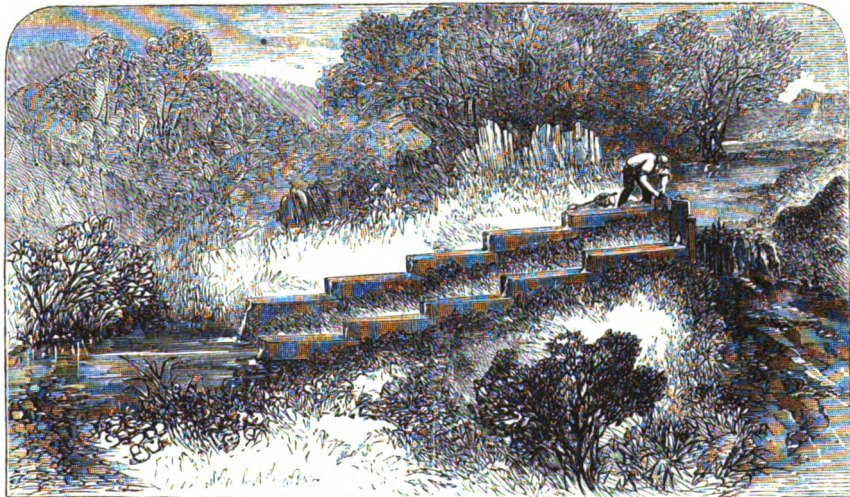


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FISH-CULTURE IN AMERICA.



FRENCH HATCHING-RACE AND BOXES.

I.—HISTORY OF PISCICULTURE.

IT is only a couple of centuries since it was the custom with Scotch and English house-servants, in renewing their agreements with their masters, to stipulate that they were not to be compelled to eat salmon more than twice a week; about the same period servants in Roman Catholic countries plead against the introduction of fish on the table on other than fast-days; and it is not a hundred years since the wise and humane legislators of the good little State of Connecticut, by a duly enacted law, prohibited masters from forcing trout on their apprentices oftener than three times a week. Then the inland streams of all Europe swarmed with the finest of fish; and millions of salmon, brook-trout, and shad from the sea ascended the rivers of this country, to breed their young in countless numbers. Since that age of piscatorial plenty we have had the loud lamentation of "Christopher North" over the scarcity of good edible fish. "I never look at the sea," he makes the Shepherd in his *Noctes Ambrosianæ* say, "without lamenting the backward state of its agriculture. Were every eatable land animal extinct, the human race could dine and soup

out o' the ocean till a' eternity." That "person of honor" supposed to be that other North, the veritable Lord North of unpleasant memory to our forefathers, has made manifest in his "Discourse of Fish and Fish-ponds" his anxiety as Prime Minister, and that of all "such as have a mind to divert themselves with the most reasonable employment of beautifying their estates," to obtain the experience of all fish-agriculturists. Jacobi has rediscovered the art of artificial impregnation of fish ova; the secret has been lost, and rediscovered by Gehin and Remy; France has built its great *Etablissement de Pisciculture* at Huningue, and restored the exhausted rivers and lakes of the empire; England has built salmon-ladders in every stream, and fish-ponds on almost every estate in the kingdom; France, England, and Holland have held five Fishery Expositions in less than that number of years; and in every civilized country efforts are being made to revive the propagation of the better qualities of fish. In none of the countries mentioned is more interest at present displayed in this important and necessary work than in the United States; but as pisciculture is comparatively in its infancy here,

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have tried so hard; but it is not right, it is not true, or good, or what could make you happy if I gave it you—I mean if I tried to—to marry you!” stammered Molly, and then stopped, affrighted at her own rebellion against the fate her elders had appointed her.

“You can not love me as a wife should, you mean, Molly. Well, now answer me another question. Do you know any man you could so love?”

Dead silence now, and then March spoke again:

“You will not answer me, Molly. Well, perhaps I have no right to expect such a confidence; but here is Philip, nearer your own age, and perhaps nearer your own feelings and sympathies. Tell him what you will not tell me, and—God bless you, children!”

He turned and left them, already gazing in each other's eyes with the faltering, blissful incredulity that softens such sudden joys, and went away to the house, muttering,

“Once more, Eveline, and then—”

He surprised her off her guard, sitting alone where she had sat to read that letter three months before, her head bowed upon her hand, all the weary sadness of her heart visible upon her pallid face. Suddenly he stood before her and said:

“Eveline, I have tried my best to obey and please you. I have tried to love Molly, and to make Molly love me, and I have succeeded in making her miserable, and myself contemptible in your eyes. This morning I have offered myself to her, and been refused, as I hoped that I should be; and at this moment she is probably exchanging betrothal kisses with Philip Sigourney. Are you satisfied?”

“She refused you?” asked Eveline, in genuine astonishment.

“Yes, as you did two months ago. No one cares for me, no one values me; I am only in the way here, and I will go back to China, leaving the lovers to their love-making, and you, dear, to your good works and quiet occupations. I had better never have come here, for I should at least have kept my faith—but no matter. You will be my friend still, Eveline, and perhaps you will write to me sometimes.”

“Oh, Douglas!”

“What! crying, Evy! Nay, don't cry, dear. It is no fault of yours that you can not love me. We both have changed, as you say, and I was unreasonable to expect you to feel as you did when I went away. There! don't fret, and don't blame yourself. I shall be a little lonely, perhaps, at first, and as I grow older I shall wish there was some one to love and care for me; but—well, well, I ought not to have expected it.”

“Oh, Douglas! I only wanted to make you happy. I thought you liked Molly, and I knew I had faded, and grown old and stupid, and I did not want to have you feel bound to me, and so—”

“And so, Eveline, you tried to make a fool of me, a sacrifice of Molly, a disappointed lover of Philip, and a—well, a what of yourself?”

“A martyr,” whispered Eveline, hiding her happy face within the embrace that enfolded her.

So Douglas March did not go back to China, or Philip Sigourney to Boston; and though the roses had withered, and the singing-birds flown, there were both flowers and music, and glad hearts, and deep, true happiness at the old country house, where, just as the winter came, the double wedding was celebrated with abundant mirth and merry-making, and something better and more enduring than mirth beneath the surface.

DEMOCRACY OF THE CHINESE.*

THE recent treaty of the United States with China has aroused an interest in that wonderful people. And it is reasonable that there should be a desire to learn more of a race to whom chiefly we must look for the aid necessary for the development of one-half of this continent; a race to whom this co-operation is to be the education for Divine ends yet more grand in the continent of which they constitute the chief nation.

It is greatly to be regretted that the sentiments of Americans in respect to China have been principally obtained from writers under monarchical influence—from those of England, which has brutally drugged her that she might rob her, or from French and Italian priests, who flattered and lauded her rulers that they might aggrandize themselves and their work.

A fairer estimate of the Chinese will take the place, on the one extreme, of the blunders or misrepresentations as to her political character which held up their empire as a model despotism; and, on the other extreme, of the mistake and folly of those as to her moral character which painted her people as the most vicious or sensual of the heathen. A letter was published four years ago from Mr. S. Wells Williams, the Chinese Secretary to the American Legation at Peking, and author of the work entitled “The Middle Kingdom,” in which he says: “The Chinese race has, perhaps, risen as high as is possible in the two great objects of human government—security of life and property to the governed, and freedom of action under the individual restraints of law.” The object of this paper is to exhibit them in such a light, as the deduction from the writer's experience among them in their own country and in California.

There are few nations of the world among

* The following paper is by the REV. WILLIAM SPEER, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education, at Philadelphia. We believe that there are not five men, European or American, who are as thoroughly acquainted as Dr. Speer with the Chinese in their own country. We think there is no other man so fully conversant with the Chinese in California.—ED. HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

whom the freedom of the people is more large, more squarely founded upon their intelligence, or more carefully guarded against despotism than it is in China.

To those who are acquainted with the history of mankind this will not seem strange. For though it flatters our national vanity to assume representative forms to be the pleasant fruit of bitter seed, and of long and painful cultivation, yet this is not the truth. The first state of men in society is one of political equality. The first natural advance toward its organization is their election to authority of those most capable of protecting them and punishing the vicious. Where society has remained most peaceful and unchanged we may expect to find its original institutions less disturbed. The dispersion of great families, interferences with regular occupations, long migrations, wars, changes of circumstances, tend to break them up. The planting of mankind upon a new hemisphere is like a new creation, in which a small number of individuals, compelled to meet the first necessities of existence, return to the primitive ideas of government.

To men, therefore, who are informed as to the past history of the nations of the earth, and as to their present relative condition, it will seem credible that the oldest and most unchanged of them should not be so different as many believe from the newest of them, which has revolutionized the forms whose tyranny drove its founders beyond their reach to another hemisphere—that China should be the freest nation of the East, as the United States is of the West. Nor will it seem improbable that the notions which many entertain of the Chinese, which are gathered from the writings of Europeans as prejudiced against the one as they are against the other, and indeed very ignorant of the real condition and spirit of either, or else formed from the partial and superficial observations of some of our own people, should prove to be mistaken and unjust.

The classical student will see the force of this when he remembers the political system of ancient Rome—an empire whose history has some remarkable points of analogy to that of China. Beneath the monarchical rule, which became more and more strong, until the popular liberty was at last crushed by it, there rise constantly to view institutions which display the power of the people. Thus the "tribes" held their separate regular assemblies; they elected officers who at length came to be represented in the Senate, and even administer the government; they were governed by their own regulations or laws; they aided the state in the collection of debts, and in the punishment of crimes; they had a certain control over the property of their members, and over its transmission to heirs; they did not permit intermarriage between families connected with different tribes; they maintained each a particular religious worship; and they exercised a benevolent care over their own poor, supplying

them when necessary with food. The members of various trades formed another class of popular associations, which were possessed of great power in the state. In the time of Numa there were nine of these colleges or associations: pipers, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, girdle-makers, tanners, potters, workers in brass, and one embracing the remaining trades.

In India the despotism of successive conquering races has been checked and ameliorated by the continued maintenance from the earliest ages of the system of clans or village communities, which is described by a very able English lawyer to be "more than a brotherhood of relatives, and more than an association of partners. It is an organized society; and besides providing for the management of the common fund, it seldom fails to provide, by a complete staff of functionaries, for internal government, for police, for the administration of justice, and for the apportionment of taxes and public duties."

A nation of Europe whose extraordinary friendship to our own has often puzzled politicians of both that and our continent who did not see the deeper principles which bind them together, Russia, which wonderfully unites the ancient with the modern, and the Oriental with the European, in her political and social structure, may be given as another example of the power of the ancient republicanism. It may be said that the government is more in the hands of the people than with the emperor and aristocracy. This is the key to the astonishing advancement of Russia in wealth, freedom, and power within a few generations past. The empire was built upon the subjugation of numerous cities and tribes, independent and democratic in their form. And now these elements are again leavening the whole system. The communes hold triennial elections; voters must be twenty-five years of age, and the elders elected not under thirty; no man can vote who has been convicted of crime; persons of any useful employment are eligible to office; the poor consider themselves equal with the rich, the only distinction in the garments is in the richness of the material, not in the shape or fashion, and they eat together at the same table; the officers elected are the elders, a number of councilors, a collector of taxes with the necessary assistants, an overseer of the public granary, and the police; provision is made for the supply of recruits for the army; and the commune is allowed, if it desire, to establish a local bank. A general council of representatives from these village councils is held in each county or district once in three years, which elects a chief elder, a permanent council, a board of arbitrators, and a secretary. Thus it will be seen how much power resides with the people of Russia, and how far the general government yields local affairs into their hands. Even the mines discovered on the property of individuals is not claimed, as is the case in many countries of the West, by the govern-

ment; and to this many of the great families owe their rise.

I have mentioned these ancient republican institutions, or their remains, in order to justify the comparison made between those of China and the United States. It must surprise many of our people to observe how much their features resemble those of our own forms, save that ours are overridden by no foreign conquests, and as yet by no successful ambition within our own borders; and further, that ours are more complete and extensive. But the freedom of the people in China is superior to that in either of them; and I will now describe in what it consists, and upon what it is founded.

Let us take up three leading features of the Chinese government—the theory of the imperial power, the principles on which the general government is administered, and the forms of local popular government which universally exist. As the latter is the most interesting subject, the first two will be discussed more briefly.

The theory of the imperial power is that the people are not subjects to be ruled by fear, but children to be inspired and controlled by affection and gratitude toward a father, who, with unceasing anxiety, watches over and cares for them all. There is a book of remarkable interest, in a moral view, which well-illustrates this. It is a series of moral discourses prepared by the emperor Yung-ching, upon the basis of sixteen maxims of his father, the great Kang-hi (who reigned from A. D. 1661 for sixty years), for the purpose of having them read to the people of the whole empire at the beginning and middle of every month. The first of these "Sacred Instructions" is upon "filial piety." Yung-ching says:

"The definite design of our sacred father was to govern the empire through the principle of filial piety. Upon that principle is founded the unchangeable laws of heaven, the government of providence on earth, and the common obligations of all men."

In the second discourse, upon the duties of families and kindred to each other, he applies the idea practically:

"The kindred which spring from the same stock are like the streams which flow from one fountain, or like the branches which grow upon one tree. Though these differ, as the one may in its course flow through extended districts, or the other as its branches ramify more widely, yet the source of the stream and the root of the tree remain the same. Thus with the maintenance of the principle of filial piety. Harmony is promoted in the family, in the village, and in the city; the spirit of unity is breathed abroad; general happiness is enjoyed; and a scene of peace is presented."

And it is but just to say that these admirable sentiments are repeated in the state papers of each succeeding emperor of that great nation.

The comparative freedom of the people of China is, in the next place, made manifest in the political principles upon which the general government is administered. To secure an intelligent, capable, and faithful magistracy the

foundation of all preferment is planted upon education. To this fact the admiration of the world may be boldly challenged! Hear it nations of the West! It is not hereditary perhaps without personal honor, it is not the power of wealth, it is not the claims of favoritism, it is not pandering to popular prejudices or interests, upon which the aspiring in China are encouraged to place their hopes, but upon education! The best writings of their sages from the earliest ages are compiled into books for the instruction of the young. Schools abound, taught at cheap rates by advanced students, or supported by endowments or charitable contributions. Books in common use are much cheaper than in this country. The examinations of children in the villages are conducted monthly by the elders, at which a simple theme is proposed upon which they write their juvenile essays. And examinations upon given topics, in prose and in poetry, chiefly moral, historical, and political, are held at times and places which vary according to their importance, for scholars at successive stages of advancement, until they reach the highest, which is held once in three years at the capital of the empire. The successful competitors at the higher ones receive appointments to the offices under government.

I was at Canton upon the occasion of a great triennial examination of candidates for the second degree, which entitled to the best offices of the cities and districts of the province of twenty-one millions of people. Seventy-two were to be selected. For a chance among that number seven or eight thousand educated men presented themselves, some of them white with old age. Two imperial commissioners from Peking presided. The candidates were all shut up in close rooms of a range of buildings provided for these occasions, and could not come out until their essays on the five themes given were completed. The whole city and province were in a ferment of interest. Heralds were in waiting, who, by swift boats, horses, and running, conveyed tidings of the result to every part of the province; and in their native towns the successful ones were welcomed with banners and music and feasts of joy! I have shed tears of regret that in my own dear country no such sublime and delightful spectacles are witnessed.

The principles on which the government is administered are forcibly brought before us in the consideration of the numerous methods which have been introduced to guard against abuses and insure impartiality and honesty. Four of these are particularly worthy of observation.

First, The officers of the general government are detached from local influences by the rule that no man shall hold office in the province of which he is a native.

Second, The dangers connected with the growth of such influences in any portion of the country are provided against by another rule which fixes a term for holding office, and that a comparatively short one—only three years.

If the question be asked whether this provision may not spring from the jealousy of a foreign ruling dynasty, the reply is at hand that it was established in the fifth century of the Christian era, and appears to be held as a fundamental idea of the political system.

Third, A Board of Review, or Censorate, at Peking, is appointed to revise all documents sent to the court, and inspect the conduct of officers, from the humblest of them even to the emperor upon the throne. Officers connected with this department report in every part of the empire acts of official misconduct. The courage with which this Board and its servants expose and rebuke even the most wealthy and powerful, and secure their punishment, is often surprising and worthy of admiration. They do not spare even "the Son of Heaven," when the welfare of his subjects seems to require his vices to be sternly reprov'd; and some of them have suffered death in consequence. The histories of the empire hand down with language of praise the names and actions of those who have been most faithful. This remarkable feature of the government has attracted the attention of the monarchical powers of the world. Sir George T. Staunton, in making the translation of the Penal Code of the present dynasty, adds the note that "the Tribunal of the Censorate has the power of inspecting and animadverting upon the proceedings of all the other boards and tribunals of the empire, and even on the acts of the sovereign himself, whenever they are conceived to be censurable." But it is not a censorship for criticism. The French Jesuit, Du Halde, presents it in its higher office of a constant monitor of the responsibility of the government to the people. He describes them in his work on China as the representatives of the people, to whom the emperor himself is compelled to yield; for, "should he injure them, he would really increase their honor, and obtain for himself odious epithets, which the appointed historians of the empire would scrupulously transmit to posterity." He says the court is compelled to degrade officers whom they persist in accusing, "to avoid disgusting the people and sullyng its own reputation."

Another of the methods by which the welfare of the people is secured is the system of official reports to the six boards or departments of the government, which reports virtually appeal to the popular sentiment of the nation for its support, through the *Peking Gazette* and other means of universal publication. This *Gazette* (whose proper name is the *King Chau*, or "Reporter of the Capital") is a pamphlet of forty to sixty pages, published each one, two, or three days, as the matter is supplied. It is distributed over the whole empire in a limited number of copies to leading points, which are there rapidly reprinted by various means, and supplied to officers, to men of wealth who pay about twelve dollars a year for copies which they retain, and to circles of readers who hire them successively for sums which diminish according

to the time after their publication, just as the London *Times* and other expensive newspapers are supplied in England and on the Continent. The officers of each province in turn publish their reports or subjects for popular information or consideration. And, indeed, the walls of Chinese towns are covered with placards of every kind—political, commercial, quack-medicines, etc., etc., just as they are in this country. Thus a thinking and intelligent people keep public affairs incessantly under their own eye.

These statements as to the theory of the imperial power, and the principles of the general administration, possess great weight in estimating the true character of the political institutions of China, and evince an amount of popular intelligence, liberty, and power which will bear comparison with that of the monarchical countries of Europe.

But an acquaintance with the structure of the general government is not the true way to comprehend the extent of the freedom which the Chinese enjoy. This is only to be learned from a careful study of their popular forms, which are distinct from that, and which often successfully oppose it. I refer to the organizations of the clans, the town or district councils, the trade associations, and the clubs or companies established for occasional or special objects. The secret societies, for political and other purposes, are numerous and powerful; but an account of them does not come within our scope in considering the lawful institutions of the country.

The first-mentioned, and, it may be justly said, the fundamental and most ancient organization of a political nature, is that of the "clan."

The clan stands in China just where it did in the Hebrew commonwealth and the kingdoms of Judah and Israel—at the foundation of the whole structure. No man thoroughly conceives the polity of the Hebrew people who looks at it through the medium of European and Western models. There are many features of it which it is most important, as illuminated by Divine revelation, for the statesman, the scholar, the Christian to examine. Such are the operations and effects of the fundamental republican form, united with the primary honor accorded to the lineal representative of the founder of the clan; the conjunction of political and religious objects maintained in the education of the youth, and public acts; the legislative and other powers of these lesser presbyteries, or of the general assemblies of the representatives of the people; the functions of the elders, judges, and other officers, and their place in the church and state, both ancient and modern; the police regulations of villages and towns; the energy of a military system, either for defense or offense, which is built upon free and republican institutions and the affection of the people; the jealousies and quarrels of clans and tribes, and their ruinous results; the regard of the general government to

the rights of those of a local character, even in the appointment of the two hundred and twelve porters at the gates of the Temple at Jerusalem, "according to their genealogy in their villages," and the provision for "their brethren in the villages to come, after seven days, from time to time, with them;" the careful observance of natural laws as to consanguinity and marriage, and the effects of polygamy and other infractions of them; the precise and scientific nomenclature of degrees of kindred, as throwing light on the tribal systems of the nations of the world, and as an evidence of the descent of the human species from one stock; the nature, benefits, and evils of frequent popular festivals; the laws as to the entail, the conveyance, and the restoration of property, pledges, pawnbrokers, the collection of debts; the provision from the public funds for the wants of the poor and the infirm; the reservation of a proportion of the produce of years of abundance in public granaries to meet the wants of years of scarcity or famine; the origin and obligation of the use of sevenths in respect to time, and of decimal numbers in respect to property, as seals of the Divine right in them, and as measures of duty in the consecration of them for religious purposes; the fundamental principles in the punishment of criminals, and the modes of inflicting it; the exceeding reverence for the aged and the honorable; the regard for the dead, and the use to be made of the examples of the wise and good; the ideas as to the seminal principle of life in the human bones; the care to be exercised in preserving them, and collecting them in and about the ancient sepulchres of the family, and the resurrection of the dead; the annual religious observances connected with the repair and care for the spot; the peculiar force of the prophecies of the Scripture, the comfort of the specific promises, and the solemnity of the warnings, as to "families" and "kindred," and as to the "*gentiles*," or nations whose peculiar social edifice is reared upon the relation to ancestry.

These are some of the topics which arise in the investigation of the nature of clans as they did exist in Palestine, as they do exist in China, and to a less extent in other portions of the Old World, and among the remains of the Indian tribes on our own continent. I employ the analogy of the Hebrew clans to the Chinese in order to simplify the idea of the latter in the minds of the people of this country, and to show their democratic nature; and further, that I may suggest this as one of many kindred themes which open broad and fertile fields of remunerative research, which is of a nature to comfort the mind and strengthen the purposes of the foreign missionary of the Gospel, and to peculiarly interest and instruct the people of our country as to relationships and bearings of republican institutions which may be new to many of them, and are most important for us to understand, who see the beginning but not the end of our national life.

The general design of the support of the clan organizations may be briefly stated to be four: Defense against the power of the general government; Mutual aid and protection in business and the common transactions of life; Festive enjoyments; and the maintenance of the worship of the spirits of the dead.

There are about four hundred and fifty clans in the empire. Branches of the most important of them are found in nearly every province. A town, however, never consists of people of one clan alone, as a man is not allowed to marry a woman of the same name. The organization of them is so complete that, while it sometimes secures justice to the innocent, it may besides thwart the designs of the government, and even of justice. In some parts of the country they keep up bitter and even bloody quarrels from generation to generation; and the chiefs of the clan at Pekin are able to prevent the punishment of murder and violence committed by members of it elsewhere. In the country in the south of China we have seen tombs broken up and defaced, the dykes of rice-fields destroyed, and property abused, through the feuds of hostile clans. Emigrants do not generally maintain these organizations. I know of none in California.

The second class of powerful popular organizations in China is the trade associations, or guilds. These resemble those for similar objects in Europe and America, and therefore need no special description here. They are there, as here, often beneficent in their operation, and yet often oppressive. In a monarchical or despotic government they are useful as a check against its tyranny; but it is still doubtful whether they are not more of an injury than a benefit, since they interfere with healthful competition, remove incitements to industry, and provide opportunities for the arts of intriguing and worthless men, or resorts for the depraved. It is stated that there are a hundred and fifty of their halls in Canton. They spend a great deal of money in parades and acts of idolatrous worship.

The third class is that of town and district councils. This forms the highest advance toward a regular representative government. They exercise the local powers of government to such an extent that the imperial officers rarely dare to rouse them to general resistance. The local administration of justice is left almost wholly in their hands. Police arrangements, and taxation for local purposes, are within their jurisdiction. The elders elected generally are continued as long as they perform their duties with satisfaction to the people. They are allowed a salary of from two to four hundred dollars a year. The elders of a district, which may embrace fifty to a hundred towns and villages, meet in a district council, which has its central hall, and a president and other necessary officers, who receive sufficient salaries. The cities are divided into large wards, which have their separate councils, but act together

by representatives when occasion requires. Their administration is very effective. The police of the city of Canton number about a thousand. The streets, which are only a few feet in width, have a gate at the end of each square, which is closed at night and guarded by a watchman, who also strikes the hour upon a loud-sounding hollow piece of bamboo.

During the stormy times succeeding the Opium War, foreigners seeking to enlarge their former restrictions often came into conflict with these councils, and proved the extent of the popular power. We were effectually prevented renting houses, after agreeing to pay the most outrageous exorbitant rents, by a simple notification from the council of the ward of the city in which they were situated, that if the owner admitted us to the building it would be destroyed, and himself put to death. Nor was the governor-general, with the power of the emperor to back him, able to sustain us against such a decree.

These democratic bodies do not hesitate to resist the imperial officers. A mandarin who had made his name detested by his evil deeds, was met one day in going forth with his retinue by an aged, white-haired coolie bearing a heavy burden. The old man was unable quickly to clear the way, and the officer commanded him to be thrown down and beaten. The enraged inhabitants of the ward closed their shops and did not rest until the man who treated hoary hairs with disrespect, and a poor man with such cruelty, was driven from the city.

A robber of desperate character was detected amidst a crowd in the court of the Walam temple, listening to the recitations of a story-teller. He killed a soldier before he could be overpowered. He was tried, and sentenced by the judge to be beheaded in the temple, and his vitals to be laid upon the altar as a sacrifice to the spirit of the slain soldier. So unusual a punishment created much excitement in the district. The ward council took up the matter, and prohibited the execution of the sentence; but gave permission for the head of the ruffian, if he were decapitated at the execution-ground, to be hung up near the temple as a terror to evil-doers.

The imperial government is much less to be blamed than the people of Western nations have supposed on account of the disturbances which have occurred with foreigners. The local democracy was more often the offending party. And their resistance in turn was the result of the misdeeds of our people. After the conclusion of the bloody Opium War—which seemed to them a most inexcusable and tremendous crime from beginning to end—it was made one of the provisions of the treaty with Great Britain, August 29, 1842, that five new ports were to be opened for foreign trade; and it was generally understood that the same privileges would, as soon as practicable, be granted at Canton. The people, however, resisted, being alarmed at the idea of the introduction of Brit-

ish traders and soldiery within the city, confident in their numbers, and filled also with a superstitious terror of the powers of "the foreign demons," whom they supposed to be of a constitution and nature different from their own, and much to be dreaded. Their local councils proclaimed that a hundred thousand "braves" had been enlisted to carry on the war to the extermination of these "devils." Kiying, a most able and intelligent governor, was completely baffled in his efforts to maintain peace; and neither the power of their own government nor the continued threatening demonstrations of that of Great Britain could subdue them, until finally Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, commanding the allied English and French fleets, bombarded the city in December, 1857, burned down a considerable portion of it, and placed it under a military control which continued for two years. The Presbyterian mission buildings and library were among the property destroyed.

It affords me much gratification to be able to present a full and satisfactory illustration of the capacity and practice of the Chinese in the maintenance of their native republicanism, by exhibiting its operation among the immigrants to California.

The Chinese "companies" in San Francisco, with their branches in the principal towns of the State, and regions where that people resort in large numbers, have been a continual puzzle to Americans. They have regarded them as an ignorant, stupid race, reared under a cruel despotism, and most of them brought here as slaves, to work for capitalists who owned them and received the proceeds of their labor—these capitalists being the heads of the companies. The most absurd stories of this kind have been incessantly repeated, to the great injury of the Chinese, by newspapers and in the Legislature. My thorough acquaintance with them, and the confidence they reposed in me, on account of aid often rendered to them in their difficulties, enabled me to obtain information which I now proceed to lay before the reading and thinking people of the country, just as I often have spread much of it before the people of various parts of California.

Under a fourth class, it will be remembered, of popular organizations, I embraced clubs or companies established for occasional or special objects. These are so numerous, for political, social, or benevolent ends, that I only mention the general fact here, and pass to the consideration of the "companies" referred to, which are seen on our Pacific coast, as among the most important of them. These "companies" greatly resemble the ward and village councils spoken of under the previous head; and the information which I present in regard to the former will assist the reader to comprehend the nature of the latter, and of the general ideas of the people as to popular government.

Wherever a large number of Chinese from one province are thrown together in another

province of the empire, or in any of the countries or islands whither they trade or immigrate, they at once form associations for the control, protection, and general benefit of their members, which are analogous to the councils of their native towns and districts. Among a people of so much shrewdness and common-sense, as may be supposed, these objects are thoroughly accomplished. First, let us notice their houses or halls.

Upon the southern side of Telegraph Hill, which shields on the north the harbor of San Francisco from the ocean winds which rush through the Golden Gate, a large frame-structure stands conspicuous, which is evidently of Chinese architecture, yet different in its appearance from the Chinese dwellings in the city. The front is painted light blue, and from it projects an airy portico. A pair of lions, carved in wood, guard the wide doorway. Above and on either side of it are gilded tablets, with upon each an inscription of several large Chinese characters. This building has often been referred to as "a temple." But its object is not religious. It is an "*Ui-kun*" (pronounced *Ooy-koon*), or Company House. The large tablet over the door tells, if English alphabetic letters be employed for the Chinese characters, the name of the Company: "YEUNG-wo UI-KUN." The two perpendicular inscriptions on either side are poetical lines. They read:

"Tseung kwong hám mán lí."

"Sul hi p'o t'ung yan."

"*May the prosperous light fill a thousand leagues.*"

"*May the auspicious air pervade mankind.*"

The two smaller lines on either board contain the words, "Set up on a fortunate day of the eighth month, second year of the Emperor Hienfung."—"Carved by Fan I."

Upon entering the house by the side-door, an uncovered area, in accordance with the Chinese custom, is seen in the middle, from which rooms open toward the front and rear, and stairs ascend on either side to the second story. The smaller apartments below are occupied by the managers and servants of the Company. The largest room or hall is pasted over with sheets of red paper covered with writing. These contain a record of the names and residence of every member of the Company, and the amount of his subscription to the general fund. The upper story and the attic, with the outbuildings on the upper side, are, it may be, filled with lodgers, nearly all of whom are staying but temporarily, on a visit from the mines, or on their way to or from China. A few sick persons lie on their pallets around, and a group here and there discuss a bowl of rice, or smoke and chat together. In the rear is the kitchen. All is quiet, orderly, and neat.

This building is the house of the Company, which embraces—since scarcely a solitary individual chooses to separate himself from association with his own neighbors and people, or

deprive himself of their sympathy and assistance—the entire body of emigrants from three beautiful and rich districts which lie around the Pearl River and its estuary down to the ocean. Heang-shan, at the mouth of the bay in which the Portuguese colony of Macao is situated, is thirty miles long from north to south, and twenty-five miles wide; Tung-kwan and Tsang-ching are each larger, but have less intercourse with foreigners. The Company had some years ago another building, owned by the three districts in common, at Sacramento; and the Heang-shan men had one of their own in Stockton, to which they may since have added others as they have been needed for their accommodation elsewhere.

For the full information of the people of our own country as to the real nature of these "Companies," which has been so much misunderstood and widely misrepresented, and in order to show in a plain and convincing way the intelligence and capability of this extraordinary people, I procured, by a formal application to the Yeung-wo Company, a copy of its constitution and rules, a literal translation of which, sentence for sentence, I now give:

NEW RULES OF THE YEUNG-WO UI-KUN.

Since it is necessary for the government of such associations, and the promotion of the common good, that some rules should be adopted, we members of the Yeung-wo Company, now dwelling in a foreign country, have established those which follow. Those which formerly existed in a general form we deem it necessary to draw up in a new and definite shape, and to publish them to all men, since successive emigrations have become less substantial in their character, and troubles have sprung up like thorns. They are in conformity with the customs of the foreign country in which we are sojourning. We trust they will be exactly observed, by common consent. They were adopted in the following order on a fortunate day of the ninth month of the year 1854.

People of the three districts of Heang-shan, Tung-yuen, and Tsang-shing are required to report themselves at the Company's room; otherwise the Company will exercise no care for them in their concerns.

The entrance fee shall be ten dollars; if not paid within six months interest will be expected. These fees may be paid to collectors sent for the purpose into the northern and southern mines in the fourth and tenth month in each year. No fees will be required from those proved to be invalids, or from transient persons. Receipts for payment of fees must be entered on the books and bear the Company's seal. Disputes will not be settled between persons who have not paid the entrance fee. Members purposing to return to China must make the fact known to the agents, when their accounts will be examined, and measures will be taken to prevent it if the entrance fee or other debts remain unpaid. Strangers to the agents of the Company must obtain security of persons who will be responsible for their character and debts. Members leaving clandestinely shall be liable to a fine of fifty dollars; and the security for a debt for helping one thus to abscond shall be fined one hundred dollars.

In the Company's house there must be no concealment of stolen goods; no strangers brought to lodge; no gunpowder or other combustible material; no gambling; no drunkenness; no cooking (except in the proper quarters); no burning of sacrificial papers; no accumulation of baggage; no filth; no bathing; no flinging of oil; no heaps of rags and trash; no wrangling and noise; no injury of the property of the Company; no goods belonging to thieves; no slops

of victuals. For the heavier of these offenses complaint shall be made to the police of the city; for the lighter, persons shall be expelled from the Company. Baggage will not be allowed to remain longer than three years, when it must be removed; nor more than one chest to each person.

Invalids that can not labor, are poor and without relatives, may be returned to China at the expense of the Company for their passage-money; but provisions and fuel and other expenses must be obtained by subscriptions. Coffins may be furnished for the poor, but of such a careful record shall be kept.

Quarrels and troubles about claims in the mines should be referred to the Company, where they shall be duly considered. If any should refuse to abide by the decision of the Company, it will nevertheless assist the injured and defend them from violence. If when foreigners do injury a complaint is made, and the Company exerts itself to have justice done without avail, it ought to be submitted to. Whatever is referred for settlement to the assembly of the five Companies conjointly, can not again be brought before this Company alone.

Where a man is killed a reward shall be offered by the Company for apprehension and trial, the money being paid only when he shall have been seized; the members of the Company shall subscribe each according to what is just. If more than the anticipated amount is required, the friends of the deceased shall make up the deficiency. Complaint shall be made of offenders to the civil courts, and proclamations for their arrest shall be placarded in the principal towns; but any one found guilty of concealing them shall pay all the expenses to which the Company has been put. Difficulties with members of other Companies shall be reported to the agents of this Company, and if justice demand, shall be referred for the judgment of the five Companies conjointly. Offenses committed on ship-board, upon the sea, shall be referred to the five Companies conjointly. Difficulties brought upon men by their own vices and follies will not receive attention. Thievery and receiving of stolen goods will not be protected; nor will troubles in bawdy-houses; nor those in gambling-houses; nor debts to such; nor extortions of secret associations; nor the quarrels of such associations; nor those who are injured in consequence of refusal to pay their licenses; nor smuggling; nor any violation of American laws. The Company will not consider complaints from a distance, of a doubtful character, or without sufficient proof. No reply will be made to anonymous letters, or those without date and a specification of the true origin and nature of difficulties. Names must be carefully given in all complaints from the interior. No payments of money will be made in the settlement of cases where the rules of the Company are not complied with. Where the conduct of an individual is such as to bring disgrace on the Company and upon his countrymen he shall be expelled, and a notice to that effect be placarded in each of the five Companies' houses; nor will the Company be responsible for any of his subsequent villainies, or even make any investigation should he meet with any violent death. Costs connected with the settlement of disputes shall be borne by the party decided to be in the wrong. In difficulties of a pressing and important character in the mines a messenger shall be sent thence, and a judicious person shall at once accompany him to the place. In any quarrel where men are killed or wounded the person who originated it shall be held accountable. Any defensive weapons belonging to the Company shall be given to individuals only after joint consultation, and the register of their names. Those requiring such weapons for defense shall give security for their return. If any shall take them on their own responsibility they shall be held accountable for any consequences.

Any one using the seal of the Company, or addressing a letter in its behalf unauthorized, shall be severely censured if the matter be unimportant; if a serious offense, he shall be handed over to a court of law. The parties and witnesses in cases shall be examined under oath. Representatives from the people of dif-

ferent counties and townships shall be notified by the agents of the Company of the time of any meeting; and when assembled they shall not leave until the business be dispatched. Notices of meetings upon urgent business shall be marked with the words "urgent case;" the representatives so informed shall be fined ten dollars if not present within an hour of the time. In arbitrations the agents of the Company, the representatives, and the witnesses shall all be put on oath.

Claims for debts, to avoid mistakes, must particularize the true name, surname, town, and department of the debtor. The manager of the Company shall give the claimant a bill of the debt, which will be received again when the money is paid. No claim can be presented of less than ten dollars. Claims presented through the Company must, when afterward paid, bear the receipt of the Company; else the debtor will not be allowed to return to China. Persons making false claims against an individual shall recompense him for any expenses to which he shall be put in consequence thereof. Accounts must be acknowledged by the debtor to be correct before collection. A person appointed as collector for another must indorse the bill. A creditor, in returning to China, must name an agent who will receive the payment of any claims made by him. Accounts sent from China for collection shall be admitted by the Company. The manager will not pay over collections except upon the presentation of the paper of acknowledgment he has previously given. Part payments must bear the receipt of the Company. In cases of dispute about debt the debtor may return to China if a representative from his district is willing to become his security. Debtors shall not be hindered returning to China on their pleading poverty or chronic sickness. In losses occasioned by oversight of the agent he shall be held responsible for the amount, unless he declare them upon oath to have been unintentional. Claims for debt, if unpaid, must be again put on record at the expiration of three years. Claims presented by a member of another Company shall be certified by the manager of that Company, and when recorded shall be subject to a fee of twenty-five cents.

This Company shall elect three managers; one to attend to the internal affairs, one to attend to the business with Americans, and one to be the treasurer; and these shall mutually assist one another. A faithful servant shall be hired as a house-servant and porter. A committee of four shall be elected as counselors, who shall receive five dollars a month for tea-money. The monthly accounts of the Company shall be counted till the last Sunday of the month, on which day the committee shall audit and publish them by a placard. The treasurer shall never retain more than four hundred dollars in his own hands at one time; and his deposits in the treasury, and payments from it, shall be under the supervision of the committee of four. The treasury shall have four different locks, and each of the committee shall have one key. The treasurer must always be present when money is taken out. Should the committee employ collectors who have not been duly elected by the Company, they shall be held responsible for them. The account of the Company shall be closed with each month, that there be no private or wasteful employment of its funds; and in cases of fraud, a meeting shall be called and the offender expelled. When inadvertent mistakes are made in accounts the committee shall state them to be so on oath, and the correction shall then be entered. Managers or committee men whose accounts are not clear shall be censured. None but the managers shall have common access to the account-books. Payments in behalf of the Company shall, when made at their house, be indorsed by the committee; but in the interior they may be made by the proper manager alone. The office of the managers shall be kept open daily, from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. The doors shall be closed at New-Year's for three days. Managers shall not use offensive language toward each other; but any differences shall be settled by a meeting of the Company. If lodgers at the Company's house do not comply with the

regulations and respect the authority of the managers, they shall be expelled by a meeting of the Company. Managers who are remiss in attending at the office shall be mulcted to twice the amount of their salary for the time lost."

In the summer of 1854 I addressed to each of the five Companies a series of questions in regard to their principles and operations, in order to elicit authentic information which I could use in explaining the character of the Chinese to our own people. The answers were most clear and satisfactory. I translate one of them *verbatim* as a sample of the whole. The comparison of the Company to "American churches," which is made in this one only, and the careful detail of its benevolent purposes, had a rather amusing origin. Not long previously the Superintendent had come to me with the inquiry whether it would not be possible to have their building made free of taxes, as he understood that American churches and benevolent institutions were granted that privilege. I explained to him that a club or company of its character, designed, in the first place, for purposes of mutual convenience, had no more right to claim such immunity than a hotel, which often gives food and lodging to the distressed or to beggars, or than a multitude of associations which from their nature must, in some cases, relieve suffering. He determined, however, to attain his object by some means or other, and made application for the release of the building from taxation on the ground of its belonging to a benevolent institution. He put over the entrance to it a sign designating it an "Asylum;" and besides, to carry out his purpose, induced the Company to order an image of the god Kwánti from China, and set apart a large room for the worship of it. This he told American visitors was a "Chinese church!" His efforts, however, failed; for on my furnishing the assessors with an exact account of the purposes of the Company the tax was laid upon the house, much to his disgust. With the exception of this, the brief compendium given is fair and reliable. The "Four Districts," with the other two subsequently connected with them in the Company, are all in the province of Canton, and not remote from its capital city.

SZE-YAP COMPANY.

Our house is built throughout of brick. It is surrounded also by a brick wall. It is situated in Pine Street, San Francisco. We have also a frame house in Sacramento. The Company was originally composed of people from the four districts of San-ning, San-ai, Hoi-ping, and Yan-ping; hence our name, Sze-yap (which means "Four Districts"). Afterward men from the two districts of Hok-shan and Sze-ai also entered it. We did not, however, change our name on this account.

In China it is common to have councils, and in foreign countries *ui-kuns* (or company-halls). The object is to improve the life of their members, and to instruct them in principles of benevolence. They are somewhat like American churches. The buildings furnish beds, fuel, and water to guests who remain but for a short period; also a lodging-place and medicines for the infirm, aged, and sick. Means are bestowed upon the latter to enable them to return to China.

There are three agents employed by the Company; also a servant, who sweeps the house.

The number of our members that have arrived in this port, according to the record made at their landing, from the first until December 31, 1854, has been about 16,500. Of these there have returned perhaps 3700. In April of last year above 3400 separated, and formed the Ning-yeung Company. More than 300 have died. There are at present in California altogether about 9200. We do not know the number who have left this for other countries.

Except the buildings used by the Company we have no other property. This has been purchased by the members, who have subscribed of their free-will, some twenty, some fifteen, some ten dollars. A portion has been paid in; some will be paid when they are ready to return home. This is a perfectly voluntary matter; there has been no coercion used. Nor is any money required from the disabled, the sick, the aged, or those making a second voyage to this country.

The objects to which the subscriptions to the Company have been devoted are as follows: 1. The purchase of ground and erection of the buildings used by us.—2. The salaries of agents and servants.—3. For fuel, water, candles, and oil.—4. To assist the sick to return home.—5. For the bestowment of medicines.—6. For coffins and funeral expenses of the poor.—7. For the repairs of tombs.—8. Expenses of lawsuits.—9. Taxes upon our frame house at Sacramento.—10. Drayage and other outlays for passengers landing or departing by ship.

The unpaid subscriptions amount to \$35,000; the names of others who have not yet stated the amount they intend to give will be good for perhaps \$6700 more.

The agents of the Company are elected. At the election all the districts must have a voice. If from any one no members are present they must be heard from. The agents must be men of tried honesty, and are required to furnish security before they enter upon their office. Their election is for the term of six months; of the expiration of which they must give notice, and call a new election. But if they be found faithful to their duties they are eligible to re-election.

Our Company has never employed men to work in the mines for their own profit; nor have they ever purchased any slaves or used them here.

Thus ends the exact translation of the rules of these Chinese "Companies," institutions which have alarmed and distressed so many good people in California and throughout the United States; which have been made a ground of so much reproach against them, on the part of interested politicians and others inimical to them; but institutions which have no parallel for utility and philanthropy among the emigrants from any other nation or people to our wide shores.

These interesting papers have, however, a higher and peculiar value to us, inasmuch as they exhibit not alone a general evidence of the democracy and good sense of the Chinese, but also that of the transfer of the ancient institutions of the East to our own soil. The democracy of the utmost extremes of the world side by side! The rising of the sun joins the setting of the sun! The simple self-government of the ancient patriarchal ages finds the nearest resemblance to itself in the last and farthest, though now it discovers nearest, of them!

It is not denied that, in regard to the general government, the theory of it and its better aspects chiefly have been presented. If it be thought I have gone too far, I might sustain this

view by quotations from the most intelligent men who have come into direct acquaintance with the Chinese. Sir George Staunton speaks with admiration of the Chinese system of law. He made a translation of the penal code of the present dynasty. Concerning this translation the *Edinburgh Review* says:

"The most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness, and consistency: the business-like brevity and directness of the various provisions; and the plainness and moderation of the language in which it is expressed. It savors throughout of practical judgment and European good sense."

Thomas Taylor Meadows, a thorough student of the Chinese literature and politics, interpreter in the British service in China, declares that the Chinese

"enjoy an amount of freedom in the disposal of their persons and property which other European nations than the Russians may well envy them." He says that if civilization should be moral and mental before material, then "the Chinese civilization has from the earliest ages been the highest in kind, whatever it may have been in degree, or in the extent to which it has been practiced."

It is not denied that in the administration more especially of the general government in China there have existed, and do exist, great abuses and corruption. In so far as these facts relate to the general government alone the objection built upon them does not affect the estimate we place upon the popular forms. But it will be granted that these have had a share in the universal increase of evil which the most excellent Chinese testify, with great grief, has grown up within the past half century. And this may be accounted for by the following reasons: The imperial power is in the hands of foreigners, the Manchu Tartars, who are hated by the people, and who have yielded to bribery to obtain means to carry on the government. The popular mind has been every where unsettled, the better classes held in anxiety, and vice allowed to prevail, on account of the prevalent spirit of rebellion; many treasonable societies have sprung up; and the people have freely quoted the words of old prophecies and oracles to the effect that the time had come for the overthrow of the present general government. Tremendous corruption, beggary, crime, death, have followed the vast enlargement of foreign trade; most terrible, most inexcusable, most wide-spread of all, the source of them has been the cultivation by Europeans and Americans of the fatal passion for opium.

The question of the qualifications to be required of the Chinese in connection with their admission to citizenship is one of the most serious that has come before the people of the United States. The continent will be occupied by millions of them. They are by nature one of the shrewdest races of the world. Scarcely any other race can compare with them in capacity for organization and in adroitness in political management. This may easily be supported by an observation of their astonishing control over all the nations contiguous to them,

with comparatively little resort to force; or by their dexterity in undoing by strategy what the European powers forced them to concede at the mouth of the cannon. It may be sustained by the judgment of men like Mr. Meadows, who says the Chinese possess that "power of combination for common purposes which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxons among Western nations." Such a people, holding the balance of power by a compact minority, may sway the politics of a State, may decide a Presidential election, or the supremacy of a political party, in some crisis of the nation.

There are three chief elements of danger—their paganism, their ignorance of our language and laws, and their temporary residence.

An intelligent acquaintance with our institutions and principles should be made imperative where application is made for the privilege of naturalization; and the converse duty is obligatory upon us of affording all possible aid in the way of schools and other educational advantages. And the warning can not be given in language too strong, that if these claims of reason, humanity, and patriotism be despised, the hereditary jealousies of their native districts and clans, the unavoidable control of the masses of them by those most acquainted with our laws and customs, the tricks of our politicians, their untaught passions and their uncorrected fears, will inflict upon us severe and not unmerited retribution.

Few of the American people, and far fewer of the Chinese, went to the Pacific coast with a purpose to remain there. They, like ourselves, have migrated voluntarily, in the hope of speedy fortune. Their residence is essentially transient. If left to themselves, few will seek naturalization. And since our laws relating to it contemplate strictness as to the abjuration of foreign allegiance, evidence of fixed purpose to make this New World their home, and the security of the asseveration of one or two citizens to that effect, peculiar care is justifiable that, with reference to them, the evidence of sincerity be sufficient.

The defects of Chinese civilization are, first, its want of sound general political principles; and second, of the influence of enlightened Christianity. These it is the office of American democracy to supply. Shall we not perform it? There is a strange feat of medical skill in which, in cases of extensive hemorrhage, or old age, or special debility, a portion of the blood of a young person has been drawn and transfused in the veins of the patient, pouring into them a new vigor. The youth and health of Christian America could be poured out in no nobler cause than in the rejuvenation of a nation so interesting and so great; a nation which is the mother of a family of nations, whose domains fill half the continent; to whom she has given their religion, their arts, their forms of government, who will always imitate her spirit and be fashioned by her life.