. Most of the eunuchs smoke opium, and so there are 7 or 8 opium-halls inside the palace walls. They all gamble and spend most of their free time in these worthless pursuits.

Every three years a number of girls, between fourteen and sixteen years of age (the daughters of banner-men), enter the palace as embroiderers. They remain for five years, but wear men's clothing, and then are sent home with a present. Some services are also performed by older women.

After perusing these three chapters on the "History of the Chinese Imperial Palace" one might well echo the words of the poet and say, "The history of the world is the judgment of the world," and "all sin finds its own reward in the world." Would it not be the best thing that could be done for China to rid her of this sink of iniquity? Would it not prove a far-sighted policy to compel the Imperial Court to spend the enormous sums of money which are now rotting in this plague-spot in improving the means of communication by water and by high roads? The Chinese people (not their he-goats) would welcome such a deed.

X. Ministers and Officials.

The impression left on the mind of the unprejudiced reader by the number of books about China, is, that the majority, if not all the state officials, must be exceptionally learned and intelligent men, as they have been able to pass the stiff state-examinations, and also that they are full of the wisdom and morality of Confucius. For this morality chiefly affects personal character, causing men to act suitably in all conditions of life, and also causing unconditional obedience to the commands of superiors, specially of the Emperor. But Chinese history does not at all confirm this supposition. Really capable and trustworthy higher officials have also been the exception, villains have been the rule. But the great majority were of little importance, either for good or ill. They lived, discharged their duties to their own satisfaction and that of their superiors, made provision for an innumerable posterity and then died. Since then their graves cumber up the land and hinder progress.

Only a very few examples can here be mentioned from the classical period, but many more could be found in the "Spring-Autumn" time of Confucius. In the tributary state of Sung, 682 B. C., a general murdered the reigning prince for an insult he had received. In 606 B. C. the prince of another tributary state was murdered by his minister's nephew. In the Tshi state, 547 B. C.,

the minister of state murdered his sovereign, and then also three chroniclers, because they insisted on recording the crime in the annals. In 505 B. C. a general had the body of the King of Tshu taken out of its coffin and beaten, because the king had caused his father to be executed. In 480 a minister in Tshi assassinated the prince, because the latter wished to banish the minister's powerful family (clan). In the neighbouring state of Tsin three ministerial families seized and divided the state among themselves, and in 402 B. C. were rewarded by the Emperor with their prize. The minister of one of the feudal-states was assassinated by a paid murderer. In 390 the reigning prince of Tshi was dethroned by his minister, who seized the throne and fixed his succession in his own family. In the feudal state of Tshin a good minister was accused of high treason. He fled to a neighbouring state, but was given up and torn in pieces by five horses in 324. In the northern state of Yen the prince was forced to abdicate in his minister's favour 313 B. C. The adjoining state, Tshi, took advantage of the confusion caused to invade Yen, and both prince and minister were put to death. At that time two ministers became famous by making an alliance between several states, but nothing permanent was achieved. A faithful minister drowned himself in 298, because he was superseded, and this is the origin of the well known feast of the dragon-boats. Twenty-seven councillors were executed one after the other, and yet the 28th had the courage to give the self-same advice, viz., to recall the mother of the Emperor, and his advice was followed. A few years later the minister of this Emperor committed suicide in exile, and another minister was imprisoned and then poisoned. The hereditary prince and a meritorious general were got rid of by the powerful minister Li in 209. He himself was later on put to death with his entire family. In 209 several high state officials were put to death with their families, merely on the suspicion of not approving the succession. In the same year several captains of the army began to lay claim to the title of king, and fought over it for ten years. Even the first Emperor of the Han dynasty had to wage war with such would-be kings to the end of his reign, 194 B. C. He had several put to death. The southern province, Canton, and other districts made themselves almost independent under a similar king, but were subdued and divided up in 113. The family of the general who surrendered to the Huns, and for whom the historian mentioned above interceded, was sentenced to death in the year 99 B. C. Two officers of state wished to murder the minister and dethrone the Emperor in 80, but were found out and executed. The office of minister was held by the family of the Emperor's mother from 32 B. C.—23 A.D. The last of this ministerial dynasty was

overthrown by a rising, during which the palace was burnt down and the minister was cut to pieces while attempting to flee. Many faithful statesmen were put to death by the brother of the Dowager Empress. He raised fifty-seven of his own relatives to high offices, but by the Emperor's orders both he and his family were killed by soldiers. During the years 184-265 almost incessant war was carried on between the different generals. The empire was divided into three, and during that time the rebels of the yellow turban devastated the land for several years. In 322 the commander-in-chief of the army marched against the capital, and the Emperor died of fright. Another commander followed his example in 327, but fell in a severe fight in 328. In 350 an official murdered the Emperor and his whole family, but was put to death in 352. In 371 a powerful general dethroned the Emperor and set up his nephew. In 420 another minister founded a new dynasty; after having murdered one Emperor, forced another to abdicate, and put several state officials out of the way. Three ministers dethroned and murdered the Emperor in 424, but were put to death by his successor. The commander-in-chief of the army murdered the Emperor in 477, forced his successor to abdicate, took possession of the throne in 479 and then murdered the ex-Emperor and family. In 500 many high officials were put to death, simply because the Emperor did not like them. One general imprisoned the Emperor in his own palace and starved him to death in 549. The same man had the Emperor's adopted son and the following Emperor murdered. He set up the latter's brother, then dethroned him, and in 551 ascended the throne himself, but was defeated and executed. In 557 a high official caused his rival to be put to death, dethroned the Emperor, forced the one whom he had himself set up to abdicate and then founded a new dynasty. In 613 insurrections broke out in many places and robber bands harrassed the country. At that time China was divided into various states, but all were in the same condition. Thus in another state a general drowned the Emperor and his mother in 528, but was assassinated in 530 at the instigation of the new Emperor. Thereupon his brother had the Emperor strangled, set up and again dethroned a successor, but being conquered by other vice-gerents, committed suicide in 531. A vice-gerent poisoned the Emperor in 535, and his son dethroned the next Emperor in 550 and founded a new dynasty. Several other short-lived dynasties were founded about this time by rebel ministers. In 557 a powerful minister had his Emperor assassinated, because he wished to remove him from office. He also murdered his successor, but was put to death himself in 572. In 618 there were eleven rebel leaders, calling themselves emperors or kings; three

more were added in 622, but all were subdued by the founder of the great Tang dynasty. In 690 the Dowager Empress caused hundreds of officials to be put to death. Five of the highest officers of state were beheaded by the Empress in 710. In 756 an officer and favourite conquered the capital and took the title of Emperor, but was murdered by his own son in the following year. He in his turn was assassinated by one of his underlings, who ascended the throne. He was murdered by his son, and the latter again by an underling in 763. In 762 the Empress and her two sons were murdered by a minister, who was therefore assassinated by the Emperor's orders. Several vice-gerents rebelled in 784 and also in 815. A celebrated minister, who had addressed the Emperor to give up his faith in Buddhist superstitions, was degraded and sent to a distant post in 820. Thereupon a riot occurred in the army in 822, and several vice-gerents were murdered. The same thing happened in 860 and again in 868. A rebellion raged from 874-878, before the rebel masses could be dispersed and the leaders executed; but again the rebels collected, and under their new leader seized the capital, which was not re-taken till 883. Thereupon the dissatisfied rebels murdered their leader, but continued to exist as small bands of robbers till the beginning of the 10th century. Several vice-gerents were at war with one another from 890 onwards, which finally led to the downfall of the dynasty. Thirty officers of state and nine imperial princes were put to death by the pretender to the throne; but a war lasting fifty years was carried on by five short dynasties. In 925 several officials who had ventured to remonstrate with the Emperor were executed. In 925 the commander of the guard took part in a palace insurrection, and so lost his life. In 901 a vice-gerent founded a new dynasty, which was overthrown by its minister, who assumed the title of Emperor. In 948 the Emperor had three unimpeachable ministers executed, only because they opposed the giving of offices of state to retired military men. Two generals were executed in 955 for want of success. Between the years 890 and 979 twelve states asserted their independence at the instigation of ambitious vice-gerents, which caused much bloodshed. In 937 a minister dethroned two Emperors and ascended the throne. At the commencement of the great Sung dynasty, 960, there were still six independent states which had to be conquered. Freebooters overran the south of China in 1042, and in the north there was war from 1039-1044 with a state which was endeavouring to make itself independent. The king of this state, whose father had been rewarded by the Emperor with the title of king, refused to recognize the overlordship of China. In 1092 the clever minister Wang An-sche brought about the dismissal and banishment of more

than 800 officials, so as to be able to put into office men who would be tools for the carrying out of his own plans. The same method was adopted by the imperial councillors in 1101, which gained for them the name of the six robbers. In 1127 the gold-Tartars set up a state official as Emperor of China, but he encountered such universal opposition that he promptly resigned the throne. In 1140 a minister threw suspicion on a victorious general, and caused him and his whole family to be executed. At the same time the imperial troops suffered a great defeat from the gold-Tartars, brought about by the disagreement of the commander-in-chief and a high officer. In 1195 one minister intrigued against another, and consequently the famous Chu Hi was deposed from office. A military officer, who went over to the Tartars in 1206 and wished to deliver up four Chinese districts, was murdered by his soldiers. In the same year the Prime Minister was beheaded and his head sent into the Tartar camp as the cause of the trouble. In 1225 the crown prince was poisoned by the minister, and in 1321 an upright minister was murdered by several officials. In 1348 bands of rebels were organized, which resulted in the fall of the dynasty in 1367. Peace was not universally restored till 1371. In 1381 a fresh insurrection had to be quelled in Yunnan. In 1403 several officials and their families were executed, because they would not submit to a usurper as Emperor. A distinguished minister was calumniated after his death in 1580, and so his family were banished and their property confiscated.

In 1629 two separate rebellions broke out under different leaders and the famous pirate Koxinga fought against the Emperor, which led to the downfall of the dynasty in 1644. Struggles with different claimants to the throne lasted till 1672. The father of the pirate and conqueror of Formosa, who had submitted in 1648, was put to death with two sons in 1661, because he could not force his son Koxinga to submit. Koxinga died in 1681, and his son surrendered himself and Formosa in 1683. During the Emperor's minority one of the regents was accused of high treason. Kanghi, who though only fourteen years old, had taken the government into his own hands, had him and his family executed in 1667. The Viceroy of Yunnan, who had done most to establish the supremacy of the Manchus, revolted in 1673. After his death the struggle was carried on by his grandson till the latter committed suicide on the loss of his headquarters. All officers and officials connected with him were put to death, some with torture. In Turkestan there were many disturbances. From 1691-1697 the Emperor had to wage war with the Eleuts. The Chinese owed their success entirely to the want of union in the enemy's camp. The enemy's leader, Galdan, had

murdered his brother and taken possession of his brother's son's betrothed. The nephew revenged himself by attacking him, and later on by making an alliance with the Chinese. When at last Galdan poisoned himself Kanghi insisted on his body being given up, and had his remains scattered abroad. Later on this nephew also made war on China, conquered and plundered Lhasa in 1709 and defeated the Chinese at Hami, so that a new Manchu army was required to reconquer Hami. He maintained his authority till his death, which took place in 1727. His son ruled his territory with great skill. The Chinese made war upon him without success from 1729-1734, but after his death in 1745 troubles broke out in his camp. The Chinese Emperor sent an army of 150,000 men, which was at first successful, but was afterwards destroyed. The chief commander was executed by the enemy, and four generals were sent to Peking to be judged for their want of success. The district was not subdued till 1759. A slight rebellion took place in 1764. In 1812 disturbances began, which ended in a revolt in 1822. Kashgar was lost, but later on reconquered, and the leader executed.

In 1721 a revolt occurred in Formosa. The capital was taken and all officials put to death; order was only restored by troops from the mainland. Another rebellion took place in 1786 and lasted till the leader was captured and executed in 1787. The Viceroy of Yunnan was summoned to Peking and executed in 1746, because he had failed to put down robberies. Much bloodshed was caused in 1771 by the revolt of the Miaotsh. The leader submitted, on the Emperor's promise of pardon, but was nevertheless executed in Peking with his family. The general who was victorious in the Pamir fell into disgrace, and was publicly executed without any given reason. In 1749 the Tibetans rose and massacred the Chinese, but were soon conquered. A minister of state, having amassed eighty million of taels, was beheaded on that account in 1796. Secret societies made attempts on the Emperor's life in 1803 and 1813. In 1830 insurrections broke out both in Formosa and Hainan. The revolt of the Miaotsh in 1832 was only with difficulty suppressed. In 1846 there were fresh disturbances in Kashgar. Pirates made their appearance round Canton in 1849. During the years 1850-1864 the Taiping rebellion desolated several provinces, and at the same time the Nienfei made trouble in some of the northern provinces. The Mohammedan Panthays conquered Yunnan during 1855-1873, but they were put down by a treacherous massacre in the capital, when 30,000 were murdered. Shansi and the neighbouring districts were devastated by a contemporary Mohammedan rebellion of the Tungani

in 1862-1878. Jacob Beg made himself independent in Kashgar in 1866-1877.

After reading this sketch the reader will be inclined to acknowledge that China is in need of more important things than modern weapons and machines. Above all she stands in need of trustworthiness and moral uprightness in her officials.

XI. *On the History of Civilization in China.*

In the remotest times the condition of things socially was patriarchal, the head of the family became the head of the tribe. The head of the most powerful tribe, aided by favourable circumstances, gradually assumed a kind of supremacy over the other tribal heads. The Chow rulers who belonged to a princely family, but seized the supreme power by violence in 1120 B.C., gradually constituted fifty-five hereditary dependent princes, thus the feudal states were formed, and their rulers gradually forced the aborigines to submit to their lordship and civilization, but they carried on almost incessant war one with another for several centuries till in 230 B.C. they were all absorbed into one. In the early days officials were appointed to carry out the chief duties of the state (see above Chapter IV). A clever minister of one of the leading feudal states greatly increased the prosperity of his country in 680 B.C. by encouraging new branches of industry, the produce of salt, mining, etc., and also by extending the highways of commerce; but the barbarity of these feudal princes is proved by the action of the chief, who caused one of the princes to be slaughtered and sacrificed instead of the usual animal, simply because he came late to the assembly. When the next chief of the feudal princes died in 623 B.C. one of his sons, three children of the family and 177 other people, either living or dead, were lowered into his grave in order to wait upon him in the world below. This barbarous custom was abolished in 220 by the Emperor, who was branded with the name of the Burner of Books, but was revived during the Ming period and then again abolished in 1457. In 371 a capable minister in the state of Ts'in endeavoured to bring about a reform in administration and in the finance system. He introduced a system of taxation in the place of the former socage, but unfortunately it must have soon fallen into disuse, for the attempt was renewed in 1070. He also recognized the necessity of fixed official salaries, and made every ten families mutually responsible for each other's good behaviour; and he divided the state into districts, etc. He acted on the principle that severity of punishment deters from crime. A universal disarming of the people was ordered in 219 B.C. The law which made the whole family suffer with a criminal

was disannulled in 179 B.C., but, as innumerable examples prove, it is still put into force. The right of coining money was granted to the people in 177. At the same time forced military service was abolished, and instead military colonies were established on the borders. The sale of offices of state is first mentioned about this date. It is said to have taken place again in the year 1333 in order to raise money to buy rice for the number of poverty-stricken people. Unfortunately the custom of buying offices and titles is still followed to raise funds for the alleviation of crying needs. A sad proof of the want of charity and benevolent feeling in China! The punishment of mutilating noses, ears and feet was abolished in 167 and the bastonade and cutting off the hair substituted. Capital punishment was limited, and universal mourning for the sovereign reduced to three days. An academy of learning was founded in 136 and professors were appointed. It seems that this soon failed, but was re-started in 502 and again in 640. The state examinations date back to the year 134 B.C. The vine was introduced into China from the West in 112 B.C. An exploring expedition into the West occupied ten years. The recently created feudal states were abolished again in 113. Computation of time, *i.e.*, the calendar, was again brought into accordance with the twelve musical tones in 104. Such harmony of the universe is one of the axioms of Confucian philosophy. The examination of accused persons by torture was forbidden in 67 B.C. (but is still practised). In 53 a pavilion was erected in the imperial gardens, in which the portraits of eminent statesmen were preserved. Also in 627 A.D. the Emperor had the portraits of twenty-four of his councillors hung up in one of his palaces.

The old agrarian system of the equal division of the land (the system of nine fields) was re-introduced in the year 9 A.D., and at the same time slavery was legally abolished (but still exists). Mongolian nomadic tribes were made to settle down, and were then granted equal rights with the Chinese, and even allowed to enter Chinese offices of state. About 605 a canal was made between the Yellow River and the Yang-tsze, for the Emperor's convenience, it is true, who had his dragon-ships propelled by 80,000 men. This canal was lengthened during other dynasties, and in 1291 the whole length of it was repaired. In 821 the arrears of taxation were remitted and the army reduced, in order to give financial alleviation. From 951-954 the Emperor sought as far as possible to alleviate the condition of the people. He excused the tribute money due from those who had been provided with cattle at the expense of the state, and gave the fields belonging to the state to the farmers as their own property. He remitted the yearly presents to the Emperor, and even had the jewelry removed from the palace and destroyed. He also helped the subjects

of neighbouring states by sending presents of agricultural produce when their crops had failed. His successor (955-960) had a statue of a labourer and a woman spinning erected near all public buildings as an incentive to agricultural labour. A capable and therefore notorious minister tried (1070) to introduce some singular national reforms in agriculture. He forced all land owners to take money in advance from the state in the spring, and then repay it after harvest with an interest of twenty per cent. He also re-introduced universal military service. During the long wars the land tax had been raised considerably, so from 1296-1307 the Emperor remitted three-tenths of it. He also generously assisted the people in cases of misfortune. Taxes and socage, which both existed at the same time, were lessened by the Emperor in 1426; the penal code was revised and the system of public examinations regulated. The shaving of the front part of the head and the wearing of the queue were forced upon the Chinese in 1644 by the first Manchu Emperor of China.

These few facts show that China is not lacking in good beginnings; but the improvements attempted were nearly all spasmodic and isolated and not supported by equal progress in all departments. For this reason some innovations were not salutary, because they were not in unison with the general life of the nation. In China men are too accustomed to regard what exists as good merely because it does exist, and specially if it has existed for a long time. If any inconvenience is felt it is ascribed to deviations from good old customs. Therefore the attempt is made to repress the course of history for centuries, if not for thousands of years, an undertaking which, though often attempted, has always proved a failure, even in China.

XII. History of Chinese Literature.

The curious Chinese writing has been developed from about 100 original signs which represented so many things. These simple signs were then combined, two or more signs being used to form a character which represented an idea; but even thus no consecutive ideas could be expressed in writing, so then the spoken sound, the phonetic element, was introduced into writing. The possibility of a literature only begins with phonetic writing. The beginning of phonetic writing in China cannot reach very much further back than 800 B.C.; at the very earliest it might be ascribed to the beginning of the Chow dynasty (1100); but representations of the old pictorial writing were in existence perhaps more than 1000 years previously on stone or metal. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to say much about these oldest monuments, because the remainder of Chinese antiquities have not yet been methodically explored, nor even the few which have been

discovered are unearthed, only in inadequate illustrated descriptions accessible. There is no museum where the things themselves can be seen and compared.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Chinese have never thoroughly thought out their own system of writing. Instead of having the syllables fixed as in Japanese, or, as in alphabetical writing, depending upon sound, the symbols of sound were left to chance, so that there arose an enormous number of signs which increases every year. The growth of the language is influenced by this writing. Further development is impeded. As every sign represents a word all words from the oldest times have been retained, but new meanings added to the old; then the new ideas were separated and expressed by other signs. Stationary forms of speech, pictorial expressions and synonyms, etc., were formed; but the writing was written for the eye and not for the ear. Phonetics remained subservient to the pictorial form. From primitive times down to the end of the last century this style of writing sufficed for all state purposes in China. It was possible to communicate intelligibly what was desired, irrespective of the spoken languages and dialects of the Chinese empire and the neighbouring countries. For this reason none of the alphabetical writings which were introduced into China ever took root there. The Buddhists brought in Sanscrit and Pali and translated their sacred writings into Chinese without making an alphabet for the transliteration of names. They contented themselves with expressing syllables by separate Chinese signs, and determined the pronunciation by the initial and final sounds, *i.e.*, by two Chinese signs, without attaining any absolute accuracy. According to the Sui catalogue (about 600 A.D.) among the 1950 Buddhist writings there were a few which treated of phonetic writing, but it seems that even these confined themselves to initial and final sounds, *e.g.*, *king* by *ki* and *ying*. In Thibet the Sanscrit alphabet was modified and adopted for Thibetan writing. The Mongols founded their alphabet on Uiguric, which was adopted from the Syriac of the Nestorians. Manchu follows the Mongolian with but few alterations. Both languages are written perpendicularly (*i.e.*, from top to bottom of the page), probably because it is more convenient for the brush, and perhaps out of respect to the Chinese, but the lines run from right to left. The neighbouring states of Corea and Japan in the East, Siam and Burmah in the West also used alphabetical writing (except syllabic writing in Japan). Syriac was introduced by the Nestorians, Arabic by the Mohammedans, Hebrew by a Jewish colony, but nevertheless China retained her old writing and maintained the ascendancy till she came in contact with Western powers. Now this form of writing forms the greatest barrier to intellectual progress.

The literature in Chinese character is very extensive, and it would be easy to collect over 100,000 volumes. It is generally divided into four groups. 1. The *Classics* or sacred writings of the followers of Confucius. These consist of thirteen works of unequal size. The commentaries and treatises on these amount to thousands of volumes. To this group also belong the dictionaries, of which there are many; one, *e.g.*, which comprises over 100 volumes. 2. *Historical works*. This group is very comprehensive, and is generally divided into fifteen headings. Geography, biography, state manuals and works on antiquities are included. These volumes contain much valuable material for the description of places, products and natural phenomena—the history of almost every important town and monastery, of every famous man, of the aboriginal inhabitants, of the surrounding tribes and of many neighbouring states. 3. Works on *philosophy*. But the Chinese term for philosophy does not convey the same idea as our word. All arts and sciences as far as they can be so-called in Chinese are included in the term; hence there are works on military tactics, agriculture, medicine, law, painting, music, as well as encyclopædias and works on Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Confucian writings on ethics and statesmanship fall under this group, and the sacred books of the Taoists and Buddhists are included. The Buddhist sacred writings fill several hundred volumes, the entire Buddhist literature several thousand, and probably Taoism has not many less. 4. The literature of art, poetry and essays, etc., is at present the least known. The drama and novels are excluded, as well as other daily literature which is rather despised. Only writings which treat of politics or ethics are accepted, none which are only æsthetic in character. Thus the entire literature is marked by a good moral tone, though it does not follow that the moral standpoint as well as the ideal is of the highest throughout.

The deepest thought is to be found in the Taoist classical works. The remaining literature contains some good observations on nature and human life, especially on human intercourse, the cohesion of society and the organization of the state. The deeper questions of human nature are hardly touched upon. Not things eternal, but things temporal absorb the minds of the innumerable Chinese writers, and only in so far as they appear to affect Chinese government interests; but the influence of Western literature is already making itself apparent in the most recent publications. The tone and spirit of Christianity which has already proved its victorious power in Semitic, Arian and Egyptian writings will also create new life in Chinese literature. This influence is now only beginning.

XIII. *Taoism.*

As a rule Laotsz is looked upon as the founder of Taoism. This is probably true in the same sense as Confucius is said to be the founder of Confucianism. It should rather be said that Laotsz was the chief champion (or organiser?) of Taoism. Taoism embraces the primeval religion of China and all the intellectual tendencies which did not find satisfaction in Confucianism. To these belong the various experiments in natural philosophy and in connection with them the belief in the possibility of overcoming death by means of the elixir of immortality. By this man enters the everlasting life, leads a higher existence above the range of material laws, in beautiful grottoes, on the sacred mountains, or on the islands of the blessed, and so on. It is worthy of note that such a belief which bears some faint resemblance to the Christian belief of the Resurrection should have found acceptance from the earliest to most recent times among the sober Chinese. There is a record of the names of thousands of people who are supposed to have reached this condition of immortality, and the life history of many of them is preserved. It has even been asserted that more than 100,000 had reached this goal.

That notorious Emperor who had the Confucian books burnt in 220 B. C. was a Taoist. He sent a Taoist scholar in the year 217 with some 1000 children, boys and girls, across the sea towards the East to seek for the three mountains (islands) of Genii. The making of gold and magic arts were early practised amongst the Taoists. About the year 133 B. C. an adept persuaded the Emperor that he could make gold out of cinnabar, and silver out of snow. This alchemist died on a journey to the islands of the Genii. When the Emperor had his coffin opened it was found to contain nothing but his clothes. The rebellion of the Yellow Caps in 184 A.D. was begun by Taoists, and the disorders lasted till a new reigning house ascended the throne in 224. Kung Ming, the chief hero of the warlike history of those times, was a Taoist magician. A general of the same period, who was beheaded, became the Taoist god of war, but soon after was worshipped by both Buddhists and Confucianists. Now he is regarded as the national god of the Chinese. In the year 446 an Emperor, who was strongly addicted to Taoism, had many Buddhist priests put to death and their temples and monasteries destroyed. Between 550 and 560 the Emperor of the Ishi state endeavoured to combine Buddhism and Taoism. Four Taoists were executed, because they refused to wear the tonsure and worship Buddha, and the attempted union of the two soon proved a failure. One of the Chow Emperors (561-578) prohibited both Taoism and

Buddhism, had books and pictures destroyed and forced their worshippers into apostacy. Another attempt at compulsory union of the two was made in 1119.

In the year 666 *Laetsz* received the title of "High and August Emperor," and was worshipped with divine honours. In 674 the oldest sacred book of the Taoists was adopted as a text-book in the schools for examinations by imperial orders. In 824 the Emperor died from effects of the life-elixir, as did also his successor in 846. The latter founded two high offices of state for Taoists. In 859 another Emperor succumbed to the elixir. One of the Sung Emperors (998-1022) gave himself up to all the superstitions of Taoism, but since that time Taoism has had little influence over the Imperial court. The first Mongol Emperor, Kublai Khan, had all Taoist books, with the exception of the Taoist canon, burnt at the instigation of the Lama priests after his unsuccessful war with Japan about 1282. In 1403 the Emperor ordered all Taoist books which mentioned the elixir to be burnt, but from 1488 onwards the Emperor busied himself with its restoration, and about 1540 the then Emperor sent into all provinces to find this means of gaining immortal life. The Taoist pope still rejoices in the dignity accorded to his first predecessor by the Emperor when the title "Heavenly Teacher" was bestowed on him in the year 423 A.D. From that time on, the title remained hereditary in the family. The Chinese believe that this pope is head over the gods and spirits which are worshipped throughout the realm, that he installs or suspends, exalts or degrades them according to imperial—not divine!—command. He grants an audience to the gods on the first of every month, and all attend, those of the heavens, the nether world, the ocean, etc. He has possession of the magic sword, with which he controls the demons and shuts them up in earthen pitchers. He rules as the representative on earth of the Jasper-god and grants the Taoist monasteries their license. Taoist priests are allowed to marry. They are known specially as exorcists, makers of magic charms, amulets and medicines. Taoist idolatry differs but little from that of Buddhism. A Trinity stands at the head of the pantheon, and next in rank comes the Jasper-god. The latter was exalted to the highest place among the gods by the Emperor as late as the 12th century according to our reckoning. Below him rank the many star-gods, the 28 constellations, the 60 cycle-stars, the 129 lucky or unlucky stars; then the gods of the 5 elements, of natural phenomena, of sickness and of medicine; the animal gods, such as the fox, tiger, dragon, etc.; the gods of literature, specially the innumerable local divinities, at the head of which stand the city gods. The religious community of the Taoists is exclusively

monastical. Taoism affects the people by its idol worship, its exorcism and specially by means of the oracle, but no preaching is done, and all instruction is written.

The older sacred Taoist writings are the most profound in Chinese literature. Fresh commentaries are constantly being issued. Unfortunately there are no critical editions, and the text has suffered considerably during the lapse of time. Two recent Taoist books are especially popular on account of their moral teaching, and the stress laid on the doctrine of retribution, and partly on account of terrifying pictures of the punishments in hell. When one reviews the history of Taoism in the past one can make no favourable prognostication for the future. Its inward development has been from better to worse, from the light of truth to the darkness of superstition. Even the bestowal of power on the Taoist pope has brought about no improvements. Although popes have existed for nearly 1500 years there is no record in Chinese history of any one of them opposing an imperial libertine, or of causing any wild rebel to relinquish his cause and settle down peacefully. In this respect the popes of Rome and the Byzantine patriarchs have had a very different influence on history.

XIV. *Confucianism.*

Although Confucianism also had its origin in Chinese antiquity, yet it is really a reform-movement caused by a reaction against religion and morality as they existed in the 6th century B. C. The relation between the two is similar to that between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Confucius did not wish to introduce anything new, but to reinstate the old in a pure form. He was essentially not opposed to religion. Some expressions are misquoted far too often by foreign authors. The sacred Confucian books prove incontrovertibly what is to be understood by Confucianism. These books are generally termed the Chinese classics. There are thirteen of them. Eight have been put into English, two others (Chow-li and I-li) into French; there are still three to be translated. These thirteen classics contain a diffused system of religious customs, some attempts at theoretical explanation, but certainly no system of dogma and still less of science.

In the early days three groups of divinities were recognized—those of the heavens, the earth and of men. Besides these ancestral worship was largely practiced. Various kinds of sacrifices were offered, according to strictly enforced ritual, at appointed times. Oracles were consulted before even the smallest undertakings. Domestic as well as public life was then as now interwoven with

religious customs. Each of the thirteen classics is a proof of this, but it appears most clearly in the three works on Rites (*li*) and also in the three explanations (*chuên*) of Spring-Autumn (Annals of Lu), particularly of Tso. Confucius and his followers laid special stress upon morality, but Lao-tsz and his school did so no less. One sees plainly that it was not this setting morality against religion that distinguished Confucianism from Chinese antiquity, but rather the accentuation of active as opposed to passive morality, that is, to indifferentism. Confucianism also made a stand against sensuality and against utilitarianism in politics. Confucianism emanates from the noble aspirations of humanity which it endeavours to make supreme in private life, in the family and in the state. The mainspring of authority, *i.e.*, the will, not force of circumstances, controls the morality and the politics of Confucianism. It is true this will is not a man's own will or freedom, but the authority of his fellow-men and of superiors, and is therefore subordination, the subjection of his own self-will. The father rules in the family, age in the community (village, etc.), the Emperor in the state, and antiquity, as revealed in the classics or sacred writings, rules over all.

In Confucianism, as in Taoism, religion, ethics and politics, are closely interwoven; there is but little of physics, which is quite subservient to the other three. Confucius owes the success of his cause to the fact that he collected the ancient writings and made them the text-books of his school. It is true that centuries passed before the ascendancy was gained, but the national thought engendered by his school proved irresistible. At first by slow degrees the old rival, Taoism, was overcome, but not before Confucianism had been so far influenced by its ingenious counteraction as to undergo various changes. While this struggle was going on another great rival appeared from India in the shape of Buddhism. This too was overcome by Confucianism, but not without its again undergoing changes. So Confucianism must be regarded under four heads: 1. The Confucianism of the classics. 2. That altered by Taoism. 3. That influenced by Buddhism, and 4. The modern critical tendency caused by Western influence. The first period is that of original production in classical form, at the same time ethical and ritualistic. The second period is exegetical. The worship of spirits had already degenerated into idolatry, and a supernatural importance was attached to rites. Dualism and the theory of the five elements were developed. More stress was laid on fate, and so the influence of astrology and fortune-telling increased. The search after the wonderful stifled every critical impulse. The third period was metaphysical; philosophy on nature specially flourished, for everything was traced back to

original force and original matter. The study and consideration of nature and her ever active laws was neglected for that of antiquated wisdom and phrases. Exegesis was at the service of theory. In the most recent times the attempt is made to proceed grammatically, exegetically. In connection therewith we find the beginning made of a critical examination of the texts. Critical investigation of the contents is not altogether absent, but consists in sporadic attempts.

XV. *The Temple of Confucius.*

The history of the temple dedicated to Confucius proves the degree of worship accorded to Confucianism. It is remarkable that no Emperor of the Chow dynasty deemed Confucius worthy of any consideration, although he devoted himself to reestablish the fallen power of sovereignty. In the year 195 B. C. the founder of the Han dynasty was the first to pay a visit to the grave of Confucius, who had died 481 B.C., nearly 300 years before. The first temple was erected fifty years later in the native place of Confucius. In the year 1 A.D. the Emperor had a temple built, in which offerings were made to Confucius and to the Duke of Chow. In the year 72 A. D. the Emperor himself made offerings to Confucius and his disciples. Somewhat later, but during the administration of the same Emperor, ceremonies were performed with musical accompaniment. In the year 178 the ancestral tablet was replaced by an image. Sacrifices of blood were offered in 267 in the Imperial Academy and every quarter in his birth-place. In 472 an edict was published, in which women were prohibited to pray for children in the temple of Confucius. About the year 480 a temple was erected in the capital. In the state of North China a temple was built in every magisterial city, in which Confucius was worshipped with his favourite disciples. In 624 Confucius was made the associate of the Duke of Chow. After several years a temple was erected by order in every prefecture and county town. In addition to this twenty-two worthies were canonized to share in the sacrifices. In the year 712 another disciple was appointed associate. Several years after, the class of ten wise men was introduced in the temple. In 960 earthen images were used instead of wooden ones. Mencius was made third associate in 1084. In 1267 the four associates, as they still exist in the temples (the grandson of Confucius being the 4th), were elected. A Confucian temple was built in Peking in the year 1306. Sacrifices were ordained, to take place semi-annually, in 1368, and two side-aisles were annexed to every temple for the disciples' altars. In 1530 a general revision of the temple was undertaken, and wooden

tablets again took the place of earthen images. The Emperor ordained in 1645 that the chief civil magistrate of every district should conduct the celebrations. Kang-hi commanded the military mandarin also to take part. He raised Chu-hi to a place amongst the wise men, and as another was added later the number became twelve. Since then the arrangement of the tablets has been altered several times. At present the temple contains four disciples, besides Confucius. They are in a way his special companions at table. They figure in the rank of the holy or blameless ones. The twelve wise men follow them. They are recognized able Confucianists. The next in rank are the seventy-nine worthies. There are many amongst them who are known only by name, as history is silent in regard to their character and accomplishments. The sixty-six model scholars occupy the lowest places in the temple. This gives us a sum total of 161 names. Adjoining the temple since 1008 there is either at the back or on the east side an ancestral hall for the father of Confucius. His forefathers to the 5th generation have been set up since 1724. The fathers of the four associates and five founders of the philosophy of Sung are also to be found since 1437 and a half-brother of Confucius since 1857. These fifteen persons, with the above 161, make altogether 176 sharers in the honors of Confucius and partake in the celebrations of about 2000 temples, which are dedicated to Confucius in China. That this honour is but a vain one is proved by the fate of many tablets, some of which were permanently banished; others removed for a number of years or decades only, and then again reinstated, others again, which were exalted or degraded.

Confucius' posterity, also, was honoured by the Emperor. The head of the family inherits the rank of governor. The whole number of his descendants amounts to thousands. They are the protectors of their great ancestor's grave, as also of his temple in his birth-place. In close proximity to the grave of Confucius are the graves of the heads of the family, representing seventy generations, a cemetery peculiar to itself. To the superficial observer this cult seems something imposing. However, to the question, What influence has this oldest family of Chinese nobility had on the history of China? we seek an answer in vain, for the simple reason that there is nothing to be said about it. The princes of the Kung family have been the keepers of the grave and mouldering bones, but not of the spirit and moral stamina of the master. It is true that there were learned men of some significance among them, but no prophet raised his voice in time of moral corruption to stay the ruin of the people. No champion of the poor and oppressed arose in times of tyranny. No one preached the ideal calling of the

nation when China was being trampled under the feet of warlike, barbarous peoples. If shown anywhere that Confucianism is dead it is shown by the posterity at his grave. Confucianism belongs to the past, and is no living power in the present.

XVI. *Buddhism.*

There can be no doubt that China, even in the remotest ages, perhaps already in the prehistoric period, had benefited by its intercourse with foreign countries. The knowledge of astronomical signs for planets, months, the cyclical designations of twelve names and ten, the characters for the same, the numerical signs, the production of silk, domestic animals, metal work, etc., is taken for granted in the most ancient times and ascribed to mythological sovereigns. In any case it is worthy of note that every good thing is produced by an Emperor, or by some minister in obedience to an imperial command. The overland route from China to Western civilization could only have been through Turkestan to Persia and thence to India; perhaps, also, from Persia to Chaldæa and Arabia, possibly extending thence to Egypt. But up to the present time nothing certain is known of these relations. The same may be said of the water-way passing through the Strait of Malacca to India and thence into the Arabian and Persian sea. It is also questionable whether Buddhist missionaries came from India to China as early as the 3rd century B. C. Three hundred years later, however, Buddhism won imperial favour, and so gradual extension throughout the empire and beyond. In the year 355 Chinese subjects were permitted to take the monastic vow. Fa-hien, a monk, visited India in 399 and returned in 414. His report of his travels has been repeatedly translated. In accordance with an edict of the Emperor in 426 the Buddhist idols and books were destroyed, and many priests were killed. It was not until 451 that permission was given to erect a temple in every city with forty or fifty priests in connection with each. The first Emperor who himself accepted Buddhism was Hien Wen, who ruled a part of China in 466-71 and waged bloody wars. In 467 he had a statue of Buddha made, the height of which was forty-three feet, and which contained 10,000 pounds of bronze and 600 pounds of gold. Ere long he resigned in favour of his five-year old son, so that he might dedicate himself solely to Buddhism. However he had his wife's favourite killed, for which she in return poisoned him. At the beginning of the 6th century there were more than 3000 Buddhists from India in China. They were favourably received. In the year 515 a number of priests were executed because of alleged witchcraft. In 518 a priest went to India to collect books, and returned with 175 Buddhist works. Emperor Wu, of the Liang

dynasty, became a monk in 527. He only ruled over a part of China, and being imprisoned in his own palace by a rebel he was starved to death. The Empress-mother poisoned her son, the reigning Emperor, in 528, because he rebuked her for her unchaste living. She was, nevertheless, a zealous Buddhist, and had a number of pagodas erected, which were several hundred feet high. Emperor Wu, of the Chen dynasty, 557-59, was also a Buddhist; but this did not restrain him from having the sixteen-year old Emperor, who had resigned in his favour, executed. Hien-tsung, the distinguished monk, started for India in the year 629. He brought back 657 works. He with twelve monks, translated them while nine others revised. At this time there were 3716 monasteries in China. The sacred writings were combined into one collection in 684. In the year 714 12,000 priests were compelled to return to the world, and writing books, as well as making idols and building temples, was prohibited. An Emperor of the great Tang dynasty, 763-80, interpreted the Buddhist writings in a public hall before an audience numbering hundreds. He conferred upon a priest the title of prince. During his reign Thibetan insurrectionists burned the imperial palace. Somewhat later, 806-20, an Emperor favoured Buddhism, especially the worship of relics, and in 819 a bone of Buddha was received with great solemnity. The same Emperor favoured Taoism still more, but on account of his murderous disposition he was disposed of by eunuchs. The Emperor, who reigned 841-46, turned to Taoism on account of his aversion to Buddhism. He commanded all monks to allow their hair to grow, which evidently meant to return to the world. 44,660 temples and monasteries were, at this time, confiscated or destroyed; in connection with these were 260,500 monks and nuns and 150,000 slaves. 3000 Nestorian monks shared the same fate. His successor restored Buddhism, but prohibited Chinese subjects to enter a monastery. 860-73 the Emperor very lavishly distributed presents among the monks; he himself copied the sacred books, and had a relic of Buddha fetched from a distant monastery. Since 915 Pu-to, an island south of Ningpo, is an imperial gift in possession of the Buddhists, as is also the mountain of Tien-tai, in the province of Cheh-kiang, since the 4th century. Both are covered with monasteries, and are renowned for pilgrimages. The Emperor reigning from 955-60, had the bronze Buddhist idols melted down and made into coin. More than 30,000 temples were confiscated, and all monks were forbidden to practice self-mutilation or self-torture. In the year 965 a monk brought forty volumes of Buddhist books, which were written on palm leaves. From 1055-1101 a zealous patron of Buddhism ruled the Liao (North-realm), who spent large sums of money for the same. The Emperors of the Mongols specially

favoured Buddhism. At this time there were 42,318 temples and monasteries and 213,148 monks within the boundaries of the empire. The number of sections (kuen) of the sacred books was raised from 4271 to 4661. A priest was appointed chief over all Lamas and imperial counsellor in 1260. By this act Lamaism was introduced into China. The translation of Buddhist writings from the Thibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian (Uigurian writing) was completed in 1294. Another translation was finished, 1324. Between 1308 and 1311 an imperial command was issued, decreeing that any one who should strike a Lama should lose his hand, anyone who should insult a Lama should have his tongue cut out. In the year 1324 the monks received authority to require post-horses, which the people were obliged to deliver with food for the same. The monks at this time were leading immoral lives and had great influence over the princesses. From 1329-32 the chief Lama was received with great honours at the imperial palace; the courtiers had to serve him on their knees. The sacred writings were written with golden letters in 1290; 3200 ounces of gold being used for the purpose. The characters in a new edition, in 1317, contained 3900 ounces of gold. About this time costly gifts were made to the monasteries. In the year 1330 the Emperor sent 2000 ounces of gold for copies of the sacred writings. In 1332 voluminous Buddhist works were written with golden letters in Uigurian language at the command of the Emperor. 1800 monks, who had entered the monasteries before the 40th year, were dismissed in 1403. Five bronze bells, each weighing 120,000 pounds, were changed into coin. In 1450 it was prohibited that more than sixty acres (6000 square feet) of land should belong to a temple. Two Emperors reigning respectively from 1465-87, and from 1488-1505, were zealous patrons of Buddhism. The same may be said of the one reigning from 1522-66, who also promoted Taoism and degraded Confucius. The number of monks amounted to 530,000.

Shun-chi, the first Emperor of the Manchu dynasty, shaved his head after the death of his favourite wife in 1661. As early as 1653 the chief Lama of Thibet had visited the Emperor, who conferred upon him the title of Dalai-lama, meaning Ocean-lama, because his understanding was as deep and unfathomable as the ocean. At what time the ruling Emperor of China adopted the title "Buddha of the Present," is unknown to me. In this the Emperor reserves to himself the authority over the Dalai-lama, not only in life, but even after his death, as he may forbid him to be born again in a child. This may be read in print in the *Peking Gazette* of 1877. The sixteen Theses of Morals of Kang-hi, as well as the Explanations of his successor and others, are very strongly expressed, and warn the people most earnestly against taking any part in Buddhism.

Notwithstanding this, Kien-lung favoured Buddhism very liberally. His bust is found in many Buddhist temples, where incense is burnt in his honour, as well as in honour of other idols and Buddhist disciples. The services of both Buddhist and Taoist priests are employed, even at many religious ceremonies of state. During the Tai-ping rebellion thousands of monasteries and temples were destroyed, and no doubt many monks were put to death. In some places ruins can still be found, but in others the sites have been beautified by more handsome structures, and the number of similar institutions is increased. Unfortunately there are only a very few of them, whose inmates are intellectually active. The incessant repetitions of the litany blunts the senses of the people. A large percentage are given to opium. Otherwise, also, their morals are not of good repute. They serve the people, particularly by repeating the litany at funerals and by their horrid pictures of hell, from which they claim to rescue the dead. The sacred writings of the Buddhists are far too profound for the people, only a few learned men are able after a long time of study to decipher their meaning. The popular literature especially emphasizes works of merit, which atone for past sins. Schedules have been prepared, in which the amount of merit or guilt for every act is given in figures. According to this everybody can keep his own eternal account. If he finds that he is laden with guilt, he selects those good works which insure the greatest prize with the least trouble. Yea, according to this form, it would not be difficult for any one to make the officers of retribution his creditors. It is evident that the degradation of goodness to a mere matter of business means the death of all noble, moral aspirations. The poles of Buddhist religious life are fear of punishment as the results of evil acts, and self-righteous conceit, if the scales seem favourable. There is neither room for love toward God nor toward man. It is beyond doubt that the followers of Buddhism have morally benefited by the same; but its influence is greatly over-estimated by chamber-critics. The Mongols under Timur and to this day, are no such mild lambs as Buddhists are imagined, nor are the Lamas of Thibet and Peking, according to all reports. At Chicago I heard a distinguished Japanese Buddhist, who gave public expression to deep hatred of foreigners. In spite of all encouragement experienced by Buddhism it could not ennoble the morals of the Chinese imperial court. The blood of the murdered, executed, and such as were killed in battle still flowed. Tens of thousands died of starvation, pestilence, floods, etc., which might have been prevented had wise measures been employed.

A great part of the influence, which issued from Buddhism, must be accredited to the fact, that the Buddhist missionary was also a bearer of Indian culture. The so-called Buddhist architecture, painting, sculpture, even some of the substance of the Buddhist sacred writings are all of Indian origin, and have only assumed a Buddhist colouring. Unfortunately this important fact is ignored in the estimate of Buddhist influence, and so that which really belongs to Indian culture has been ascribed to Buddhism. The same is true of Mohammedanism as a religion and the bearer of Arabian culture. It might be correct to say that Chinese Buddhism consists, one-half of Chinese elements, namely three parts Taoist and two parts Confucian, in addition to three parts Indian culture and perhaps two parts actual Buddhism. Chinese Buddhism is at present in a most wretched state, not at all qualified to instil China's millions with new strength and life. It has accomplished one thing: it has kept minds awake to the fact of there being a future life and requital in the same, but Buddhism has no idea of the joy of faith and beautifying love.

XVII. *Darkness of the Present.*

In the course of time many changes have taken place since the golden age of antiquity! No Chinese scholar considers that the golden age of the past is mere fiction. The idea corresponds to the Confucian ideal state. The actual conditions constantly departed more or less significantly from the same. A connection between the present and past still exists, more remarkably so in China than in any other country on earth. Just a few facts may be pointed out here. A detailed description and discussion of each custom would fill several volumes.

The Emperor is, as such, still as much the chief-priest as in the remotest ages. Annually he has at least forty-three different sacrifices to offer, which are divided into three classes of rank. To the first class belong three different sacrifices, which are in honour of Heaven or the highest God, one for the earth, one for the ancestral tablets of all the deceased Emperors of the dynasty, one for the field and fruit god, the tutelar god of the dynasty. Before each of these six sacrifices he is obliged to fast and live isolated for three days. To the second class belong nine sacrifices, namely for the sun, moon, the names of former Emperors (from Fu-hi as the first these amount to 190), Confucius, god of agriculture, god of silk, gods of heaven, gods of earth and the god of the year. Two fast days are appointed for every sacrifice. To the third class belong twenty-eight sacrifices, namely, for the gods of wind, rain, thunder, mountain, sea, river, road, gate, flag, cannon, stars, etc. There is

but one fast day appointed for these. Nevertheless, the Emperor must fast sixty-four days in the year. A few must still be added for extraordinary occasions. Every mandarin in his city must, as well as the Emperor in the capital, annually attend stated sacrifices and perform certain ceremonies, for instance, twice annually in the temple of Confucius, the god of war, the deity of literature, the queen of heaven, the god of jasper, the dragon-god, river-god, etc. The city-god, god of cereals, district-god, and local deities in general, are not worshipped by the mandarins, who are higher in rank themselves. All depends upon the titles, which are granted by the Emperor.

The gods of riches are, almost without exception, worshipped by the people. Their shrines are seen in every shop and frequently before the house door. The kitchen-god is not absent in any household. Ancestral worship is, however, most commonly practised. The ancestors are considered to be the true patron saints of the family and lineage. Ceremonies in their honour take place in the house, ancestral hall and at the grave. There is an extensive calendar of festivals, and about fifty greater or lesser idol festivals are celebrated annually, many of them connected with much pomp and show, processions or even theatrical performances. It is chiefly because idolatry offers so much which the multitudes delight in that it has such a bewitching power over the people. These are also the only occasions upon which women, married as well as young girls, can show themselves in public. This happens in spite of many prohibitions on the part of the government. There are no other public amusements, except the New Year's festival, which, however, has also a religious tinge. The dragon boats and feast of lanterns are also idol worship. Kites and battle-door and shuttle-cock serve as amusement for the youths and boys. Social feasts are popular amongst the men, as well as gatherings in the tea-shop around the tea or fusel. Drunkenness is not rare, but does not come before the public.

The use of opium does not originate in antiquity, neither can it be justified by the classics (nor the smoking of tobacco), but it is increasing annually. The imports are indeed less, but is on account of the high duty; cultivation in the interior has been multiplied in the last decade. Some of the northern provinces export opium to the other provinces, and also Sze-chuan, in the west. The middle and southern provinces are also progressing in the cultivation of the drug. The consumption is increasing to such an extent, where opium is produced, that even women and children partake of it. The results will soon appear. Opium does not promote welfare, nor physical strength, nor the intellectual development of the inhabitants. Japan was wise enough to keep this evil out of its boun-

daries. With earnest effort China would have been able to do this as well as Japan. The fault is pre-eminently China's own. I would not justify the English opium policy more than any other commercial policy, which recognizes only money and no higher or more humane interests. Such policy usually avenges itself after a short time. A rapid gain, which impoverishes a nation, injures commerce. A healthy commercial policy must see to it that the traffic raises the productive power of the nation, for only on this condition can trade be expected to continuously flourish.

The antiquated educational methods are at present working more destruction in China than the opium and other vices. What was good 1000 or more years ago when the neighbouring countries were living in a state of barbarism or had borrowed their civilization from China; what was good when China had to maintain only one-tenth of its present population within its boundaries, is now good for nothing under the completely changed circumstances. The Chinaman learns nothing but reading, writing and literary matter, phraseology in particular. His whole scholarship consists in this. He learns nothing of real science; only antiquated stuff, which does more harm than good. The difficulty of Chinese writing has already (XII) been put forward. A large percentage of the Chinese population, especially of the women, learn no reading whatever. Many learn only as much as is necessary to carry on their business, but they can understand no book. The more gifted of the business men acquire enough knowledge to be able to read light matter and perhaps a newspaper with some intelligence. The true scholars work only for their examinations. They must commit a number of the classics to memory as well as the authorized interpretation of the same, and besides they must, above all, be acquainted with the technicalities of the essays and poetical compositions. Chinese history is studied from compendiums, as is also the general Chinese literature. The Chinese scholar is obliged to commit to memory a vast amount of matter. This is his strength. But the matter is not sifted, and therefore cumbersome; it is not grasped and intelligently mastered, and is therefore not serviceable. Much which can only be accomplished with much labour is nevertheless valueless, and should have been omitted from the beginning. Other matter might be abridged which would make its appropriation much less tedious. Further, very much is false, and should be replaced by the truth; other matter is inaccurate, which needs correction; some again is inadequate, and should be complemented. The Chinese draws his self-conceit and contempt for all foreigners as barbarians from the ancient works. His familiarity with ancient literature makes it impossible for him to examine anything foreign without pre-

judice or to rejoice over anything excellent. It will be more and more evident that the Chinese writing is the strongest hindrance to the thorough scientific education of Chinese youth. This writing is very good when there is little or nothing more to learn. But if everything is dependent on a thorough and real education then writing must become subordinate to those main interests, and the simplest form of writing is the best. The various superstitions, such as geomancy, astrology, fortune-telling, witchcraft, fear of spectres, choice of days, omens, amulets, magic symbols, etc., are also based upon an insufficient education in the real sciences. The rubbish that is believed by the Chinese people is simply astonishing, as is also the fact that the grossest nonsense is apt to cause great excitement. The Chinese are particularly worried by their ancestral worship. It might be said that they are slaves for life on account of this. We must distinguish this from the filial reverence to living parents. This cannot be too strongly emphasized. Only the Christian religion can dispense comfort and light as regards the dead. To be with the Lord, transformed in the fellowship of the blessed, in full enjoyment of all heavenly gifts and free from every earthly woe,—this is a refreshing hope. It has its foundation in the complete revelation of God as a being of love. The personal being of man has its origin in the love of God, and this insures a glorious completion of the personal existence in eternity as the love of God is eternal.

The popular religion of the Chinese knows nothing but want in the hereafter, which must be relieved by the living descendants. All facts connected with ancestral worship, as it is commonly practised, are based upon this. This is in contrast to the Buddhist doctrine of Karma and metempsychosis. This is a further verification of the statement that the Chinese people are not Buddhists. Although it must be admitted that Buddhist ceremonies are partly used to help the deceased out of hell, actual ancestral worship knows no hell of eternal torture; the continuation of life in the hereafter rests on the same conditions as life on earth. Mandarins with their courts, prisons, tortures and executions are "over there" as well as here. Even bribes are as necessary there as on earth.

Heathenism is hopeless night, in spite of the rays of light that flash through, here and there.

XVIII. Stars of Hope.

China lies in the dust. The Manchus are languishing, the mandarins corrupt, the scholars petrified, the soldiers cowardly, the people ignorant, the rabble immoral and insolent. What is to be done. Reform measures must be applied! This is easily said, but the progress is very slow on account of the resistance offered.

Only a few thoughts shall be suggested, which have been impressed upon my mind by a thirty years' acquaintance with the facts of Chinese life. In order to give a clear summary of them they are condensed into a few sentences.

I. *Utilization*. 1. Of all natural resources. 2. Of every working power. II. *Removal*. 1. Of all profligacy in the imperial palace and among the nobility, 2. Of extravagant expenditure connected with idolatry, etc. 3. Of public misery. 4. Of vice, opium, gambling, etc. III. *Prevention*. 1. By education. 2. By sanitary arrangements. 3. By means of communication. 4. By military protection. IV. *Promotion of General Welfare*. 1. By administration of justice. 2. By duties and taxes to meet the needs of the state. 3. Simple habits and customs. 4. Marriage, and training of children. 5. Religious liberty, though barring any degeneration. 6. Regulation of the poor laws, hospital regulations, and insurance methods.

I. *Utilization*. 1. China carried on agriculture, cattle rearing, mining and industries, even in prehistoric times. But there is no doubt that China has fallen behind the Western countries in all things. All products could easily be multiplied (see above under III). The treasures under ground have hardly been touched. 2. This offers good opportunities for making unimproved or wrongly used working powers productive. It is remarkable that this important idea is so little appreciated in official circles, even in the Western countries. Working powers are more valuable than gold. Nevertheless a considerable percentage of human force is wasted, including all who have no definite employment, sluggards, both rich and poor. Of course we do not only mean manual labour, but mental labour, scientific aspirations, benevolence, etc.; in fact every occupation which will prove a benefit to one's self and to others. Mendicity, still more, of course, theft, smuggling, etc., are an abuse of working power. Much working power, especially in China, is unfortunately forced into erroneous ruts, on account of the lack of opportunity and encouragement to do productive work. The state should provide a labour department with an adequate number of subordinates, whose duty it should be to supply every person, who is able to work, with a suitable occupation. It has a demoralizing influence when able persons seek work for a long time in vain. This is not always the fault of the individual as much as of the government. Further difficulties are caused by the labour organizations which have already made such rapid progress in the Western countries, particularly in large factories, but also in wholesale agriculture, cattle-rearing, etc. The more wholesale production takes the place of smaller business, the more simple the relations will become in many ways. It will lead to the concentration in the management of the main industries,

not only in the city unions, but in the organizations of entire states. Even now we speak of English or Japanese coal, of German or English iron, of American, English or German machinery, of Chinese or Indian tea. The *market of the world* is to be considered, that is, the commercial intercourse between all states. No sentimental policy will do any good, but only a thorough understanding of the existing economic circumstances of all countries on the face of the globe. But if all that is possible had been accomplished in a satisfactory manner—as far as these two principles are concerned, the application of all natural matter and the appropriation of every working force—still China could not flourish without thorough dealings with the four points under :

II. *Removal*. 1. From the historical sketch, VII-IX, it is readily perceivable what mischief was caused by the Emperor's harem and the eunuchs connected with the same. Monogamy must be firmly established. It is a disgrace to the Western powers that such conditions as exist in China, and similarly in Turkey, are still tolerated. The moral provisions of healthy governmental relations should be insisted upon. The corruption of the mandarins also finds its cause in polygamy. The necessary expense of maintaining a large family, and the various appendages for many women, compel the officer to use extortions in order to provide for his family, and, if possible, even against an uncertain future.

2. The expenditure for material, which is annually wasted on the idols, is enormous, not counting the meat-offerings, which, after they have been exhibited to the idols or the ancestors, are enjoyed by the worshippers. The annual cost of candles, incense, paper things (imitation money, furniture, houses, animals, etc.) and silks amounts to many millions of dollars. If to all this be added how many persons are kept from useful occupations, the cost of temples, which serve no other purpose, we might reckon billions. I do not in the least consider money the greatest good for humanity, but only as the means by which the highest objects may be attained. The curse of idolatry is, that the higher and highest interests of man are injured thereby. Religious and moral degradation are always connected with idolatry. Common idolatry is also the economic ruin of a country. The same is true of the enormous outlay for ancestral worship in China. Besides what is burnt, there must still be reckoned all that is customarily laid in the coffin and grave, as also the graves which are not all within the limits of a cemetery, but may be seen everywhere, even in the best fields and gardens; there are also a number of mausoleums, one of which cost several millions of dollars. We will not count the ancestral halls, as they serve also as schools and assembly places (for village communities).

3. Includes everything which distresses the nation and to which the individual can afford no relief. Scarcity and famine, as well as floods, visit some part of China almost every year. Small pox, cholera and pest occasionally appear as epidemics. Minor or greater riots, robbers and pirates, too, make their appearance every year in some part of the empire, on land or sea, at times simultaneously in different places. Wild animals are not numerous, although tigers, leopards, bears, wolves and even venomous serpents are found in some regions.

4. We have already (XVII) spoken about opium. It is beyond doubt that opium indulged in for pleasure can bring no blessing to China. Without reference to the injurious influence on body and mind, the loss of time through smoking is significant. The pecuniary loss is incalculable, because the imported quantity, for which about \$70,000,000 goes to foreign countries, is small in comparison with the consumption of the home product, which would amount to several times more. Although the money does not go to foreign countries, yet soil and labour are withdrawn from other cultivation. Other luxuries, such as tobacco, brandy and tea are no less consumed. Gambling is a national evil, and will only be removed when better amusements or recreation are provided. Not only do the gamblers waste precious time, but they become so subject to this passion that they lose all inclination and all capacity for work which requires any exertion; they also stake fortune, wife and children, and after all has been lost their only alternative is to commit suicide or pursue a criminal career. The pecuniary and moral damage is not easily estimated. There are other evils which weigh heavily in the scale, of which nothing can now be said.

It is an old truth taught by experience that it is not enough to remove evils, but care must be taken that they do not return. This leads to—

III. *Preventive Measures.*—First of all, education is necessary. See what has been said in the last chapter. 2. What a good education does to the mind, corresponding sanitary arrangements do for the body. In this respect China is no better off than a barbarian kingdom in the Dark Continent. No provision is made anywhere for good ventilation, pure water, cleanliness in the streets and in the houses, or even of the clothes and skin of man and beast.

3. In order that a dense population may be tolerable, and that over-population of favoured places may be lessened, good thoroughfares and means of communication are essential. Life in the interior then becomes possible when other circumstances make it desirable. Scarcity and famine, too, can be more rapidly removed, trade and

commerce facilitated, and the safety of person and property made more certain.

4. An ample military force, well equipped and drilled, must exist where great masses of people dwell together, not only for protection against the foreigner, but also against disturbances or individual transgression at home. The state must guarantee safety of life and property to every one of its citizens, not only within its own boundaries, but also beyond, if possible on the whole globe. On the other hand, every criminal must be convinced that he cannot transgress the law without suffering punishment. Security of peace and welfare in civil life rests on this principle alone.

IV. *Promotion of General Welfare.* 1. The common welfare also demands a benevolent administration of justice by which the sense of right is satisfied. Not only that wickedness and lawlessness may be held in check, but difficulties arise almost daily in the various phases of modern commercial life that must be peaceably regulated or they will gradually lead to important crises.

2. It is an elementary truth that duties and taxes, indeed all customs, must be levied only for public welfare, and not to enrich officials. But more than one generation will pass away ere China reaches this standard. The entire financial system is in a state of almost hopeless ruin.

3. Many customs and practices carried on at weddings, burials, at the erection of new buildings, New Year's festivals, etc., are connected with expensive ceremonies, which absorb much time, and from which the individual cannot without danger withdraw himself. Only a wise government can successfully, even with every possible indulgence, advance against the tyranny of deteriorating popular customs.

4. It should be the endeavour of humane statesmanship to make marriage in maturity a possibility. It is not possible to make a definite income, sufficient to support a family, conditional for everybody. Simple board might easily be combined with the schools for the poor. The state would, by this means, raise thousands of strong people and save at least some of the money spent on prisons and hospitals.

5. *Religious life* thrives best where there is *liberty*, and is most beneficial for the individual as well as for the state. The government should certainly not be irreligious, but should not force any particular form on the individual. The government must of course restrict excrescences, such as idolatry, monachism, street processions, etc. On the other hand, no religion should be prohibited to deliver lectures in suitable places for the purpose of propagation. Religious criticism and controversy should also be permitted, but not

in a frivolous manner, which ridicules what is sacred and injures and harms the religious sense.

6. The benevolent instinct common to all is naturally desirable, and should be encouraged. But as a more lasting blessing is brought about by intelligent control, suitable departments should be instituted to this end, but without paralysing the freedom of the movement. Alleviation differs from cure in the care of the poor as well as the sick. It is not always in the power of the individual to remove causes; even organized societies are not always equal to the task. The government should lend a helping hand whenever advisable. The same may be said of the banking and insurance systems. But enough of these suggestions. They are, of course, only elementary ideas. Unfortunately China is in want of just such healthy elementary foundations for a vigorous development and a more promising future. As a friend of this country with its 400,000,000 needy inhabitants one must not mind pointing out such things as are needful. All such reforms, however, resemble the stars of night. They are consoling and kind, but offer only a weak light and no life-giving warmth.

XIX. Dawn.

The dawn proclaims the approach of day. Its light comes from the sun, but is only the advance rays, not the sun itself. This is true of Western civilization, which is finding its way to China. It is penetrated by the spirit of Christianity in spite of the fact that the bearers of this civilization do not wish to acknowledge it, or even go as far as to deny Christianity. Christianity was and still is the inner motive power of Christian lands. It is also a fact that only Christian lands have reached the height of civilization; also that the whole earth is gradually passing under the rule of Christian states. There are three principal Christian powers that are advancing in Asia: *Russia*, which even now rules over the greatest part; *England*, which commands the best part; and *France*, which has taken a comparatively small and difficult part under its protection. Although not one of these powers has made the extension of Christianity its business, still each makes mission work possible, even if each follows a different method—Russia and France, unfortunately, within exclusive, sectarian limits. These three powers have already encroached on the boundaries of China, and have broken off pieces for themselves. But rays of Western civilization have also penetrated into the interior.

Commerce stands first. Portugal, Spain, Holland, and then England and the other Western powers sought to establish commercial relations, first intermittently, then permanently, with China ever since the end of the 15th century. But we shall only point

out to what extent commerce brings Western civilization. We must admit that this is the case, because the products of Western civilization become known and accessible through commerce. It is true that not all commercial products serve to materially raise or morally benefit the Chinese. Many a foreign product, however, is produced in ever increasing quantities in China. Opium predominates, then follow tobacco, cotton, Indian corn, potatoes, peas, various vegetables and kinds of fruit. There are also articles of daily use which can be imported finer and cheaper than the Chinese can produce them. Such are cotton and wool stuffs, needles, knives, etc., weapons and military requisites, also all kinds of machines, dyes, etc. In this striving after rapid profit the significance of the individual as compared to the whole of the present conditions as regards the future is overlooked. Avarice and sensuality are also encouraged. Competition is awakened, and in its train we find falsehood and deception. If trade is to have a healthy development the exports must correspond to the imports, so as to keep an even balance. This is only possible when the demand for the now saleable articles is increased in the West, or when new articles of export are found or produced. In case of the earlier articles of export the production of the same by other nations must be considered, as for instance Indian tea lessens the export of China tea. The increase of imports is dependent upon the paying capacities of the Chinese, and this in turn is regulated by the exports. Whatever hinders the increase of exports must necessarily hinder the increase of imports. An important increase of export might be brought about, but not without a number of internal improvements. It is a still more pressing need that the host of labourers, particularly women and children, who lose their means of existence on account of cheap imports, should be able to find other occupation; otherwise they will become a burden to their countrymen and will lessen the purchasing power. In addition to all this a progressive, suitable education is an imperative necessity. It may be said that the influence of the trade of an enlightened nation on a half-civilized race is ruinous, unless much energy is expended in elevating the latter until an even balance is at least approached.

On account of the foreign trade China has several hundred *foreigners* in her *Customs' service*. It must be acknowledged that a number of them are very remarkable men. The high salary makes a careful selection possible. The head-Customs'-officials speak Chinese well, and are familiar with Chinese writing and business habits. They are all accustomed to treat the Chinese officials, as well as the people, with due respect. Many excellent arrangements are due to the able management of the Customs' service, such

as light-houses and other beacons, order in the harbors, accurate surveying along the coast, good maps and exact statistics about imports and exports, also pamphlets on the main articles of trade. The income of the Chinese government is constantly increasing. One might be inclined to take for granted that these gentlemen stand in high favour with the Chinese. The contrary, however, is the case. The Chinese are anxious to be relieved of the foreigner as soon as possible. Many Chinese look with envy upon the high salaries and high life of these foreigners, who enjoy the same at the expense of the Chinese empire. Their achievements on behalf of China, as a whole, are not appreciated by the avaricious Chinaman. It has never come to my knowledge that one of the Customs' officials has ever converted a mandarin to the ideas of Western civilization.

Besides these Customs' officials an increasing number of *technologists* and *instructors* are in the service of the Chinese mandarins or rather the Chinese government. These are found in the mines, foundries, spinning mills, silk establishments, arsenals, powder magazines, wharves, and in the naval, military and language schools. The pupils here number hundreds, yea, thousands. One would think that from such institutions much light must be dispensed. This intercourse cannot be without its influence, but it is limited to a narrow circle. Its full significance will not appear until after several generations, when these pupils have reached an advanced age, and others, even abler, are in the prime of life. The number is still too small in comparison to those who are bigoted supporters of ancient Chinese wisdom—about 1 to 1000 or more.

The Consular officials of the Western countries also form a notable power. All the greater governments have Consuls employed in the chief places. These are, of course, men who are thoroughly cultured and in every respect worthy of esteem. They are considered of equal rank with the highest Chinese officials in their respective places. Many of them speak Chinese, some are also able scholars. Officially and socially they frequently come into personal contact with the highest Chinese officials. This has been going on for several decades. Many a contention between Chinese and foreigners has in this manner been satisfactorily settled. But there has been no approach of the Chinese to the foreigner, nor any confidential relations between them. The Chinese gentry are usually, it is said, quite as pleased at the conclusion of an interview as the Consuls themselves.

We might expect most from their *Excellencies the Ministers* and *Ambassadors* at Peking. They come from the highest circles of their respective countries, are equipped with eminent endowments and scholarship, are surrounded by the glory of their lofty positions, their secretaries are able scholars, their interpreters are distinguished

sinologues; all the helps of Western civilization are at their command. "When a man is elevated by nature it is no wonder if he achieves something." Unfortunately I am not in a position to sum up the grand accomplishments of these illustrious diplomats, for they are entirely withdrawn from my judgment, even my knowledge, as I have as yet had no opportunity of paying a visit to the capital of China. At times you hear it whispered that each of these eminent gentlemen keeps a hobby which bears the name of commercial policy. The enactment of beneficial commercial negotiations as a sort of broker is said to be the mainspring of this hobby. There is also sufficient leisure to be thoroughly engaged with "what one eats and drinks in China," and now and then to strike a blow at missions.

The *Chinese Ambassadors* and *Consuls* with their staffs of select scholars in the different states of the Western countries, do much to make the cultured Chinese, even in the highest circles, more familiar with the peculiar civilization of the West. The reason that this is not more noticeable as yet lies in the lack of thorough linguistic preparations of these Chinese. They are also aware of the fact that they dare not be carried away by sympathy with the foreigner, as this would call forth the hatred and opposition of the influential circles of China. It is their duty not to give up one iota of their inherited Chinese prejudices; on the other hand, however, to be as liberal with bows and polite phrases as occasion demands.

A greater impression is made by the thousands of *labourers*, who return from foreign lands every year, after an absence of several years. The chief places to which the Chinese emigrate are Singapore and the Malay possessions of England, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, the Philippines, Tongkin and Annam, Siam, Burmah, Japan, the Hawaiian Islands, United States, Canada, Peru, Chili, Australia, New Zealand, West Indies, Congo Free State and other parts of Africa, and also Corea and Siberia. Naturally the experiences of these labourers are not always the same, and not always pleasant. Still they become acquainted with other circumstances and find many things preferable to those at home, and they generally bring back quite a sum of money. After spending again some time in the homeland, some begin to notice the stress of circumstances, and foreign lands appear to them in rosier hues.

Newspapers, too, have an influence. English newspapers, published in Hongkong and Shanghai, are read in the Yaméus of mandarins of high rank. Subscriptions for Chinese newspapers are increasing from year to year. The most important news from all quarters of the globe is made known to a large number of Chinese readers. By this means many an ancient Chinese prejudice is broken down. However, the circulation is still limited to the ports and

their immediate vicinity. The many millions in the interior still grope in their old inherited darkness.

The Chinese government had *translations* of scientific works prepared and published, for example : works of Geography, History, Ship-building, Navigation, Powder Manufacture, Chemicals, Mining, Physics, Engineering, Botany, Iron, *Materia Medica*, etc. Although these were only applicable to certain purposes, arsenals and schools, yet from these centres they were destined to spread some light on actual science and industry. But the first elementary ideas of foreign science are unknown to the mass of Chinese scholars, and they are then incapable of reading works of this kind with intelligence and profit. The first need is a large number of primary schools. At any rate we can rejoice over these rays of light, even if they are broken by the strata of terrestrial atmosphere, for they are the heralds of bright day-light.

XX. *Break of Day.*

Christ is the Light of the World, and the light shines in the darkness. *Missions* are as old as the Christian church. As far as we know the Nestorians were the first to come to China as missionaries, the Catholics following. In the 17th century a start was made by Protestants on the island of Formosa, but in too limited a locality and for too short a time for the work to become deeply rooted. The Dutch government suppressed it in order to transact commercial business with the Japanese (see *China Review*, Vol. xiii). A history of Protestant missions is not to be expected here, only a few outlines will be given to make a more intelligent judgment possible. Our mission has no other purpose but to carry out Christ's commission : "Go ye into all the world and teach all nations." Our motive, too, is the command of Christ, not the misery of the heathen world. There is misery enough in all lands, so that every missionary would find enough to do in the home-land. Christianity will never put an end to misery until the end of days. Christ appeared for all the world; His salvation is for all people. The tidings we bring are those of Saving Grace, the invitation to the kingdom of God.

The missionary is not only a preacher of words, but an example of Christian life. Not that he is to have or could have a perfect knowledge of it, but the life itself, healthy and sound, must exist in him as a heartfelt, personal appropriation. No man can completely free himself from the associations from which he has received his impress. Every missionary stands in connection with some definite church and more or less with some theological movement. These are the humanly and locally defined differences in Protestantism, which are quite conspicuous in missions. In China there are representatives of over fifty different missionary societies, which again repre-

sent about as many separate bodies of Christians. Some missionaries are in duty bound to strictly adhere to the peculiarities of their sect and to establish them in their native churches. There are also the national differences of English, Americans, Canadians, Germans, Swedes, Australasians and Danes to be considered. This renders the unity of spirit more difficult amongst 1500 missionaries (now already 2500 men and women). Still ideal unity exists, and occasionally finds expression. Superficial observers, however, are easily misled. There is no harm in variety, but rather gain. Differences become destructive only when they degenerate into sectarianism and mutual condemnation as heresy. The truth, of course, can be only one, but the conceptions of the same truth always differ and depend upon the condition of the individual. Spiritual truth can also be divided into innumerable individual truths and no person will ever be able to attain to a knowledge of the sum total of all truth. Where there is life there must be variety, and the better this life is nurtured the greater and the more numerous will be the variations. This is the case in all culture. We should, therefore, rejoice over the rich variety in Protestantism and thank God for the same, but we must bear in mind the fact that the same life, life from God, throbs in every living member, and that the Spirit of Christ is the bond of Love.

The missionary is also, voluntarily or involuntarily, whether at home a scholar or a labourer, a bearer of Western civilization. There are habits or customs common to all, such as cleanliness and truthfulness, and there are scientific results known to all, *e.g.*, the explanation of eclipses. An elementary pupil of the West can speak fluently about things which still lie beyond the horizon of the Chinese scholar. But the value of a diffusion of the most common elementary truths amongst the masses of China must not be underestimated. The power of superstition and prejudice is thus broken. Even the simplest missionary can alleviate some distress and instil some good. Furthermore, the ordinary morality of the missionary is higher than that of the best Chinese in monogamy, sense of truth, cleanliness, purity, honesty, sympathy, etc. The missionary's influence on the Chinese, therefore, can be and is only for blessing. We must not, however, expect a moral ideal to be attained within one generation. The individual in China stands in too close a connection with the whole community to make an uninterrupted development possible. The Chinese have been moved to some deeds of benevolence and moral aspirations by missions, as is proved by foundling asylums, public schools, hospitals, preaching halls, improved methods for the care of the blind, the poor and the aged.

The missionary is also a citizen of his respective state, and as such is furnished with a passport by his Consul. As long as pass-

ports are issued it is a matter of honour for each government to see that the citizen concerned is treated according to existing treaties. Without regard for justice it would be poor policy to allow any room for the arbitrariness of mandarins. In any case, it should be immaterial to Consuls and Ministers, whether the person in need of protection or justice be travelling in the interests of scientific research, of trade, missions or anything else; legally he is the holder of a passport, and should be treated as such. It is unfortunate that enlightenment on this subject seems to be necessary in some places. Of course we do not mean that the missionary should, under all circumstances, claim his rights. But enough of this. Much confusion will be avoided in future if the above three points are kept in mind. The missionary is the bearer of the Gospel of Divine Life, of Western civilization, and of a passport of citizenship.

Nothing need be said about present mission work and its success. In a few weeks a hand-book* will leave the press, which will offer all information. Our work for the Chinese is not in vain. I have been able to convince myself that the Gospel is a power of God in the heart of men, which changes sinners into blessed children of God. But it must be proclaimed as the power of God, which renews the hearts. All Christian virtues, social reforms, and also political regeneration, will in due time appear as the natural results of this new life, as do the blossom and fruit on a living, healthy tree.

Conclusion.

I would ask my reader to draw his own conclusions and to ponder on his own relation to Christ, on His salvation of the world, His missionary command, the kingdom of God, and on China in the Light of History.

* Since been issued—Ed. REC.



APPENDIX.

A Missionary View of Confucianism.

In order to avoid misunderstanding the reader is reminded that Confucianism is not identical with Chinese life. There have always been other agencies at work for good and for evil in China. Though we do not confine Confucianism to the person of Confucius, nor to the teachings of the Classics, fairness requires us to regard as genuine only such later developments as can be shown to have their roots in the Classics. The Classics again have to be explained in the spirit of the whole contents of the Canon, and care must be taken not to force a meaning into single passages which may be contrary to that spirit. To the question: How far is Confucianism responsible for the present corrupt state of Chinese life? the correct answer seems to be, so far as the principles which led to this corruption are sanctioned in the Classics. The missionary view of Confucianism can treat of nothing but the relation between Confucianism and Christianity. When we speak of such a relation we mean that both systems have points of similarity and agreement. A clear statement of these and the cheerful acknowledgment of their harmonious teaching makes mutual understanding between adherents of the two systems possible and easy. There are also points of difference and antagonism, and a clear perception of these will guard against confusion and perversion of truth. There are other points which may exist in a rudimentary state in one system and be highly developed in the other, or may only occur in one and be absent in the other. This points to deficiencies in one system which may be supplemented from the other. Our subject divides itself accordingly into three parts:—1. Points of similarity which form a basis of agreement between Confucianism and Christianity. 2. Points of antagonism which form obstacles and must be removed. 3. Points of deficiency in Confucianism which are perfect in Christianity.

I. *Points of Similarity.*

1. *Divine Providence* over human affairs and visitation of human sin are acknowledged. Both Confucius and Mencius had a firm belief in their special mission. A plain and frequent teaching of the Classics, on the other hand, is that calamities visit a country and ruin overcomes a dynasty through the displeasure of heaven. The metaphysical speculations of Chu Fu-tsze and his school (Sung) only differ in their explanation of it, not in the fact.

2. *An Invisible World* above and around this material life is firmly believed in. Man is considered to stand in connection with spirits, good and bad.

3. *Moral Law* is positively set forth as binding equally on man and spirits. The spirits appear as the executors of the moral law. This is, however, little understood by the Chinese people who attempt to bribe and cheat the spirits as well as their mandarins. Still the Moral Law is proclaimed in the Classics.

4. *Prayer* is offered in public calamities as well as for private needs, in the belief that it is heard and answered by the spiritual powers.

5. *Sacrifices* are regarded as necessary to come into closer contact with the spiritual world. Even its deeper meanings of self-sacrifice and of a vicarious sacrifice are touched upon, which are two important steps toward an understanding of the sacrificial death of Christ.

6. *Miracles* are believed in as the natural *efficacy of Spirits*. This is a fruitful source of superstition among the people. Western science, on the other hand, lays all stress on force inherent in matter and stimulates scepticism. We can point to the great power of the human intellect over the material forces. God's intellect is all comprehensive. God is working miracles, not by suspending the laws of nature, nor by acting contrary to them, but by using them, as their omnipotent Master, to serve His will and purpose. The Divine purpose distinguishes God's miracles from miraculous occurrences.

7. *Moral Duty* is taught, and its obligations in the five human relations—sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger, friend and friend. There are errors connected with the Confucian teaching of these duties pointed out below II, 8-13 and defects, illustrated III, 13. It remains, nevertheless, an excellent feature of Confucianism that moral duty is inculcated, and that the *social* obligations are made so prominent. We may say that it is the quintessence of Confucian education.

8. *Cultivation of the Personal Moral Character* is regarded as the basis for the successful carrying out of the social duties. That self-control should not be abandoned in private when no mortal being is near to observe it, is repeatedly emphasized.

9. *Virtue* is valued above riches and honor. The strong tendency of the great mass of Chinese is certainly to money and pleasure, but it is to be regretted that foreign improvements are too often recommended on account of their *profit*, or because they would improve the material conditions of comfortable living. The Christian view is first of all the kingdom of God, then all other things as natural results. The dominion of virtue, though not identical with the kingdom of God, is a close approximation to it. It is a solemn lesson which we

may learn from ancient and modern history, that wealth has ruined more nations than poverty.

10. *In case of failure* in political and social life the moral self-culture and the practice of humanity are to be attended even more carefully than before, according to opportunities. This is the great moral victory which Confucius gained, and the same may be said of his distinguished followers, the greatest among whom are Mencius and Chu Fu-tsze. None of these pillars of Confucianism turned to money-making or sought vain glory in the service of the State by sacrificing their principles to gain access to official employment or by a promise to keep their conviction secret in their own bosoms. They gained greater ultimate success by their failure in life. The cross of Christ has a similar meaning, and we should not expect worldly triumph as long as our Lord is despised and even blasphemed among the higher classes of China.

11. *Sincerity and truth* are shown to be the only basis for self-culture and the reform of the world. This gives to self-culture a high moral tone. It is not only external culture such as fine manners and good works, nor is it intellectual improvement but a normal state of the intentions of the mind, combined with undefiled feelings and emotions of the heart. We should not question whether any Chinaman ever reached this ideal, but ask those we have to deal with, Have you attained it? If not, what is the cause of your failure? Will you not seek and find it in Christ?

12. *The Golden Rule* is proclaimed as the principle of moral conduct among our fellow-men. This is egoism ennobled by altruism. The rule is given not only in a negative but also in the positive form. It can, however, be fully understood and carried out only by one born of God, whom the love of Christ constraineth. Still, that this rule entered a Chinese mind and found expression from the mouth of Confucius raises Confucianism to a high standard of morality. We may welcome it as a powerful assistance to bring about a conviction of sin among the Chinese; for who ever acted up to it?

13. Every ruler should carry out a *Benevolent Government* for the benefit of the people. He must not endure the suffering of the people. If the Chinese emperors and mandarins would really act up to what they pretend to be (viz., the fathers and mothers of the people) with the same care, affection and even self-sacrifice, as good parents do for their children, China would be in a different condition. Still, we can avail ourselves of this high ideal and show its fulfilment in Christ who gave His life for the world.

II. *Points of Antagonism.*

1. *God*, though dimly known, is not the only object of religious worship. This cannot be regarded as only a deficiency, it is a fatal

error. *Polytheism* is taught in the Classics. Idolatry is the natural consequence, and all the superstitions in connection with it among the people are its inevitable results.

2. The *Worship of Spiritual Beings* is not done in spirit and in truth, but by punctilious observance of prescribed ceremonies to the minutest detail. The offerings and sacrifices consist in materials procurable with money. Though the Classics also point to a deeper meaning, this superficial ritualism, with absence of elevating devotional feeling and renovating influence in heart and life, has grown from the seed sown by the Classics.

3. The *Worship of Ancestral Spirits*, tablets and graves, we have to regard as a sin, for it takes the place of the worship of God. It is an *error* so far as it rests on wrong notions in regard to the departed in the other world; their happiness being thought dependent on the sacrifices from their descendants and the fortune of the living as caused by the dead. It is an *evil*, because selfish considerations take the place of moral and religious motives. The superstitions of geomancy, spiritualism, exorcism and all kinds of deceit practised by Buddhist and Taoist priests, have their origin in it. Confucianism is responsible for all this religious corruption, for sacrificing to the dead is taught as the highest filial duty in the Classics, and Mencius sanctions polygamy on its account. The ritual duties for the dead in dressing the corpse, burial, mourning and periodical sacrifices, are so numerous, onerous and expensive that, if carried out conscientiously by everybody very little of wealth and of energy could be left for anything else. Christianity acknowledges no other duty to the dead beyond a decent burial and tender memory, remembering and honoring all their good for our imitation. This is in accordance even with some Confucian teaching in the Classics.

4. The *Erection of Temples* to great warriors and to other men of eminence in which sacrifices are offered and incense is burned to their shades. They are invoked to be present at the service; prayers are offered, and help is asked and believed to have been received more or less frequently. This goes far beyond the honor due to benefactors of mankind. There are certainly over a **hundred thousand** such temples in China. They absorb a great proportion of the revenue without giving any return but the increase of superstition. Noble ambition could be inspired more effectively in the Christian way. Though the practice of building temples to heroes arose shortly after the classical period its roots can be found in the Classics. The spirits of departed benefactors were appointed by Imperial authority to certain offices in the invisible world. This is one of the Imperial prerogatives in Confucianism. We consider it, of course, either as a sacrilege or as nonsense

The myriads of War-god Temples, dedicated to Kwan-ti, an ancient warrior, may suffice as a striking example of the extent of this error.

5. *The Memorial Arches* erected to persons that committed suicide, especially to widows, are throwing a sad light on the morality of a community where such crimes are necessitated. Confucianism is responsible for it by the low place it allows to women, by the wrong feeling of honor it awakens in men and women and by the meagre religious consolation it can provide for the afflicted. Death is sought as the only escape from unbearable misery.

6. *Oracles*, by stalks and the tortoise-shell, are declared necessary for the right conduct of human affairs. They certainly point to the need of a revelation of the Divine Will. It is, however, sought in a mechanical way, and chance is taken instead. Astrology and magic, in all its modern forms, are the evil results, and a confusion between what is right and wrong is the moral consequence. The interpretation of the oracles is in the hands of shrewd persons who take advantage of it for their own benefit. The whole system of divination is a caricature of biblical *revelation* and its corresponding human side of *inspiration*. God reveals Himself, but the human mind must be prepared to receive it as an inspiration, *i.e.*, must come under the influence of God's spirit.

7. *Choosing Lucky Days* is a sacred duty demanded by the Classics and enforced by law. This duty involves much loss of valuable time to all Chinese. The yearly publication of the Imperial Almanac, the standard for this absurdity, demonstrates the fossilized state of the Chinese mind. European astronomy has been taught to the Chinese Imperial court for over three hundred years ; many books have been published too, the influence of which is so imperceptible because only the Confucian Classics fill and shape the Chinese mind. Many other superstitions prevail for the same reason.

8. *Polygamy* is not only wrong ; it has ever been a curse in Chinese history. Many intrigues, crimes and wars have been caused by it. Confucianism has not only no censure for it, not even for its detestable accumulation in the Imperial palace, that **greatest slum of the world**, but sanctions it in the Classics. Confucianism is, therefore, responsible for this great social and political evil. The misery of eunuchs, secondary wives, slave-girls, feet-binding, degradation of women in general, are accompaniments which magnify this vice. Instead of extolling the Confucian moral teaching on the five human relations all Confucianists, together with their foreign admirers, ought to hide their faces in shame that the most important of the human relations is treated so viciously.

9. *Rebellion*. Confucius praising Yao and Shun as the highest pattern of moral accomplishment points principally to the fact that

both rulers selected the worthiest of their subjects to become their co-regents and their successors. This high example has not found one follower among 244 emperors (according to Mayer's Reader's Manual) of China, from Confucius' death to the present day. This in spite of Confucianism as the state-religion of China. Confucius himself appears to have regarded with favor rebellious movements in the hope of bringing a sage to the throne. Mencius is certainly very outspoken in this respect. He justifies dethroning and even the murder of a bad ruler. No wonder then that rebellions have occurred, on a large scale, over **fifty times in** about **2,000 years**, and local rebellions are almost yearly events. It is impossible to calculate how **many hundred millions** of human lives have been sacrificed during these rebellions. Confucianism is to blame for it. Neither Confucius himself, nor one of his followers, ever thought of establishing a constitutional barrier against tyranny and providing a magna charta for the security of life and property of the ministers and people of China. The hands of the executioner ended the noble lives of many of China's best men. It cannot be otherwise as long as the capricious will of a self-conceited ruler is supreme law. The remedy has been found in Western (Christian) countries in the separation of the executive from the legislative power. Law is no more the will of one man, but of the majority of the people, its formulation is done by an assembly of chosen men, etc. The people must also have a legal way to make their grievances known and find relief in a peaceful manner. Confucianism, however, regards the people as little children that must be fed, protected and taught their duties. They have only the right to obey under these circumstances and to rebel if the contrary should become intolerable.

10. Confucianism attaches too high *authority to the Emperor*. He is called the son of Heaven, the only supreme authority on earth. Every law and custom must emanate from him. The emperor of China cannot acknowledge another sovereign as his equal. In this respect he can be compared with the pope of Rome. The treaties with foreign powers have already upset this fundamental doctrine of Confucianism.

11. *Patria Potestas*. Corresponding to the extreme view of Imperial authority Confucianism has also fostered an extreme idea of paternal power. A father may kill his offspring, may sell even grown sons and daughters in slavery. Their property belongs to him under all circumstances, even their families are absolutely subject to him, as long as he, the father, lives.

12. *Blood Revenge*. It is a strict demand of Confucius in the Classics, that a son should lose no time in revenging the death of his father, or of a near relative. A younger brother has the same duty in regard to the death of an older, and a friend to a friend. This

means that they have to take the law into their own hands. They will be guided by their feelings, and in many cases more serious wrong is done by their revenge than by the original act which may present mitigating circumstances, or be not murder at all, perhaps even justifiable under enlightened examination. If the accompanying circumstances are not taken into consideration by impartial judges, where and when can the shedding of blood be stopped? Logically only with the total extermination of one of the respective families. Even several families may share this fate, as friends have to take up the same cause. The *jus talionis* belongs to a primitive period of human society. Moses mitigated it and brought it under the control of impartial legal authority. Confucius not only sanctioned an ancient usage, but raised it to a moral duty, poisoning by it three of his five social relations. As the remaining two relations have been shown as vicious in part (see above Nos. 4 and 5) Confucianists have really no reason for their extravagant boasting.

13. The absolute *Subordination* of sons to their fathers and of younger brothers to their eldest brother during life-time, is also a source of many evils. It may work well enough in a primitive society and in wealthy families, but not in a dense population among poor people. In China the inevitable result has been much misery and contention in families; ruins everywhere testify to it. Progress is also made impossible, as there will always be some old people obstinately against any modern improvement. *Nepotism* also is made a moral obligation by the Classics.

14. *Official corruption* is to a great extent due to the custom of making presents to the superior in office. This bad usage is sanctioned in the classics and by Confucius himself carrying such presents with him on his journeys. Its worst abuse is the sale of offices and bribery. Present-giving and receiving should be confined to friendly intercourse, but official relations should be kept free from it under penalty of dismissal from office. See the Old Testament on this point.

15. *The Sacredness of a promise, contract, oath, treaty, etc.*, is often violated when opportunity is favorable to a personal advantage. Though Christian nations commit also too many trespasses of this kind, the difference is, that the teaching and example of Christ and His apostles is against it, even against falsehood of any shape. But Confucius himself broke a solemn oath and excused it. The Chinese moral sentiment is, therefore, misguided, whereas the Christian feeling is up to the standard. Lying and deceitfulness are so highly developed in China, probably to a great extent, from this cause.

16. The *Identity* of physical, moral and political law is presumed by Confucianism and finds its canonical expression especially in the I-king or Book of Changes. But the same idea runs through all

the Classics and later doctrinal developments of Confucianism. The truth of this doctrine can only be sought in the person of one almighty God, but it is a serious error when applied to man, especially to sinful man. This is the deeper root of Confucian pride and of much nonsense in regard to natural events. It is also the source of Taoist magic, charms, etc., shared by modern Chinese Buddhism.

III. *Points of Deficiency in Confucianism which are perfect in Christianity.*

1. The God of Confucianism is the majestic *Ruler on High*, inaccessible to the people. The emperor of China is the only person privileged to approach Him. God is not known in His nature of love as our *Heavenly Father*.

2. The Confucian *Divine Providence* appears in conflict with the Confucian notion of *Fate*. Providence presupposes a *personal* God, omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent, a God who can feel compassion with living creatures, as in Christianity.

3. Confucianism acknowledges a *Revelation of God* in nature and in human history, but a revelation of God's nature, will and intentions (plan) for the salvation and education of the human race remains unknown. See II, 6.

4. There is no conviction of an unconditioned *Responsibility* to God, the majestic Ruler of the universe who will judge in righteousness. Therefore a deep sense of sin and sinfulness is absent.

5. The necessity of an *Atonement* is not conceived, because neither the holiness of God, nor the depth of human sin are taught in the Classics.

6. As the deepest cause of death and of all the evils in the world is not sought and found in sin, therefore the *need of a Saviour* is not felt; salvation is sought in external performances, in self-correction too, but not in the grace of God who sent the only true Saviour from Heaven to Earth to reunite man with God.

7. Confucianism has produced many theories on the *Nature of Man*, but none that man is the image of the personal God. Hence the perfect union of the divine and the human, as it has been realized in the person of Christ, has never been anticipated by a Chinese mind.

8. As every man has to save himself there cannot be a *Universality of salvation* in Confucianism. Such can *only* be the case when salvation is God's work; God was in Christ and reconciled the world to Himself. The conditions of a participation cannot be in man's own judgment, but are laid down by God himself—faith in Christ. Through it every man can become a partaker of God's grace.

9. Confucianists remain, in spite of their best efforts, *estranged from God*. They may improve themselves and come into communion with the spirits of the departed (?), but not with the *Spirit of God*,

for enlightenment in eternal truths, for strength to a holy living, for comfort in the struggles of life, for peace and hope in death.

10. Confucianism teaches the immortality of the soul, but in a disembodied state dependant for all its needs on the goodwill of living men. Resurrection in a spiritual body for eternal happiness in God's glory is unknown.

11. The highest ideal of Confucianism, its *summum bonum*, is political, the government and state of China. This has ever remained an utopian idea, a fiction like the republic of Plato. Christ shows us another ideal, the *Kingdom of God*. It begins in the heart of the believer which becomes regenerated. It then extends to the Church, i.e., a brotherhood of men in Christian spirit, embraces all nations and finds its glorious perfection at the second coming of Christ in the resurrection of the dead, i.e., the reunion of all generations of mankind and the new heaven and new earth, when God will be all in all.

12. Christianity can supplement striking deficiencies not only in religion proper but also in the morality of Confucianism. *Self-examination*, for example, one of the excellent fundamental principles of Confucianism, has a deeper meaning in Christianity. We attend to it before God, the most holy one, who is perfection in every sense, and who is our pattern, especially in His incarnate form of Christ. Every other merely human model has imperfections. Yao and Shun had theirs, and Confucius was conscious of his own. We certainly estimate Confucius higher for his expressions of humility than for the pompous eulogies from his haughty followers.

13. *Self-culture* also has a deeper sense in Christianity. It implies *purity* in every way. Sexual impurity is tolerated by Confucianism to a shocking extent. Confucius himself was pure, and the Classics are remarkable for the spirit of purity that permeates the whole of them. There is, however, nowhere an intimation given of the importance of consistent purity of soul and body for the improvement of personal character as well as for society. Internal purity and external cleanliness are deficient qualities in Confucian morality. It has not even the same moral standard of purity for male and female persons. We have to confess that there is still much impurity even publicly exhibited, in Christian lands, but it is of heathen origin, against the principles of Christianity, and true Christians feel ashamed of it.

14. *The Human Relations*. The grave errors of Confucianism in regard to the social relations have already been exposed (II, 8-13). But there are besides deficiencies apparent, for the five do not exhaust all human relations. One important relation has become prominent in all civilized countries in our times, that of the employer to the employed, or as it is sometimes put impersonally of "capital

to labour." Christian brotherhood contains the solution of this problem (see Paul's letter to Philemon, etc). There is another relation of the Wealthy to the Poor and Needy. Christ's answer to the question, "Who is my neighbour," is the best possible. There is a relation to Foreigners. In this we know it is our duty to bring the Gospel and its blessings to all creatures. When compared with this UNIVERSAL SPIRIT of the Christian human relations* Confucianism appears primitive and clannish.

15. Confucianism keeps certain days as festivals, but has no regular day of rest, no *Sabbath-day*. This deficiency leaves not only the working classes without a relief in their hardships, but allows the nobler aspirations of human nature to be submerged in the unbroken turmoil of daily life. The Christian Sabbath is no more the Jewish Sabbath of the law, but God's rest in the re-born heart of man as His temple, and man's rest from earthly toil and care, a foretaste of the eternal rest in God.

16. *The Fulness of Christian Life*. Christians become, through faith in Christ, children of God, members of the body of the glorified Christ, co-inheritors of the heavenly kingdom. Christ is born in the hearts of His believers. Our bodies are then temples of the triune God and become gradually instruments of His glory. Although on earth our treasure is kept in earthen vessels, though we still live by faith, not by sight, though it has not yet appeared what we shall be—still we have the assurance of it in the ever present communion with God in His grace. Confucianism has nothing of the kind. Its cold abstract morality and cool ceremonial religion cannot produce the warmth of feeling on which human life depends. There is nothing approaching to the Lord's prayer in Confucianism, nor to that concise expression of the fullness of Christian life in the apostolic blessing, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you." Although theologians differ in their metaphysical explanations of this mystery, the trinity of divine life animates every true Christian's heart. Its absence separates the non-Christian from the Christian. What Confucianism really needs is this Divine Life. May God's Spirit move the field of dry bones!

* I cannot possibly attempt here to treat exhaustively the subject of "Christian Ethics." We might go on and add a relation to enemies, another between teacher and pupil, another between the individual and the community, political as well as ecclesiastical. The Confucian relation between "king and minister" can also not exhaust our present complicated relations to a modern civilized state, nor can the Confucian "husband-wife" relation solve all the perplexed "woman questions," etc.

