

THE MONGOLIAN PROBLEM IN AMERICA

A DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE
YELLOW PERIL, WITH NOTES UPON
AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ITS
RELATION TO THE
BOYCOTT

BY

W. K. ROBERTS

FROM APRIL, 1889, TO DECEMBER, 1905, AN EMPLOYEE OF
THE CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE.

SAN FRANCISCO

1906

COPYRIGHT BY W. K. ROBERTS

Author of "*Divinity and Man*," "*An African Canaan*
for the American Negro," Etc.

The Theoretical Principles in Brief.

I.

The immigration of any race or class of people whose members or their descendants do not rise to the high standard of civilized life maintained by the at present predominant white population of America will tend to lower the moral tone of the nation, endanger its political institutions, and weaken its prestige as a world power. The best interests of the world at large demand that the superior man shall prevail wherever possible, and that the baser types shall be eliminated or restricted to those regions where the higher race does not thrive. The climatic conditions of North America are favorable for the highest type of Caucasian manhood, and with immigration laws protective of this race the noblest civilization the world has known can be permanently established there.

II.

History discloses no instance wherein a people coming of the admixture of two or more of the racially diverse branches of humanity have achieved greatness, or even maintained stable and liberal self government. If an admixture of the races found favor with the laws of nature Constantinople would be to-day the intellectual and moral center of the civilized world. Wherefore, the more important feature of immigration is racial type and not the worthiness of individuals, in disregard of race (there being moral and depraved elements in all races), for ethnic history proves that national characteristics result not from educative or other influences of human invention, but by the blood inheritance fixed by the unalterable laws of nature.

III.

Restrictive immigration laws, to be the least objectionable to all concerned, should discriminate against races rather than nationalities. The best alternative to this procedure, that would effectively exclude unassimilable aliens, would be an enactment against all Asiatics, Africans, etc., but which would still admit Europeans so long as any foreign immigrants are desired. Many Chinese have made the assertion that they could find no fault with an immigration law excluding *all Asiatics*, but that the ancient pride of their people, which for thousands of years has held China to be the superior nation of the Orient, is grievously offended through their being specially singled out for this purpose.

IV.

Japanese and Korean immigrants are likely to prove even more objectionable than the Chinese, for the reason that while they are equally clannish, and spend no more of their earnings in the country than the latter, they are more turbulent and aggressive, when their numbers are sufficiently augmented to embolden and bring out these inherent qualities.

V.

The low intellectual status of the Mongolian masses, and their fitness to survive under the most squalid and precarious conditions of life, make them formidable competitors with Caucasians—who demand something better than mere animal existence—and the latter can easily be outclassed by them in every field of industry. China, Japan and Korea can send forth from two to three millions of emigrants every year, and there is no part of the earth so attractive to them as North America.

VI.

By reason of their extensive contiguous land borders, the United States, Canada, and Mexico should have similar immigration laws, more especially with regard to Asiatics.

VII.

While there is a possibility of conditions in China so improving that foreigners in the country may entrust their interests to the care of her government, the time for this appears, as yet, a long way off; meanwhile the "gunboat policy" will remain a necessity with nations desirous of safe guarding their citizens domiciled there. America should accept the situation thus presented, and not incur the odious charge of trying to secure advantages through sentimental cajoleries while the European nations are doing the police work of the country. That she has "lost face" with China through this—from an Asiatic point of view—weak policy, is proved by an inner study of the audacious boycott against her goods, and she is not likely to regain prestige without either countering the boycott with a hostile tariff against Chinese goods or proving an ability to defend the interests of her people by force of arms.

VIII.

America should offer no more advantages to Mongolians than they themselves offer to Americans. No American, or other foreigner, can buy land or engage in business in competition with the natives in China outside the treaty ports, while in Japan, although a pretense is made to tolerate foreign enterprises, whenever such are fairly started a systematic boycott, or some sort of vexatious litigation, will ensue which eventually makes the foreigner glad to sell out. It is practically impossible for a foreigner to win a case at law against a Japanese in his own country; for although he may obtain judgment in his favor, the right of a native to appeal from one court to another has virtually no end. This, taken together with innumerable cunning devices which invariably crop up to defeat him, serve to deter any foreigner from undertaking a second lawsuit in that country. In sooth, the Mongolians in their own domains are, under almost every circumstance and condition, intensely loyal to the interests of their own people and opposed to foreigners, whereas in America they are allowed free industrial competition and are more likely to be favored in the law courts than an American opponent. The emigration to China or Japan of only a few hundred Americans, as competitors with any class of their people, would be quickly followed by sanguinary riots or boycotts which would prevent their remaining. On the other hand Americans might go to any country of Western Europe and be readily adopted on terms of equality with the natives. This merely goes to show that the Europeans and Americans are of a single racial stock, and will therefore readily assimilate, while the Mongolians being of a radically different race, are at heart always antagonistic to the white man.

W. K. R.,

December 2, 1905.

Shanghai, China.

The Mongolian Problem in America.

I. MONGOLIAN MIGRATIONS AND CONQUESTS.

HISTORIC MIGRATIONS AND INVASIONS.

As to where the present Mongolians of the Far East originally came from is still a matter of conjecture. Certain ethnologists claim to have found a connecting link between the Chinese and the ancient Babylonians, but as yet the evidence is rather vague in this direction. There are still the remnants of an aboriginal race in China, known as the Miaotzu tribes, while in the north of Japan we find the Ainos, who presumably are the aborigines of that country. Both the Miaotzu and Ainos are Mongoloid in type, though it is supposable that, whatever their original racial features, during the thousands of years in which they have been in contact with their conquerers the blood of the latter would predominate. It is sufficient to say that as far back as human history goes the Chino-Mongol race has been in undisputed possession of the coast regions and adjacent islands of eastern Asia. The Chinese have historic traditions dating back 6000 years or more, but with no logical suggestions as to where the pioneers of their race came from. From the present focus of the yellow race there have in times past proceeded westward mighty hordes which overwhelmed the weaker peoples found in their path. The Japanese have traditions of contact with America in ancient times, showing that their junks visited the Pacific Coast and traded with the natives. Whether these visits had anything to do with the origin of the American Indians or not, the features of the latter show them to be of the same racial stock as the Mongolians, though more nearly allied to the northern Tartars and Malays than to the Chinese or Japanese. As a hypothesis it seems about as probable that the Mongolians of the Far East had their origin on the American continent as that the progenitors of the Indians came from Asia. It agrees somewhat better with theology to assume that the Indians came from Asia and are a branch of the great Turanian-Mongol race. Had the modern Chinese or Japanese made a conquest of the American continent before the arrival of the white man, they would have freely intermarried with and assimilated their Indian kinsmen and there would have been no such conflicts and hatred as have occurred between the whites and the natives, who were racially widely divergent from each other.

In dealing with the historically authenticated invasions by Mongol-

Tartars we find that of South Russia by the so-called Golden Horde, impelled forth by the Grand Khans of Tartary. The myrmidons of Ghengis Khan and Timur, after conquering the Slavs, founded a despotism which exacted tribute from them for more than two centuries. But the Golden Horde failed to improve their opportunities as conquerors and white Russia threw off the yoke that had galled the necks of her people so long. But the Tartars left the curse of their base blood in southern and eastern Russia, and that antagonistic and unreasonable blood has supplied the Cossacks, whose ready and cruel treatment even of their own kith and kin has sustained an oppressive autocracy, and whose treacherous and traitorous natures have brought recent humiliation and shame upon their country. Had all the Russians been pure Tartars the Japanese would never have won so many victories over them; had they been of pure Caucasian stock their political revolution at home would have taken place many years ago and in a peaceful manner. The scenes of barbarity recently enacted in Russia have occurred mainly where the people are of a mixed Mongol Caucasian type, as at Odessa, where the Tartar blood exceeds that of the white race. No atrocities of consequence or wanton destruction of property have taken place in northern or western Russia, where the population is true Caucasian, except those perpetrated by the Mongol-Cossack troops.

Another successful invasion by Mongol-Tartars was that of the Huns under Attila, whose minions overran and devastated a large portion of southeastern Europe. Their progress in Europe was eventually checked by the Germans, and they finally became domiciled in what is now Hungary. Those of the Huns who remained in Europe, after the manner of the Tartar conquerors of Russia, intermingled their blood with that of the Europeans and produced the present mixed race of Austro-Hungary. This infusion of Caucasian blood weakened the virile and loyal energy of the Huns and unfitted them for further conquests. Still another historic invasion by the yellow race was that of the Ottoman Turks, who swept down upon and conquered the major portion of Asia Minor and the Balkan States, thus bringing under their sway the fairest regions of Europe and the flower of the Caucasian race. The Turk followed the example of the Huns and Russian Tartars by intermingling their blood with the European and Semitic populations they conquered and thereby neutralized the warlike prowess of the race. The modern Turk, although possessed of a considerable Caucasian strain, is still as ferocious and unconscionable as his Mongolian ancestors, but lacks their cohesive and aggressive energy.

Had either of the three great Mongol invasions of Europe been sus-

tained by continued immigration from the Far Eastern stronghold of the race, the whole of Europe would, no doubt, have come under their sway. Then in time a mixed race would have resulted, and finally this would have been absorbed and the white blood overwhelmed and eliminated. The Mongol migration which now threatens North America, if permitted to attain proportions sufficient to strongly influence political affairs in their favor, will have permanent support from Japan and China, and therein lies the serious danger to the white race. A mixed race might or might not be formed, but the final result would be the same. The ancient Aryan invaders of India lost their high standard of intelligence and moral discipline through admixture with the inferior aborigines of that country. In this case white men conquered the black natives of Hindostan and through admixture with them produced the modern Hindoos—a people incapable of maintaining orderly government without British aid. The Mongolians naturally prefer their own women for wives, and it was the difficulty of getting them from their distant homeland that led the Huns, Turks and other Tartars to intermarry with Europeans. That these two widely divergent branches of the human family are extremely slow to intermingle their blood is apparent in the fact that even at the present day in portions of Hungary, the Balkans and Russia there are millions of Tartars of the pure original stock, and who still maintain the customs and traditions of the Far East from which their ancestors migrated many centuries ago.

PRESENT AMBITIONS FOR MIGRATION AND CONQUEST.

The desire in both China and Japan to emigrate to distant countries has in modern times been of slow growth, apparently owing to a strong attachment for their native land and dislike of contact with foreigners. A migratory impulse, however, has been awakened in recent years by reason of numerous returning emigrants with much wealth from America, Australia and other places. This incoming wealth has inspired many families in China and Japan with a desire to send abroad one or more of their members. The patriarchal system which obtains in these countries leads each successful member of a family to in a measure share his resources with his brethren. He does not actually divide his wealth with those outside of his own household, but endeavors to give opportunities to even distant relatives. Such being the case, a family clan will club together and raise means to send a strong youth to some foreign land in the hope that he will return wealthy and relieve the hard life of his people. This widespread desire would under favorable conditions cause an annual emigration from China of more than two million souls, and their going would

have no other effect upon the country than to relieve the densely congested population and improve its healthful energy. It would give better opportunities to those at home, and the robbers and beggars now so numerous in the land would be diminished; for these vagabonds, in the main, have taken to evil ways through finding themselves outclassed in the hard struggle for existence. Wherefore, the annual emigration from China of a couple of millions of people would be a vast relief to the fierce labor competition, to say nothing of the wealth they would return to the country. This fact is now fully understood by all intelligent Chinamen, hence the eagerness of the Imperial Government to keep open as many avenues as possible for the outflow of its teeming millions. The closing of the gates against them in the United States, Canada and Australia has proved a most galling check upon the ambitions of the Chinese, and they naturally feel themselves unjustly discriminated against.

A similar desire to emigrate is now prevalent in Japan, where young men, in almost every station of life, are simply frenzied with an eagerness to get abroad. Stories written home by friends in America of the wealth that awaits them there lead to most extraordinary efforts to reach the land of promise. Missionaries are beset by young fellows who profess the most sincere desire to have the gospel taught them; but it is soon discovered that they are extremely attentive to the English language and their questions easily turn toward the conditions of life in America and the best means of getting there. The more patient ones usually succeed in gaining all the information they desire and probably a recommendation to kind persons across the sea who will lend them a helping hand when they arrive there. A check is imposed upon the outgoing of these emigrants by the Japanese Government, which fears the passing of an exclusion act similar to that against the Chinese. Each emigrant must obtain a government passport before leaving Japan, and these are not issued to the lower element of the coolie class. The Japanese Government will, no doubt, make an effort to induce as many as possible of the surplus population to emigrate to and found colonies in Corea and Manchuria, and this may be expected to, in a measure, check the tide turning toward America. It is fairly safe to say that Japan can send forth at least half a million emigrants a year and not feel the loss.

That the Japanese, at least, are fired with the ardor of world conquest is evidenced in their dauntless courage in battle with the Russians, in their well mapped out plans for securing themselves in Corea and Manchuria, and also in the riots in Japan after the terms of peace were made known. The aggressive element wanted an indemnity with which to be prepared

for another war, and without which meant that their warlike spirit would, for financial reasons, be held down for many years to come. The present ambition of the Chinese in this direction is to regain the lost possessions upon their borders and likewise the prestige they once held in the Far East. To this end many students and agitators are at work striving to evolve a spirit of patriotism and to discover the best methods of achieving the goal. Blind and irrational as are many of the suggestions for the elevation of China to a first-class power, they are, nevertheless, far above the Boxer programme of six years ago, and viewed in this progressive light the aggressive spirit now rife in the country is not to be ignored. Six years ago the Boxer proclamation that multitudes of angels would aid them in battle with the foreigners, if not wholly believed in by the literati, were attentively listened to and encouraged; but to-day few educated Chinese can be found who believe that anything short of hard fighting on scientific modern lines will bring them success, and their defensive and aggressive policy is being shaped accordingly.

METHODS OF MONGOLIAN CONQUEST.

The Chinese and Japanese, at the present time, form the strongest and most enlightened branches of the Mongolian family. Being racially pure they are inspired with a common loyal sentiment for the preservation of their own type and social institutions, and antagonism toward all that is in conflict therewith. Although the Chinese have not, as yet, shown the intelligent national unity required for success in armed contest, their fraternal sentiments and attachment to the traditions of the land have been sufficiently demonstrated in the present boycott and other events to dispel all doubt as to their possibilities in this respect. Their conquests in the past have been practically confined to the field of peaceful industry, and through survival of the fittest therein their numbers have increased from a tribe of a few hundred to hundreds of millions whose legions are spread over an area larger than the United States. It would appear a characteristic of the Mongolian to strive long and industriously toward a desired goal, and when it is reached to relapse into a process of deterioration. Their conquests in the past invariably show this trait; whether Hun, Turk or toiling Chinese, all have displayed most strenuous fighting or competitive qualities until having attained the desired ascendancy, when retrograde to a certain normal plane of semi-barbarism would ensue. Whether the Japanese will follow in the same train remains to be seen. Certain features of their trade would seem to indicate that they are not different

from others of their race in this respect. In competition for the trade of China they have manufactured certain classes of goods equal in quality with those of any foreign country, but whenever the foreign competition was overcome their goods became continuously poorer in quality. Chinese students in foreign schools usually study so diligently as to distance their white classmates, but when finished with school their studies invariably cease altogether and they relapse into a slovenly mental condition. The inference to be drawn is that the Mongolian as a competitor, whether under arms or in the field of industry, is almost invincible, but he is unable of his own initiative to maintain a high standard of excellence. Under the dominating influence of the higher Caucasian nations he may rise greatly above his normal level, as in the case of the Japanese under Anglo-Saxon influence, but take away that influence or let them feel that they can ignore it, and they will probably fall back to the plane the race has occupied throughout recorded history.

The Chinese have continuously encroached upon the nations of their border lands and absorbed and eliminated them by the slow but sure process of industrial competition. Their cousins, the Tartar tribes of Manchuria and Mongolia, for many centuries, by force of arms, held back the industrious Chinese, but their territories have in recent times been gradually colonized by the latter until these one time fierce nomads are now practically helpless. The Tartars wanted the fertile plains of the north for their flocks and herds, and by their predatory raids discouraged the Chinese farmers, who were making constant efforts to settle there, while the Chinese on their part built the historic wall as a protection against the Tartar invasions. The Chinese, although conquered some three centuries ago and since held in quasi subjection by the Manchu Tartars, have slowly but surely encroached upon the patrimony of their rulers until the latter are now at their mercy. Should the outside world not interfere with this progress of the Chinese, ere many years have passed an uprising will occur in which the whole Manchu population will be enslaved or exterminated. When Nanking was taken by the Taiping rebels, some fifty years ago, the Manchu inhabitants, numbering many thousands, were slaughtered without mercy. Natives of that city at the present day recount the persistent efforts of the Taipings to prevent a single Manchu escaping. The latter were often hard to distinguish from the Chinese, so the head of every doubtful individual was carefully examined and if any of the characteristics of the Tartar skull were shown the unfortunate possessor was put to death. It is pretty certain that if the Taipings had made a conquest of north China, the whole of the Manchu race would

have been massacred. On the south and southwest borders of China a peaceful conquest is slowly going on, where the weak Cochin China natives are melting away before the patient toilers of the Middle Kingdom, and the formerly dense and pestilent jungles of the Shan States are being turned into gardens and rice fields. The natives on these southern frontiers are not turbulent, so the Chinese find only natural barriers to their progress, such as pestilent swamps, jungles and wild animals.

The apparently slow progress of Chinese colonization may be in a degree accounted for by great internal calamities caused by civil war, famine and pestilence, which have in some instances destroyed from ten to thirty millions of people in the course of a few years' time. Chinese traditions show that many of the provinces have been time and again devastated, then in the course of a few decades repopled from the adjoining regions. Notwithstanding these numerous calamities the yellow hosts have slowly gone on enlarging the spheres of their activity, never forming independent states, but, until checked by the Europeans, always adding to the expansive greatness of their loosely constructed nation. The French possessions of Indo China and British Burmah at the present time form political barriers against their territorial acquisition on the south, but they nevertheless encourage the multiplying of the Chinese people in those regions—giving them, in fact, better protection from civil war pestilence and predatory natives than their own government could do. While the Laos tribes of Indo China are a weak and peaceable race and easy victims for the Chinese, the Malays of Burma and Siam are, like the northern Tartars, a fierce and assertive people from whom the Chinese, without the protection of the European governments concerned, would suffer many disadvantages. As it is, a constant immigration from China is pouring into these regions, and it is evidently only a matter of time when all the Laos and Malay inhabitants will be eliminated and a pure Chinese population established there. The same fate will happen to the Filipinos if Chinese are allowed to enter the islands and come into industrial competition with them. It may be questioned if even the Japanese can withstand competition with Chinese colonists, for although they are far more industrious and economical than any other people save the Chinese, because of their larger proclivities for pleasure they would ultimately lose in a purely economic contest. With the qualities of patient industry and fortitude under adversity in their favor, the Chinese have been constant gainers over the populations on the borders of the empire, even though at times conquered, and frequently suffering terrible losses at their hands—losses that need not to have been sustained had they been endowed with

more bravery or the honesty to maintain a disciplined army. It is entirely owing to the lack of a strong and progressive home government that the Chinese have never, of their own initiative, migrated from the shores of the China Sea or founded colonial dependencies in distant lands. Unless they acquire military prowess their colonial conquests, away from their own borders, must always depend upon the good will of foreign nations. But, whether military achievements are possible to them or not, they are learning to play a diplomatic game, using commercial favors as a fulcrum, in which they may succeed in getting their surplus millions planted on foreign soil to repeat the history of the Far East. Their legions, being dependent upon foreign good will, would in such colonial contest proceed slowly, but none the less surely than have the hosts of the mother country; for no people on earth can permanently hold out against the patient industry and unerring connivance of the Chinese.

THE VITAL TENACITY OF THE RACE.

Although the Mongolian is the least robust in physique of any of the numerically great races, his vital endurance under adverse conditions is unsurpassable. Indeed, it is easily proved that his power to endure climatic severities and unhealthful conditions generally greatly exceeds that of any other people on earth. He thrives equally well in the tropics or in the far north. His near relatives, the Lapps of Europe, the Esquimaux of America and the Tunguses of Asia, live in cheerfulness amid the icy blasts of the Arctic Circle, while the Laos and Malays of Indo China and the Indian seas, who also are his near kinsmen, thrive in malarial marsh and jungle under the burning equatorial sun. A Chinese or Japanese dressed in the costume peculiar to any of these distantly separated localities would be scarcely distinguishable from the natives, and he would easily become acclimated in either extreme of northern or southern temperature. Although they pay slight attention to health and ignore sanitary measures, they are subject to fewer epidemics in proportion to numbers, and are troubled less with colds, fevers and other ailments than the white race with all its scientific precautions. This vital tenacity is shown in infants, who are cared for in a manner that few white children would survive under. A babe will be seen sleeping peacefully slung on the back of a young child at play, its head dangling about in a way that seems almost to wrench its neck out of joint. Then when the awful foot binding operation begins with a Chinese girl two or three years of age the torture is so terrible that it is reasonable to believe but few children of any other race could live through. The breaking of the toes and doubling them under the ball of the foot, followed by bandages that are continually drawn

tighter until a size sufficiently small is attained, causes the child to cry piteously night and day during the first couple of months following the operation. The author has been kept awake many nights in the cities of central China by the moaning of these child victims of a horrible custom; and yet, while a few of them die from lockjaw and mortification of the feet, the death rate from this cause is nothing like as great as one would expect. The ability of the Chinese to use opium without disastrous physical effects is another evidence of their remarkable vitality. Near eight million pounds of Indian opium per year is consumed in China, and although there are no statistics to show the full amount of the native drug used, it is probable that the quantity is sufficient to swell the total opium consumption to somewhere between fifteen and twenty million pounds. Morphia is also extensively imported, and its use is spreading rapidly. While the per capita amount of opium and morphia used in the country may not seem great, it must be borne in mind that at least two-thirds of the population are too poor to indulge at all in the luxury. It is incomprehensible to one bred in western lands how a Mongolian laborer can perform exacting toils upon his meagre diet of rice and vegetables. If no other factor than the mere ability to survive and perform the necessary labors of life cheaply be taken into consideration, the Mongolian is absolutely certain to win over all men in an economic contest. Although white laborers might train themselves to live on a much cheaper diet than is usually the case, their whole organic being would necessarily have to be changed to enable them to subsist in competition with the Mongolian. In short, their minds would have to be dwarfed and their nerves reduced in energy to the Mongolian level to fit them for a life and death contest with that race, with its inferior order of intelligence and aspiration.

That the Mongolian is possessed of the most enduring qualities as a soldier is proved by a study of the Tartar invasions of Europe and of the recent Japanese exploits. The latter at the battle of Mukden fought on for many hours without food or rest, numbers of them falling by the wayside from sheer exhaustion, but wholly undaunted in spirit. The only Mongolian people who have signally failed in heroic bravery are the Chinese, which failure, however, should not be regarded too lightly by their critics. Their failure in war can be partially explained by the as yet unrealized *necessity* for united action against a foreign enemy. The officials and not the rank and file are chiefly to blame in this connection, since their neglect of duty and penchant for robbing the common soldier operate to discourage and demoralize him. Let the Chinese once become infused with the right sentiment, their troops drilled and armed to an equality

with those of other nations, and, as many eminent foreigners have prophesied, the world may have to change its opinion both in regard to their possibilities of patriotic union and efficiency in arms.

II. THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF CHINA.

INFLUENCE OF WESTERN EDUCATION.

A widespread belief obtains among foreigners, including some of those fairly well informed upon the internal affairs of China, that the old empire is on the verge of a political upheaval which may mean the adoption of Western methods and the inauguration of an era of better government and greater prosperity for its people. That there is ground for such belief it is noteworthy that greater leniency is shown toward known or suspected enemies of the dynasty, increased interest in foreign educative methods, and official toleration of what may be termed progressive literature. A constitution for the country has been talked of, and though there seems to be as yet no definite idea as to what form it should take, no one can gainsay that this product of Western education may not in due course bear good fruit. Many missionaries report that of late more students apply to them than they are able to handle, whereas only a few years ago they could scarcely be obtained for any consideration. The desire for Western knowledge owes much to the disastrous failure of the Boxer propaganda, which advocated expulsion of everything foreign and a return to the conditions in vogue prior to the advent of the foreigner. It has been further strengthened by the results of the Russo-Japanese war, in which the successes of the latter were clearly due to their adoption at least of the Western science of warfare. The influence of Western education *per se* is not as yet much in evidence outside the treaty ports, there being apparently not the slightest intention of modernizing the cities of China proper by improving sanitation, adopting street cars or other public utilities. However, such improvements have been discussed in certain quarters, and it would not be altogether out of the question to suppose that efforts in this direction may be attempted in the near future. People at home are often misled, through hearing of street cars being proposed at Shanghai or some other large treaty port, into the supposition that the Chinese are adopting Western methods, when as a matter of fact these are enterprises of foreigners and intended to be established on concessions wholly under foreign control. The Chinese have actually built telegraph lines, arsenals, mints and iron works, also several cotton factories, and the opportunities for money making by the officials in connection with

these government aided enterprises affords an incentive to the undertaking even of railway building. Perhaps one of the most encouraging signs of an awakened spirit in China is the recent opening of schools for girls in several different cities by the Chinese themselves.

So far Western educative influence has not perceptibly influenced the Chinese character as regards honest and conscientious methods. The official in charge of a mint makes his squeeze by adding more than the prescribed amount of copper alloy to the silver coins produced, or by flooding his district with copper cash or paper notes. Military officers are constantly in trouble with their men because of arrears of pay, while the purchaser of military supplies buys cheap and inferior materials and loses no opportunity to put money in his own pocket. To all appearances they would still repeat their methods pursued during the Chino-Japanese war, when several high mandarins became millionaires through the purchase at a heavy discount of out-of-date European firearms, although no suitable cartridges could be obtained for them. They were sent to the army just the same, with misfit cartridges, with the result that when attacked by the Japs the soldiers, unable to fire the guns, promptly threw them away and took to their heels. It is not too much, however, to suppose that the Chinese may, in time, evolve safeguards against the official corruption which at the present time seems so impenetrable a barrier to their national development.

Foreign education does not seem to have had much effect in softening the anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese. They give some evidence of the dawn of a true patriotism, and, were a majority of their countrymen similarly educated, the early attainment of better international terms for China would soon be possible. But with thousands of minds steeped in ignorance to one thus qualified only serves to make that one a dangerous agitator instead of the beneficent teacher he ought to be. The enlightened Mongol does not compare favorably with the average Caucasian similarly advanced above his fellow men; it is pretty safe to assert that of the numerous foreign educated students who have returned to China not one has pursued a course of self sacrifice for the well being of his countrymen. No Chinaman expects to find a self-sacrificing patriot; every one is expected to feather his own nest while serving his country. The growth of anti-foreign sentiment through close contact with foreigners may, after all, be perfectly natural, since the same thing occurs in the most enlightened Christian lands. In California, British Columbia and Australia, where the Mongolians have become numerous, is found the greatest prejudice, while in England, eastern Canada and the eastern States, where

they are seldom seen, there exists no such antipathy. The province of Kwangtung, from which the Chinese in the United States emigrated, is the most bitterly anti-foreign and has taken the most active part in the boycott agitation of any part of China. Instead of the returning emigrants spreading a leaven of enlightenment and a favorable influence toward foreigners, as has often been predicted would be the case, just the reverse has happened. Thus, while Western education certainly enlightens and improves the individual Chinese, at the same time it makes him more aggressive, and he is wont to become a schemer and plotter either against his own government, against foreigners or against some class or clan of his fellow citizens. Such were the men who inaugurated the Taiping rebellion in central China, and the American boycott. Some of them are to-day scheming for the overthrow of the present dynasty in China; others, especially of the Japan educated class, are dreaming of military achievements for the undoing of the white man, while others of lesser enthusiasm confine their brain energies to their personal interests. A search to find one with any substantial and disinterested plan for the betterment of his country would be all but fruitless, though all of them can talk eloquently enough upon what ought to be done and what they would do if given the power.

JAPAN EDUCATED STUDENTS.

At the present time there are Chinese students in Japan to the number of about five thousand, the expenses of some two thousand of whom are paid by the Peking government. These students fraternize with their Japanese cousins in the same manner as do English or German students with young Americans under like circumstances. They are quickly made to feel the ties of racial kinship with the Japanese, and together they soon come to unburden their souls in the discussion of political questions in a way that never occurs between themselves and members of the white race. The result is that the Chinese student in Japan becomes inspired of an ambitious patriotism which would seem for centuries to have lain dormant in the people of the Middle Kingdom.

These students on their return from Japan are thus imbued with a new patriotic fervor, but, as far as outward appearances go, it partakes largely of the kind which looks to turbulent demonstrations for reforming the home government, and to the methods of war for a better adjustment of China's foreign relations. They and their Japanese associates seem to have gotten at second hand certain socialistic theories originating in the

military burdened countries of Europe which they believe may be applied to the oppressed millions of the Orient. The writings of European theorists upon social problems have been more or less badly translated and printed in Japan and thence circulated in China—often with the connivance of the returning students—and their influence upon a few half enlightened and many densely ignorant minds is arousing a spirit of serious discontent. An unruly political element in Japan is thus spreading an agitation in both Corea and China which, helped on by the student class, is preparing the way, mayhap for peaceful progression, but more likely for discord and civil strife. So far the sentiments thus propagated have shown no decisively anti-foreign spirit, though they could readily be turned in that direction. The Japanese aggressives berate the Chinese students upon their nation's tame submission to many indignities at the hands of foreigners, within its own borders and abroad. They urge that China should become a military power under the tutelage of Japan, all of which fires the spirit of many students, who, in turn, excite the ardor of their brethren at home. The Chinese officials have in former years made vigorous efforts to restrain all such reform enthusiasts, but since Japan's victories over the Russians they are inclined to accept almost anything coming from that country as unanswerable logic. In fact, not a few officials now look upon the leadership of Japan as the one great hope of China; but they ordinarily fail to discriminate between the good and the bad which comes from their island neighbors. All classes of Chinese mistrust white men, believing them to be unconscionable oppressors, and there is no attempt to discriminate between nationalities of that race. Hence, when the Japanese aggressives point to the successes of their country through military effort, a hopeful inspiration dawns upon the Celestial mind, and he reasons that what Japan has done China, with her greater numbers and resources can surely accomplish. Many Japanese make the boast that the grand Khans of Tartary were Japanese, and this argument is used to help instil the belief that the island empire is destined to lead the Mongolian hosts to even greater glories than of old. It was the chagrin of this ambitious element in Japan which caused the riots in that country when the terms of peace with Russia were made known. An indemnity from Russia would have left Japan in a position to go to war again on short notice, whereas under present circumstances her ambitions for further conquests will be checked for many years by financial conditions.

Judging from outward appearances, but few of the substantial ideals and methods of the Japanese have seriously impressed the Chinese students, since they have little to say of the large factories at Osaki, the ship yards

at Nagasaki, or the vast merchant marine which Japan has acquired. They recount China's wrongs from foreigners and the feebleness of her government, but fight shy of a solution which suggests many years of industrial and educational development and the gradual elevation thereby of their people to political equality in the fraternity of nations. Their jeers at the students educated in America and Europe, as being semi-foreign, and conservative on the question of political reform, are eagerly joined in by all the turbulent youth of the country. Whether the better elements of the Japanese, who are now emigrating in large numbers to almost every part of China, and the more conservative faction of the native reformers, aided by Chinese officialdom, will be able to hold in bounds the impending revolution remains to be seen. That a storm is brewing few who look beneath the surface of affairs in China will deny; the form it will take depends in a large measure upon the attitude maintained by foreign governments. If the great powers, while still maintaining a discreet military pressure, use their influence to encourage China to follow in the footsteps of Japan in her civic development, all may go well, but if grasping commercial avarice adds further grievances to the already long list—such, for instance, as the extension of foreign shipping, mining and other concessions throughout the interior in competition with the natives, it is probable that the violent factions will gain control, with results disastrous to the empire and, through the demoralization of commerce, great injury to the whole civilized world.

REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES.

That there is a growing restlessness among the younger and more vigorous elements of China, a dissatisfaction with the prevailing order of things, no one can gainsay. There are at present several factions of progressives and malcontents at work, some of which have fairly clear and practical theories upon the path China should follow, and yet others whose propositions are so radical and illusionary as to alarm, not only the native supporters of the old regime, but also foreigners interested in the country who can see naught but bloodshed and anarchy to come out of their proceedings. That serious alarm is felt in high quarters is shown by an imperial decree, issued last month (November, 1905), concerning the revolutionary agitation. This decree, after asserting the present Manchu dynasty to have been the most merciful and lenient in its treatment of the people of China, in comparison with all preceding dynasties, and that the Emperor had lately encouraged every kind of reform in the government on modern lines, utters a solemn warning to malcontents, and instructs Tartar Generals, Viceroys and Provincial Governors to diligently put a stop to the

agitation and to offer rewards for the arrest and punishment as rebels of all who persist in spreading about reports harmful to the peace of the land.

An underlying principle upon which all the disaffected elements of China agree is that of hatred of the present dominating influence of the foreign powers and the desire to in some manner overcome it. The recent success of Japan and the eagerness with which foreign nations are courting her friendship have aroused in the Chinese an ambition for like distinctions for their own country. They feel keenly the odious position of China, with her treaty ports under foreign control, her officials treated as barbarians in not being allowed to try foreigners, or foreign naturalized Chinese, in their courts, no matter how serious their offense; the presence in her inland waters of foreign ships competing on equal terms with native craft, and even foreign postoffices in competition with their own upon their own soil. The anti-foreign agitator finds no end of material upon which to base his arguments against the evils of foreign domination, and the more violent his suggestions of a remedy the more is he listened to by the ignorant rabble. And yet, while the milder propositions of the conservative reformer find few supporters among the masses, since the failure of the wild scheme of the Boxers in 1900 it is interesting to note the influence with the government of those peacefully disposed toward foreigners over the advocates of forceful effort. Chang Chih-tung, one of the Viceroy's of the Yangtze Valley who saved that region from devastation by the Boxers, has been exalted to the highest rank of any purely Chinese official in the empire, while Tuan Fong, who was Governor of Shensi province when the order was sent forth from Peking to exterminate the foreigners and who concealed the order and thereby saved the lives of nearly one hundred missionaries, has also been the recipient of high honors and is one of the five high commissioners elected to be sent abroad to study foreign governments. These encouraging features of the Chinese Government give evidence of healthful development that may be destined to lead the country out of its difficulties, but the impartial onlooker can hardly conclude otherwise than that the violent and irresponsible elements of the country at large would prevail at the present time should anything occur to arouse great popular excitement.

The time honored mandarin system, wherein high offices are practically purchased from the Government, and the official allowed to repay himself through extortionate taxation of the people under his charge, is a serious stumbling block in the way of Chinese progress. To collect and honestly hand over the revenues of the country, and to be content with

fixed and moderate salaries, is rather too much to expect of the Chinese officials after the schooling ninety-nine out of every hundred of them has received. Without radical reform of official procedure in this direction it is difficult for the Westerner to see just how any substantial progress can be made in the government of the country. Bribery and corruption, in every conceivable form, is as rampant in the empire now as ever before, and this is the last topic the literati wish to discuss, for the reason that they are all hoping to get office for themselves or their sons and they want the good old get-rich-quick system maintained. If bribery and corruption were done away with and only fixed fees and revenues collected, no office would be worth striving for, the chief incentive to studious preparation for the provincial examinations would be lost, and the hordes of official underlings would have to find other occupations. Then, supposing an entirely new system of government were formed, where are the conscientious and capable officials to come from? Most foreigners would naturally suggest the foreign educated students and missionary proteges, which is in fact the only logical proposition, since all others are practically untouched by any other view of the subject than that of their forefathers. But, even if the better part of the foreign trained men in the country were called upon for this purpose there would not be enough of them to fill one-tenth of the offices in China, and the other nine-tenths would be able easily to overrule and neutralize their influence.

Were a revolution started in China tomorrow, there is everything to indicate that there would be lacking any strong guiding mind to outline and direct its proceedings. Furthermore, there is no intelligent and influential substratum from which to draw secondary leaders and advisers. Finally, confidence and faith in their leaders, having in view any worthy national aim, would be utterly lacking in the rank and file of the army necessary to overcome the Manchu rulers of the country. Consequently, any army the revolutionaries might at the present time get together could only be expected to become what every Chinese army—whether as imperialists or rebels—has proved itself, a ruthless and unruly mob of vampires leaving devastation and ruin in their path. Wherefore, every sign pointing toward an armed revolution, under present conditions, should be taken as a danger sign, portentous of horrors of every description for the Chinese people, with no possible good to come out of it; while on the other hand the best hope of a prosperous future for the nation lies in peaceful industry and educational development on modern lines.

THE AMERICAN BOYCOTT.

In the month of July (1905) the boycott in China was begun against American goods, and this effort to strike a deadly blow at America's trade in the Far East has been in more or less active force up to the present date. Indeed, for a few weeks following its commencement it looked as if Americans themselves in certain parts of China would be so completely tabooed as to compel their migration elsewhere. Inquiries were made as to who were Americans, and their names and places of residence and business connections listed. Hotels and other public places managed by Americans were deserted by all Chinese patrons, and their native servants intimidated and warned to leave. The wildest rumors were set afloat among the ignorant natives concerning atrocities perpetrated upon their defenseless countrymen in America. At one time a report was circulated that all the Chinese in America had been massacred; another stated that the Chinese had rebelled and slaughtered all the Americans! Coolies talked glibly of the terrible vengeance China would visit upon the American barbarians and predicted that it would not be long before the whole of the United States would be in the hands of the Chinese. The more intelligent classes had somewhat milder versions of the state of affairs between the two countries. They solemnly discussed news obtained from somewhere of the appalling condition of trade in America owing to the boycott, making it appear that without the patronage of China about half the population of that country would face starvation. American officials were represented as piteously supplicating the Chinese Government to use its influence to call off the boycott. Certain English newspapers published in China substantially encouraged the boycott by printing accounts of boycott meetings and complaints from Chinese and foreigners against the workings of the Exclusion Act in America, assuming that such restriction and hardships upon an industrious people was altogether wrong and that the Chinese were right in this effort to obtain justice. On the 11th of October an article appeared in the Shanghai "North China Daily News," over the signature "Sinensis," giving what purported to be an extract from a letter written at Toronto by a "British" missionary. The letter, after berating what she termed the medical examination farce at Hongkong, relates the experience of a Chinese boy, who, because he was suffering from an affection of the eyes, was not allowed to land at San Francisco. After recounting the frantic efforts of the father, a merchant in San Francisco, to prevent the boy being sent back to China, she ends it with: "It makes my blood boil to see the way the Chinese are treated and talked of in San Francisco."

The editor apologetically remarks in a footnote: "We insert this letter merely as an account of abuses, which the American Government has practically decided must be abolished with all speed." This article was translated by the vernacular press, with the addition of a few harrowing details, and sent broadcast throughout the country, helping to influence the people against Americans. In the same paper there appeared on September 12th a purported interview with Secretary of War Taft, taken from the "Nan fang pao," published in Shanghai. In this interview Mr. Taft is made to say: "There can be no doubt that the protest you did raise (through the boycott) called the attention of the whole American people to the grave injustice and abuse of the laws of immigration by some of our immigration officers." After stating that it was his purpose to conclude a treaty * * * "that will preclude and eliminate all possibilities of such abuses in the future, so that the exempt classes will, in the future, land on our shores with as much freedom and facility, and be subject to as few formalities as the higher classes from other countries," he goes on to say, in reply to the question as to "whether the stringency against coolie immigration will be released at all," "that at present it was impossible owing to the strong sentiment against it. But," he continued, "in a few years, the very States that oppose it so strongly now, would beg the Chinese laborers to immigrate." As construed and presented to the people by the native press the American Government through its high officials acknowledged itself in the wrong, but was trying to shirk the blame on to certain over-zealous immigration officers, and if the Chinese but kept up their protest long enough America would be only too glad to open the gates to their immigrants. In its issue of December 1st, the above mentioned English paper printed an article under the title "At a boycott meeting," evidently written by a correspondent at Hankow. In this the writer relates that he was a passenger some years ago on an Empress steamer with eight hundred coolies bound for Vancouver, where, on account of a supposed case of smallpox on board, the vessel was put in quarantine for a fortnight on arrival at Victoria. He then describes how some forty beach combers came on board armed with Winchesters and clubs and had the Chinese stripped and given a bath of disinfectants, while their clothing and effects were baked till ruined, etc., etc. The chief point of interest in this part of the story is that it implied Victoria to be an American port, the intention evidently being that when the article should be translated and copied into the Chinese papers it would be set forth as further evidence of the barbarous methods of American officials. That the Japanese have played an important though well concealed part in the boycott is evidenced by the great activity shown by Chinese students

in Japan and the mass of literature on the subject sent from that country into China. The Chinese students there have made continuous and *frantic* appeals to their people at home to keep up the boycott until the Exclusion Act is repealed. The pamphlets thus sent for circulation in China are filled with harrowing stories of ill treatment of their people by America and remarks upon the insult the whole nation suffers thereby. The adroit play upon the historic pride of the Chinese bears a distinctively Japanese color, and the native press in China have copied and made much of this view of the Exclusion Law. The issue of the "Nan fang pao" of November 14th states one of the demands of the boycott propaganda as follows: * * "that Chinese shall not be singled out for exclusion. It is an insult to our whole country. Either America must exclude all Asiatic labor or admit Chinese who qualify under the general immigration law."

Certain telegrams and messages on the subject of the boycott, purporting to come from high quarters in America, implied that the Government there admitted all the charges of gross injustice, and was willing and eager to make amends by at once repealing the Exclusion Law were it not for the opposition of the working men. This led to many fantastic stories from the agitators, who depicted the American laborer as lazy and dissolute in the extreme. They solemnly stated how one Chinese could do the work of three or four Americans, and that after California had been developed by their industry the perfidious white men were trying to rob them of their just rewards. Many Chinese officials took a hand in encouraging the agitation, and it required all the moral pressure the American Consuls could bring to bear to induce them to in any way interfere with its progress. One official with the rank of a Taotai boasted that he had spent 20,000 taels in telegrams in helping it on. The Chinese clerks in the Custom House at Shanghai and at other ports organized boycott committees and issued circulars, to which even their names and service rank were attached, and distributed them broadcast. These Customs committees laid systematic plans for aiding the boycott, levied contributions on high and low of the native staff and, no doubt, would soon have made their influence felt in the handling of American cargoes if a restraining order from the Inspector General had not checked their progress.

That the Chinese merchants, at least in north China, have little sympathy with the movement is found by the fact that they have continued all along to demand American goods, but, for their own protection, usually requesting importers to represent them as of European origin. The generally speaking superior quality of American manufactures accounts for this preference, and, unless Europeans closely imitate these goods, the demand

for them will continue regardless of the boycott. Although the energy which marked the prosecution of the boycott during the first two months of its inception has waned to a considerable extent in the treaty ports, the propaganda is still being pushed farther and farther inland by paid agitators. Boycott placards have continued to the present date to adorn the walls in many streets in Shanghai, and numerous shops contain notices that American goods are not dealt in. The Cantonese, who have throughout been the most vigorous in its prosecution, have almost invariably the following notice conspicuously displayed in their places of business: "This firm neither buys nor sells American goods." While Shanghai gets the credit for having started the boycott—because of the active zeal of certain so-called students from this quarter who were refused a landing in America—its chief support has been from the Cantonese, who are practically the only people of China directly concerned with the American immigration laws. The massacre in October of five American missionaries at Lien Chou in Kwangtung province, gives evidence of the fierce character of this agitation among the Cantonese as compared with the lukewarm spirit shown by the northern Chinese. While all Chinamen are experienced hands at boycotting, it was no easy task, in north China at least, to keep the masses enthused on the subject after the excitement of the first few weeks was over. No Chinaman is willing to make long continued personal sacrifices in any cause, and he is easily led to suspect his leaders of playing a game in the interest of their own pockets. He may be readily incited to join in a riot or any scheme to injure others if he himself is likely to gain anything thereby, but he is too lethargic for long sustained hatred of or connivance against an enemy. The author has had experience with many boycotts in China, ranging in importance from the petty spite of servants against obnoxious masters to the stoppage of a ship from working cargo because of the behavior of a mate, and in one instance where a whole line of steamers were threatened with boycott unless a captain who had shot a piratical native was discharged. During the summer of 1894 a great strike and boycott occurred at Hongkong because the authorities there took heroic measures to stamp out the black plague. The employes of shipping and other firms quit work, and for weeks trade at Hongkong was about paralyzed. Servants deserted their masters and coolies emigrated in thousands, and during the more acute period British marines had to be called upon to coal merchant vessels leaving the port. Finally rumors were circulated that the British had decided that if the boycott continued much longer the Chinese would be banished from Hongkong and a Japanese

colony established. This caused a panic among the boycott leaders, the strike was called off, and normal conditions were soon restored.

A CONVERSATION WITH AN ANTI-AMERICAN CHINESE.

In the following narrative are presented the salient features of a conversation held with an exceptionally well informed and outspoken Chinese upon American policy in China and the incentives to the boycott:

"After the many kind actions of America toward China do you think it right for her people to carry on the present boycott?"

"What kind actions do you refer to?"

"You know that in 1868 Mr. Burlingame, American Minister to China, helped her in the making of treaties with the leading European powers."

"But America was then in need of Chinese labor in the West and so did us the favors mentioned in consideration of getting coolie immigrants."

"In the American statutes is there not a clause which prohibits our people from dealing in opium in China?"

"There is, though it accomplishes nothing but to embarrass American shipping firms and frequently Chinese shippers also."

"Then in the China-Japan war did not the American Ministers in Peking and Tokio act as intermediaries, and were not prominent Americans appointed to assist China in making a treaty of peace?"

"Yes, America did that, but we naturally suppose she was thinking to gain some advantage for herself by it. However, we duly appreciate the act whatever the motive."

"In the year 1900 did not the American admiral refuse to fire on the Taku forts when the warships of other nations destroyed them?"

"Yes, if you find any glory for your country in that you are welcome to it. Other foreigners say it was most cowardly of your admiral not to take part, seeing the Boxers were doing all in their power to annihilate the Americans."

"During the occupation of Peking by the allied armies were not the American troops forbidden to go on punitive expeditions?"

"They were, but other foreigners did, and so helped to bring the disorders to an end. If all had acted as the Americans the Boxer rebellion would have spread over the whole of China."

"Well, at the termination of hostilities did not America strive to reduce the indemnity, and has she not proposed to return her share for the education of the Chinese youth?"

"This was all for self glorification, as we believe. America has tried to pose before the world as being better than other nations, but we consider her to be actuated by a hope to secure China's everlasting gratitude, and the best share of her trade. We are told that America's plan is to creep in and gain superior advantages after other nations have done the fighting. The Chinese will hardly be bamboozled that way. They are not quite so stupid as the American assumption implies."

"And so you think there is small appreciation of these acts which America looks upon as benevolent, and that there is no likelihood of a revulsion of feeling?"

"There is not much likelihood of remorse on the subject, at least while there is any discrimination against our people in America. Can you tell me why the Chinese are treated so differently from other foreigners there?"

"There are several reasons which might be cited, the principal one being that the Chinese are of a different race from the Americans, with ideas, customs and religions at variance with those prevalent in the country. The European immigrants, on the other hand, are of the same racial stock, have similar aspirations and ideals, and so readily adopt the usages of the land as to become practically indistinguishable from our own people. These immigrants contribute proportionately as much to the wealth and glory of the civilization extant as born Americans, whereas the Chinese send their surplus wealth back to China, spending as little in the country where they make it as possible."

"We are told that the Chinese are treated so badly in America that we hardly deserve to be called men if we do not protest against it in every way possible."

"But do your informants tell you of the indignity your people suffer in not being allowed to land in Australia or Canada without paying a heavy and discriminate poll tax; of South Africa where they are penned up like cattle at the mines, and of the Dutch possessions in Sumatra where they are taken from Swatow and Amoy under contract, held under armed guards and every one deported on expiration of their contract term? Why don't you boycott those countries where Chinamen are discriminated against much more than they are in America?"

"Well, they are countries which have not committed themselves to any fixed policy of the peaceful solution of questions of this kind, and China does not feel strong enough just yet to try an armed contest with them. It would not be consistent with the teachings which America has so loudly proclaimed to us all these years for her to resort to forceful measures because of a boycott managed in an orderly manner by private citizens. We

do not so much find fault with the treatment our people receive in America as with the trouble and humiliation of landing there. The detention sheds at San Francisco are said to be unfit for even the lowest coolie to live in, and yet well to do merchants and travelers are sometimes kept there like criminals for weeks."

"Such stories originate in the fact that according to present regulations the steamship companies are held responsible for the immigrants they bring, whatever their nationality, until it is decided whether they are eligible to land or not. If their papers are in order and they have no disease classified as infectious they are not detained or inconvenienced in any way. Even the Chinese prohibited from landing are not treated so differently from immigrants of other nationalities. A number of Russians were recently detained at San Francisco, and some of them denied a landing because they had contracted a disease of the eyes while en route through Panama. It was really a pitiable case, the members of several families being thereby separated from each other—the rejected ones being returned to Panama by the steamship company that brought them. There are many diseases in China which Americans naturally wish to keep out of their country. You know there are 60,000 lepers at Canton alone and a little slackness in the medical inspection of Chinese immigrants might permit of that terrible malady gaining a foothold in our country."

"No restriction whatever is placed upon Americans landing in China. What would they say to being detained on a wharf, in a dismal shed, for a couple of weeks while their eligibility to land was being determined?"

"Americans can land without hindrance and carry on business in the treaty ports of China, but to go further inland they must have special passports, which may cost them as much trouble and loss of time to get as it does a Chinese, without the proper documents, to land in the United States. However, if an American, on arrival at any Chinese treaty port, is found to be suffering from an infectious disease, the Maritime Customs officials will place him in quarantine. So there is practically no difference on the subject of landing in either country except in the matter of laborers, and you know very well what a hubbub would be created in China if a few thousand American laborers should land and undertake to compete with the natives. The Americans who come to China do not in any sense compete with the industrial life of the country. They are mainly travelers who spend some money in the country; a few merchants who deal almost exclusively in American goods in wholesale quantities, and missionaries who derive their support from home. Every thousand dollars profit made by Americans in China is offset by millions sent home by the Chinese in

America. Hence, when all the different phases of the interrelationships of the two countries are taken into consideration China, notwithstanding the grievances now complained of, certainly has the best of the bargain. Suppose America retaliates by a counter boycott or by tariff discrimination that would shut off your thriving trade with her?"

"In that case we would, of course, have to call off our boycott and make the best deal we could on the subject. But we have no fears on that point. We know the Americans too well to think they will do anything more than squabble among themselves over the question. We will look on and enjoy the fun of seeing Uncle Sam trying to squirm out of the same diplomatic hole he went in at. He cannot afford to fight after his frantic appeals to the whole world to settle disputes by arbitration. His missionaries have been teaching us these many years that war is a relic of barbarism and that we must pursue the pathway of peace. If he goes to war over a purely commercial proposition he will be accounted by the whole world a mercenary hypocrite. We feel perfectly secure as far as any action against us by the United States is concerned, and all we fear is that our own people will not pull together long enough to gain for our cause all that we desire."

III. CHINA'S GRIEVANCES AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

FOREIGN ENCROACHMENTS AND AGGRESSIONS.

As matters stand at the present time in China, her grievances against foreign nations are numerous, and in many respects of a humiliating nature. Instead of having profited through contact and trade with the foreigner China may be said to have suffered enormous losses in almost every department of her national existence. Before the foreigner came she was a self-sufficient nation, possessed of every character of climate and soil and of industries that supplied all the demands of her people. Her trade was almost entirely of an interstate character, in the carriage of which millions of native craft swarmed upon her coasts and inland waters. The populations surrounding her were her inferiors and vassals, who looked upon the Middle Kingdom as the greatest on earth. With the advent of the white man one train of evils followed quickly upon another, and her efforts to shake herself free from his influence might be compared to the wild floundering of a leviathan of the deep beset by some small but active and implacable foe.

China's first serious difficulty with the foreigner was the opium war with England, in which her stupid though apparently well meant efforts to prevent the sale of the Indian drug to her people resulted most dis-

astrously to herself. As a consequence of this war she paid a heavy indemnity for the opium hulks destroyed at Canton by the Mandarins, and was forced to relinquish the island of Hongkong. Later on treaty ports, concessions and extraterritorial rights were demanded by the various foreign powers, through which China lost sovereignty over many strategic points on her coasts and a large number of her own people as well. Recently the British have enlarged their possessions by acquiring a strip of territory at Kowloon on the mainland opposite Hongkong, and the leasing of Wei Hai Wei on the Gulf of Pechili. The French have encroached upon territory which China regarded as her own on the Cochin China frontier, and has acquired through diplomatic pressure numerous land and mining concessions. The Yu-Man-Tzu rebellion against the Catholic missions in western China in 1898, in which the lives and property of some thousands of converts were destroyed, was made an occasion by the French Government to claim an indemnity of a couple of million taels, and certain land and mining privileges, although the only injury to the subjects of that country consisted in the holding captive for a few months of a French priest. The Germans made an occasion of the killing of two of their missionaries for the exacting of the lease of Kiaochow on the Shantung coast, and have come in for their share of railway and other concessions, while the Japanese, after taking from China the island of Formosa and her protectorate of Korea, had to be paid an indemnity of sixteen million pounds sterling to vacate the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian encroachments in north China and the Japanese acquisitions there are too recent and well known to need recounting here. All of these cessions and leases of territory, indemnities, etc., were obtained from China either through war or aggressive diplomacy. In some instances bribery of high officials played an important part, but it can truthfully be said that China has looked with sorrow and chagrin upon the wresting from her of the natural bulwarks upon her coasts, and the privilege of governing all within her own boundaries. Her acme of sorrow and confusion was thought to have been reached when she was forced to agree to the Boxer indemnity of forty million pounds sterling, but the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war promises yet more territorial losses and perplexities for her government. Since the Boxer calamities, and until the late war upon her borders, she has made some commendable efforts toward finding a remedy for her international complications, but they seem to multiply so fast that while she is groping for light on evils that have grown upon her in the past, new ones are cropping up in all directions.

The presence of foreign naval and military bases upon her coasts and land frontiers not only dims the hope of China's national independence,

but also promises more and more trouble for her through their being made the refuge of her worst criminal and political offenders. The native enemies of the government can go to Port Arthur, Kiaochow, Hongkong or Saigon, and plot as much mischief as they like, since their extradition is generally too tedious and expensive for the Mandarins to undertake. What Canada is to the United States in this respect, each one of the above places is to China—a retreat for her numerous malefactors, political plotters and smugglers.

Near half a dozen foreign governments have established postal agencies in the treaty ports, some of which have been extended far inland. It is partly owing to the competition of these agencies that the Imperial Postal service, which for some years has been in process of development throughout the country, does not pay expenses.

The drain upon the Imperial revenues, through payment of the indemnities has led to various economies in Peking, the which, although humiliating and vexatious to royalty and its vampire host of courtiers, are by no means an unmixed evil. Notable among these is the curtailment of certain former extravagances in royal birthday and other ceremonials, and the recent decision of the Empress Dowager to put the hundred or so of concubines in the Emperor's harem to light manufacturing work.

TRADE AND TARIFF.

Under present conditions in China the wholesale trade, both in imports and exports, is chiefly in the hands of foreign merchant firms. When Chinese capital is employed in wholesale transactions, it is generally under the name of foreign establishments. This condition, although a result of the impotency of the Chinese Government to prevent exactions and squeezes by local officials, who hover like birds of prey over native wealth and prosperity, is nevertheless, for various reasons, a grievance to be complained of. In the first place foreign firms pay no taxes to China, and, being located in the treaty ports, are not amenable to Chinese law. In order to bring them to book for infringements of treaty stipulations the native officials must resort to troublesome and sometimes difficult reference to their Consuls. They occasionally undertake to buy property and to build warehouses or wharves outside the treaty port limits and if the local Consul happens to be very zealous in helping his countrymen it may mean that the case has to be referred to the high authorities at Peking. A purely Chinese concern may use the name of an obliging foreigner to carry on an inland traffic, avoiding thereby certain Mandarin squeezes, which,

although mayhap, according to treaty, illegal, are nevertheless enforced upon native firms, thus placing them at a disadvantage with those under semi-foreign protection. It is an arrangement which profits the foreigner and restrains the native officials, and while not an altogether legitimate grievance, occasions an actual loss to the country and exasperates the official class. It is a grievance for which foreigners cannot be held responsible and which can only be eliminated through a more honorable system of dealing by the officials with their own people. Were it not advantageous to the Chinese at the treaty ports to employ foreign middle men whose names and consular protection afford a barrier to official greed, no foreign firm could exist in China today, for the native merchants have in other respects every capacity and facility to oust them through legitimate competition.

A more real grievance is that of foreign vessels, and native vessels under foreign flags, which, while paying no taxes save port and tonnage dues, have the same privilege in the coasting trade and upon the inland waters as native craft. This foreign competition within her own domains has been forced upon China much against her will by European governments, the excuse being the failure of the natives to open up and develop the inland trade. Under its workings native vessels, which formerly carried all the vast riverine commerce, are giving way to foreign managed, modern equipped steamers. It would seem that native vessels of the same class ought to be able to compete successfully with those owned by foreigners, but owing to the fact that many of the latter are subsidized by their home governments, and that the former are hampered by official taxation and squeezes the advantage is with the foreigner. All the Chinese coasting and large river steamers are officered by foreigners while the crews of both foreign and native vessels are Chinese; wherefore the cost of running them is in this respect practically the same. Only launches and very small steamers under the Chinese flag have up to the present date been officered exclusively by natives, and even these, judging by the number sailing under foreign flags, are outclassed by foreign competitors, or native competitors who obtain foreign registers for their vessels. Japanese coasting and river steamers have a more decided advantage over native vessels of the same class than other foreigners, in that, in addition to being subsidized, they are officered by Japanese whose salaries are far below those of the white officers of the China merchant steamers. Until the Chinese ships are subsidized, and officered by their own men, they will continue to be at a disadvantage in competition with the Japanese, and the latter show every probability of being able eventually to oust the ships of their white competitors.

The tariff grievance of China consists in the treaties with foreign

nations, to which she has been an unwilling partner, which permit of but five per cent. advalorem duty being collected on goods imported from abroad. No nation trading with China, excepting Great Britain, charges less than an average of 25 per cent duty on Chinese goods. She is not allowed to maintain any system of differential tariff to favor the nations charging the least duty on her goods, but under the favored nation clause of the treaties must tax all alike. Her hands being thus tied as regards taxation of foreign imports, in order to obtain a necessary revenue she is compelled to levy an export duty upon her own goods, thereby crippling them in their competition with others in the markets of the world.

The drain upon China's resources through the present state of her foreign commerce may be further estimated by the following figures: Total foreign imports per annum, approximately, value \$200,000,000. Exports to foreign countries value \$150,000,000. Balance against China \$50,000,000. Value of Indian opium imported \$25,000,000 per annum. Of course from the latter item no good whatever can be taken into account. When to these figures are added interest on the indemnities unpaid, and losses through competition of foreign shipping within her own waters, a fair idea is obtained of the disadvantages under which China is placed in the congress of nations. Taken together with official corruption, opium smoking, and the rebellions, which are an almost constant factor in some part of the empire, it is no wonder that although many millions of her people are toiling to their utmost capacity, poverty and misery are broadcast in the land.

MISSIONARIES.

If at the present time a consensus of the true opinion of a majority of the Chinese people were taken to show which of China's sorrows through her international relationships has proved the most objectionable, it would certainly point to the missionary propaganda. The real aim of the 5,000, more or less, of foreign missionaries in China is an enigma to the natives. They as a rule believe the inner motive is to form a clan or social organization friendly to foreigners, the which can be relied upon, when their numbers are sufficiently strong, to aid foreign conquest of their country. Few Chinese will admit a belief that the converts are such for any other purpose than material advantages to be gained thereby. They one and all aver that the Christian plan of salvation does not appeal to the reasoning or any other faculties possessed by their race. Its propositions seem to them more mysterious and whimsical than even the traditional myths which the

ignorant natives continue to propagate. Japanese invariably express the same view when finding their questioners disinterested and unbiassed. Both Chinese and Japanese general opinion is that if foreign missions or their funds were withdrawn the Christianity of the converts would vanish like chaff in a gale of wind.

Unitarianism excites some real interest, with the Japanese at least, but the doctrine of the orthodox creeds, except when the occasion demands suavity and diplomacy, they express only contempt for. It seems therefore that the Mongolian faculties attempt no further spiritual insight than that obtained through matter of fact reasoning, and whatever does not appeal to reason is looked upon as appertaining to the fabulous and fit only to interest youthful and unschooled minds. Therefore, while it is easy enough to make ceremonial Christians of the Mongolians, to give them the spiritual principle of Christianity is a more difficult proposition, as is evidenced in the fact of their showing no emotional or conscientious awakening at the time of conversion or afterward. The Caucasian convert shows heartfelt emotion and conscientious repentance for sins of the past; but it appears that no such feeling can be aroused in any Mongolian, though he may simulate it if anything is to be gained thereby. The deeper thinking Chinese, therefore, have the gravest apprehensions as to what the native Christians will do if they should gain strength and power in the empire. They point to many wrong doings of the converts, and while admitting them to be no worse than are possible from other Chinese of the same class, this is claimed as proof that the new religion has not improved their moral status. The pro-Boxer edicts issued at Peking in 1900 cite the misdeeds of the converts and the enmity between them and the other natives as an intolerable grievance.

It is feared, if the time honored veneration for Confucianism be taken from the Chinese, and they become divided up among the various Christian sects, there will remain no common ties to hold them together and that civil strife and anarchy will prevail. The Taiping rebels are suggested as the kind of Christians the Chinese are likely to become. This rebellion was started some fifty years ago by Christian converts whose dream was to evangelize the empire by force of arms, and its propaganda was for several years attended by great successes. The Taipings captured Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow, and other large cities and held them against the Imperial troops until a foreign drilled army under General Gordon finally vanquished them. Their methods did not improve with increase of power; on the contrary their Christianity degenerated into the grossest paganism. They murdered in cold blood millions of the peaceable and helpless inhabi-

tants of the cities they captured, and throughout their conduct gave not the slightest hope that if they succeeded in conquering the empire a better government than the existing one would ensue. It has been computed that in this rebellion 30,000,000 lives were sacrificed, and an untold amount of wealth destroyed. The fanatical zeal of these so-called Christians led them to destroy the finest palaces and temples in central China, among them being the porcelain tower of Nanking, one of the "seven wonders of the world." Masses of ruins of once magnificent edifices are still a prominent feature in the cities they dominated, silent though terrible witnesses of the fanaticism possible to men of the intellectual status prevalent in those regions, no matter what religious doctrine they may claim to serve.

The Yu Man-tzu anti-Christian rebellion, which took place in Szechwan province in 1898, is charged to the aggression of the Catholic propaganda and its converts who number many thousands in that region. These rebels, who at one time numbered some twenty thousand men, under their chief, Yu Man-tzu, devastated a region several hundred square miles in extent and sacrificed probably one hundred thousand lives. When the rebellion was crushed and the settlement came the French Government took up the cause of the church and exacted a large indemnity, and a number of land and mining concessions on the upper Yangtze river. Somewhat similar was the procedure of Germany who in reparation for the murder of two German missionaries demanded and obtained the port of Kiaochow, from which she has built a railway into Shantung province and otherwise advanced her political footing.

In the year 1899 the Chinese government, under pressure from France, gave political status as follows to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy: Bishops to be placed in rank and dignity the equals of, and entitled to demand to interview, Viceroys and Governors; Vicars-General and Arch Deacons to be the equals of and entitled to see Provincial Treasurers, Judges and Taotais. Other priests to demand to see Prefects of the first and second class, Subprefects, etc., the native functionaries concerned to respond, according to their rank, with the same courtesies. No one unacquainted with the social system of China can fairly estimate the power and opportunities for its abuse which this concession confers. While it may be supposed that few foreign missionaries would themselves abuse the official position thus held, it is absolutely certain that their native converts and helpers in general will find means of so doing. This phase of the question was carefully discussed at the time by the Protestant missionaries, and to their credit it was decided not to accept like powers for themselves, although

according to the favored nation clause of the international treaties they were entitled to do so.

It is evident that missionary influence among the natives has greatly increased since the defeat of the Boxers, and while this gives encouragement to those who hope for the ultimate Christianization of China, the adherents of the old system apprehend therefrom much strife and bloodshed. That this apprehension is felt by missionaries also, a sentence from Broomhall's "Martyred Missionaries" (introductory page 10) may be worth taking note of. After quoting Christ's statement that he came not to send peace on the earth but a sword, the writer goes on to say: "That Christian missions have aroused this antagonism in China and that a stern conflict of life and death has begun there, the church of Christ must unreservedly acknowledge." There have recently been efforts made by certain missions to have their student graduates recognized as qualified for designate officials in the same manner as graduates in the regular Provincial examinations. This the Government proposes not to do, unless the graduates declare their adherence to the principles of Confucianism. Open persecution of the so-called renegade native converts, it is realized, might mean another armed conflict with foreign powers, but China seems determined to continue the effort to prevent Christianity from gaining a respectable footing in the country through preventing any one being appointed to high office who is supposed to be tainted with its doctrines.

REASONS FOR SOME OF THE GRIEVANCES.

It may be said that the primal origin of every disadvantage which China now suffers in her international relationships is traceable to the blundering stupidity and dishonesty of her officials. Were she able to correct these faults in her officialdom, all her claims for better treatment from foreigners would be listened to and in due course adjusted. Her first war with England was in consequence of the arbitrary acts of her officials in burning the opium hulks at Canton, thus destroying millions of dollars worth of property for which she refused to pay. Of the British prisoners taken during that war some were carried about the country in cages and treated like wild animals on exhibition, while others were killed by slow torture. Owing to their having subjected foreign prisoners to torture in their courts, after the manner of native malefactors, and their total lack of justice in litigation cases, extraterritorial rights were demanded by all Christian powers; wherefore matters at law, wherein foreigners are concerned, have since been dealt with by consuls of the different nations.

China's plea concerning this grievance is that she did not treat foreigners worse than her own subjects under similar circumstances. This may be true enough, but foreign nations refused to allow their citizens, who might be wholly innocent or their crimes not serious, to be put to physical torture which in some instances drove the victims to insanity. Mongolians, whose nerves are not developed to the acuteness of the Caucasians, can stoically endure these tortures, and such barbarous methods may be necessary in dealing with the worst class of native criminals. The inborn dishonesty of the race makes each individual distrustful of his neighbor, and no man is expected to tell a truth that injures his case without being compelled to do so. China has throughout the past shown unwillingness or inability to protect foreigners in the country, whether as travelers, traders or missionaries. Several distinguished travelers, and hundreds of missionaries and others have been set upon by vicious mobs, maltreated and murdered, and in no instance has redress been obtained without the pressure of foreign governments upon the high authorities. Even at the present day it is the belief throughout the world that no foreigner would be safe in any part of China if foreign navies were not hovering upon the coasts and inland waterways.

It was owing to the maladministration of her custom houses on the coast that the foreign customs inspectorate was established, which institution now employs some 1300 foreigners and more than three times that number of native helpers. Bribery and corruption prevailed in her customs department under native rule, and the cargo of no vessel received ready and systematic discharge without the paying of heavy squeezes, nor did any merchant know when he had finally settled his customs account. When the foreign inspectorate was tried at Shanghai and Canton forty-five years ago and the government found that not only were foreign traders satisfied, but that its own revenues were increased many fold, its workings were extended to all the treaty ports; and, while it was expected that the Chinese would themselves soon be able to run the service, the number of foreign employes has been constantly increased down to the present day. The customs service is not generally considered in the light of a grievance against the foreigner, but rather a necessary evil resultant of his presence. Although the high pay of this foreign staff is a matter to be complained of, the vast revenue collected and honestly accounted for serves to silence every proposition for change. The Chinese government knows very well that under native administration it could not expect half the revenue collected to be turned in; then, if the foreign commissioners of customs were dispensed with, it would lose the valuable advisory and diplomatic services

they render in dealing with aggressive foreign officials who are constantly making demands of one kind or another.

China's grievance on the postal question can hardly be adjusted until the staff of the imperial postal service, which now employs about 3500 native clerks and agents, who are being trained on foreign lines under the Customs Inspectorate, shall have been brought to a state of reliable efficiency and distributed throughout the empire. At present the Imperial postoffice is competed with by dozens of native postal hong, which do a thriving business on their own account. These private postoffices receive the support of nearly all the officials who in conjunction with the merchant guilds practically boycott the I. P. O. to a condition in which, even if foreign competition were withdrawn, it cannot pay expenses. While China is too weak, or indifferent upon the subject, to supplant the native postal firms by a single national system on modern lines, foreign governments are likely to continue their own agencies, in the treaty ports at least. The Chinese government, in its efforts to establish a national postal system, affords to the onlooker a strange paradox, in that, while being accredited as cruelly despotic with its own subjects, it is too timid to do away with the private native competition. The cause is mainly in the still deeply ingrained hatred by the officials and literati in general of everything foreign; though even with their support time will be required to train up the many thousands of native clerks necessary for the work. A considerable percentage of the best qualified clerks, whenever placed in positions of trust, have proved dishonest, and these have to be weeded out and others put in training for their places.

China's treatment of missionaries, to say the least, has been unwise. While the officials cannot be expected in every instance to afford protection against mobs of enraged and fanatical natives, it has been found that in the majority of massacres certain responsible officers were either lax in vigilance or secretly encouraged the evil doers. Then, instead of getting together all of the facts concerning the actions of over zealous or otherwise obnoxious missionaries and their converts and publishing them to the world, thereby making their own troubles and views on the situation clear, they have invariably kept sullen silence. By reason of this silence the missionaries are enabled at all times to make out a good cause for themselves and a bad one for Chinese officials. and the civilized world passes judgment accordingly.

The failure of China to grasp the situation resulting from her contact with nations more civilized than herself has brought forth the long list of evils of which she now complains. Had she profited by experience and

improved her opportunities as the Japanese have done, and applied modern methods to the opening up of her resources, she would have forestalled all foreign enterprises within her borders and retained their profits for her own people. The foreigner seeing vast undeveloped resources in the country naturally seeks in some way to profit by them. Mineral wealth lying idle, opportunities for transportation systems that would open up new regions to commercial enterprise, tempt the enlightened foreigner to try to impress their value upon the official mind of China, and failing in this, he turns to his own government for assistance. To sum up the situation, the officials, instead of being alert to their own and the nation's vital interests, have cultivated the seductions of their harems and the opium pipe until their opportunities have been well nigh exhausted. Now that their resources have dwindled down through the taking over of a large portion of the internal customs collection by the Foreign Inspectorate, and through payment of indemnities, while the international complications are growing apace, they are showing some signs of awaking from the dream of holding on to a civilization that belongs to a past age. It is a somewhat discouraging sign, however, that the first impulse of China's awakening is to turn upon the nation that has done the least in the way of encroachment and most in benevolence toward her people.

IV. AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

ATTITUDE ASSUMED TOWARD CHINA.

In general terms the policy pursued by America in dealing with China has been that of a strong and self reliant world power, with a weak and incompetent people. And yet she has, in certain respects, gone further than any other nation toward recognition of the Chinese government as a civilized and responsible power; for instance, refusing, whenever possible, to resort to coercive measures when treaty violations have occurred. The treaties between the two countries evidence America as inspired by a sentimental desire to encourage and uplift the Chinese people, while China, on her part, displays no other motive than to make the best of a purely business transaction. While at the time of making the first treaty there may have been a thought to gain some advantage with the Chinese through running counter to Great Britain, whose methods in the opium war and territorial encroachments were strongly resented by China, humanitarian principles afforded the more potential force in shaping the attitude which has since prevailed. The American attitude of disinterested benevolence has gone so far, in fact, as to seriously hamper and restrict the enterprise of its own citizens in China, as compared with the opportunities enjoyed by other nationalities

Her laws, for instance, prohibit Americans from selling opium to the Chinese and American ships from carrying the drug to any Chinese port. This may, to people at home, seem a trivial sacrifice to American interests, but when trade conditions on the China coast are studied in detail it is found a considerable disadvantage, especially to shipping firms, which sometimes lose opportunities to handle consignments of cargo because a chest of opium is included. A native merchant may have a shipment of goods amounting to many tons which is to be sent say from Hongkong to Shanghai. An American steamer is ready to sail, with plenty of space for the cargo, and her owners are eager to take it, but finding a package of opium in the lot are compelled to refuse that part of it. Whereupon the merchant, not wishing to separate his goods, looks about for a ship the nationality of which is not hampered by such restrictions. On some of the inland waterways native junks are chartered by foreign firms, and foreigners lend their names to Chinese firms in order to escape certain taxes and extortions by the native customs. In such enterprises Americans are always outclassed because their junks cannot transport native opium, which, especially on the upper Yangtze River, is an important article of commerce. These restrictions, taken together with the relatively high consular fees, the red tape connected with shipping—which other nations have simplified in the interest of their people—and the unwillingness of the American Government to take coercive action when occasion demands, it is no wonder that American firms are scarce in China.

The parental policy of the American Government in restricting, and refusal to encourage, the enterprise of its citizens, as compared with other foreigners, however benevolent its intention, is little appreciated by the Chinese, but seems more offensive than otherwise, since it assumes to place them in the category of South Sea Islanders and American Indians, who require special laws to protect them from the vices and the avarice of the white man.

INCONSISTENT TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

The treatment accorded to the Chinese by America, when looked at from an unbiased standpoint, shows certain inconsistencies and a lack of well defined and diplomatic method. On the one hand she professes a benevolent interest in the Chinese people and solicitude for their destiny, and on the other makes an exceptional law to exclude them from her shores. While she pats the Chinaman on the back and claims to be his best friend, she singles him out from all the peoples of the earth for special legislation against. This is made the harder for the Chinese to grasp by the effusive

denial of any such thing as race prejudice influencing her procedure. If it is not my race and color, asks the Chinaman, then what is it about me that you object to? It is a question difficult to answer without telling the truth, which is simply that in every section of the United States, except certain Eastern States, it is the Chinaman's racial characteristics, if not his color, which count against him. Industrially he is the acknowledged superior of all men. He will work longer hours for less pay, and give less trouble over it, than any other type of humanity on the American continent. But few Americans will honestly tell the Chinese that being of a radically different race and regarded as intellectually and morally inferior to the white man, they are undesirable immigrants, and it is this disposition to prevaricate upon the subject of exclusion, while preaching the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, that brings them into disrepute.

It is not to be wondered at that America should fail to realize expected benefits from her one-sided benevolence, and professed aversion to war, with a cunning and evasive people like the Chinese, especially with no trained diplomats to explain details, befuddle their minds and to watch and counter their schemes. Europeans may understand and appreciate the so-called straightforward, outspoken, policy of America, but such diplomacy does not work well with Asiatics. There needs be much reserve and secrecy, holding back of a trump card, as it were, or a leverage of some kind wherewith to badger and awe the natives when difficulties are threatened. Instead of proclaiming outright that she does not want any Chinese territory and asserting her intentions to use her influence to check the ambitions of other powers in this direction, it would serve American interests better to say that while having no desire to grasp territory she might do so in certain emergencies. A position of this kind is maintained by the European powers, in consequence of which the Chinese government is careful not to give them the excuse for the aggressions they are supposed to desire. This method China pursues with her own subjects, as shown by the words "tremble and obey" which terminate every imperial edict of importance, and all officials and their underlings are popularly understood to be eagerly awaiting any indiscretion that will give them an opportunity to blackmail and squeeze money out of the offender.

Many American travelers and others with some little knowledge of China write to, or get interviewed by home newspapers, and give one-sided or useless information, or, as is sometimes the case, merely stories gotten up to suit private aims or opinions. False ideas in regard to China seem to have taken precedence in America over correct ones, and these have had much to do with the causes and continuation of the present boycott. Much has been written concerning the favors which ought to be shown to Chinese students on arrival in America. According to some of these would-be instructors of the people the student ought to be met at the steamer which lands him by a brass band and a deputation of the leading officials and citizens of the port, and so toadied to and fawned upon as to completely turn his head and make him thereafter an advocate of everything American. Now the average Chinese student ought to be accredited with enough manliness to resent any special attentions, and to prefer being treated, not as

a gaudy savage, but as a full-blown man—just as a French or German student entering the country would be served. The fact is that Chinamen of the better class will appreciate being left severely alone, or treated in a common sense way, neither to be fawned upon or sneered at because of their race or nationality. It has also been loudly asserted that America's position in regard to the "Open Door" and the integrity of the empire would prove a guarantee of special favors in commerce. Seeing that this policy utterly failed to have any softening effect upon the boycott, is it not more reasonable to suppose that the best guarantee of satisfactory trade relations lies in mutually advantageous business methods? China may at some future time be able successfully to resist such forceful pressure as can now be put upon her by any foreign power with a few war ships, but business relations that are profitable to her people will always be held in high esteem, and no fanatical passions can do permanent harm in this direction. Of course the boycott is dangled before American eyes as being the result of an offended public sentiment, and as such it seems to have so far had remarkable success; but the agitators have told the natives a different story to keep them in line. The game is worth playing for, they say. Every Chinaman it may get into the United States is good for ten thousand dollars in gold for the Flowery Kingdom, while the possibilities of the future are unbounded. The first great proclamation issued by the boycott propaganda expounds much more upon the disadvantages to China through the exclusion of her *coolies* than upon the offending of officials and students by the immigration authorities.

Every excuse for the exclusion law to the Chinese seems weak and indefensible save that of race prejudice and desire for race preservation. This position they can readily comprehend, and, as far as their own domains are concerned, they intend to enforce this principle to the utmost of their ability. China for the "blackhaired brotherhood" is their slogan, and the idea of colonization anywhere near them by the "red-haired devils" is considered the most calamitous possibility imaginable. But, they argue, America disclaims any thought of reserving North America for the white man, for she has put herself on record as favoring the principle that all men should be on an equal footing there in the struggle of life. Most missionaries and many American officials are enthusiastic in impressing this feature of American opinion upon the Chinese, which, being in contradiction to the spirit of the Exclusion law and the social reception of their brethren in the United States, makes the position of that country most inconsistent and confusing. To the Chinese the policy of exclusion presents a somewhat lesser force in America than the sentiment of benevolent regard for China, or the vanity to make such display, and in this they perceive a weakness wherein lies their opportunity. Neither Australian nor Canadian exclusion laws are complained of, evidently because the British government professes no special affection for the Chinese, but simply deals with them as seems expedient to the interest of its own people. America, to be consistent, must drop either her exclusion policy or throw off the mask and let the Chinese understand that she has no special regard for them, and in future will merely look after her own material interests in the Far East.

THE AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

For various reasons the members of the American consular department in China have not maintained an equal standard of power and influence with their colleagues representing other civilized nations. One of the factors which has told against them is their comparative newness to office and want of experience with the customs and traditions of the people; a still more important one is their inability to speak the Chinese language. The service, in general, having been recruited under the partisan spoils system, no consul has considered it worth while to enter upon the task of acquiring so difficult a language, not knowing how soon he might be ousted from office. Furthermore, the service is, comparatively speaking, poorly paid, and this has led to unseemly scandals by certain enterprising men of the service trying to make both ends meet. The other great powers have established consular services in China on strict civil service lines, entirely disconnected from home politics. Only young men are eligible to join, and they are required to study and pass yearly examinations in the Chinese language. They are promoted by degrees from assistants to consuls and consuls-general, which system insures their good conduct and gives them something to look forward to as an inducement to remain in the service. Hence, by the time they come to be placed in charge of a consulate they are familiar with the ideas and methods of the natives and sufficiently acquainted with the language to deal directly with the mandarins—either conversationally or in writing. This latter accomplishment, in Chinese official estimation, elevates the possessor to the rank of a learned man and an equal with themselves; whereas the foreigner, whatever his rank, unable to speak or write Chinese is regarded as an untutored barbarian. The interpreters employed by American consuls are usually a bad lot, capable of manipulating all sorts of schemes to profit themselves. When the native official speaks no foreign language, as is usually the case, these interpreters are able often to carry on enterprises under the very nose of, and even to place whatever blame is attached upon the consul himself. Hence it is that the Chinese officials look with a certain contempt upon American consuls, and sometimes consider them culpable of the sins which their native underlings have committed.

Most of the American consuls appointed to China are old men, who have either failed in business at home, or who have sought the office merely for the distinction attached thereto or to see something of the outside world. In the latter case they have no intention of staying long and therefore feel but a small measure of interest in their charge. Young and vigorous men, like some of the vice-consuls now in the service, with the vague opportunities they have of promotion, will only remain until something better turns up. In this practical age few men can be expected to sacrifice the best part of their lives for their country without being suitably paid for it.

The American nation is as able to pay good salaries to its consuls as any country on earth, and it is time that its self respect urged the relegation to obscurity of the antiquated system which has dictated appointments to this service. Only good pay will attract good men, and only young men, inspired with the prospect of promotion according to merits and willing to

make their career in China, will give all round satisfactory results. A young man with weak or vicious tendencies will be certain to give evidence of them and be eliminated from the service before he is in a position to disgrace it, and thus its good repute will be maintained. Neither overzealous church men nor social reprobates, just from home and imbued with home influences, can make satisfactory consuls. Preferably, let us have hard-headed, practical men who, from experience, will estimate the natives as they really are and not as they ought to or might be, and who also will not accept their generously proffered presents, the which are always given in the expectation of getting much more than their value in return.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

NEW CONDITIONS DEMAND CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY.

The conditions which now obtain in China, as compared with the political status of the country when the first American treaty with her was made, indicate that several matters require a more thorough understanding and that certain changes in the terms of that instrument would be mutually advantageous. That China is fully awake to her unfavorable position, and eager to be recognized as a responsible, self-contained power, is very apparent, though the methods by which an improvement is to be achieved are not by any means clear to her statesmen. The ugly mood she is now showing through the boycott should be taken as indicative of her actual feelings toward all foreigners, though in outward manifestation it seems to reveal her proverbial disposition to mistreat friends and truckle to enemies, and unreasonably find more fault with the mild and persuasive course of America than with other powers who are straightforward in letting her know their arguments are backed by military force. To most Americans it probably looks like base ingratitude on the part of the Chinese to boycott and do all in their power to ruin American trade in seeming forgetfulness of the many favors they have received. But it must be taken into consideration that the Chinese are every inch Orientals, who make no claims to sentimental benevolence, nor do they promise any rewards for its practice toward themselves. They look upon international relationships from a strictly business standpoint, and presuppose America will steer a course profitable to her own interests. They do not pretend to understand disinterested affection, nor do they ask charitable concessions to which any obligations are attached. From the Chinese standpoint they owe America nothing whatever. They made the best treaty they were able to with the United States Government: if further concessions could have been gained in the transaction they would not have been slow to take advantage of them. They would have been glad to have excluded American missionaries from the country, or at least to have confined their work to the treaty ports, and they see in their being allowed to preach in the interior a concession to America worth all the advantages obtained for themselves. What would America say to the Chinese demanding that Confucian missions be specially protected in that country, that its missionaries be exempt from trial in American courts and

that their converts receive a semi-protection from the Chinese Government? The humiliation which this feature of the international treaties places upon China, especially when official status, as in the case of the Catholic missionaries, is demanded, and the trouble and expense of the officials through their litigation cases are considered, counterbalances, in the Chinese estimation, most if not all of the concessions and protective influence they receive from America or any other country. The harping by Americans upon the subject of gratitude for past favors only seems to irritate the Chinese and excite their contempt. They assume a bargain of the past is not a matter of present concern; the living question is to see which can get the better of the other in the new treaty. They are playing a deep game themselves, from which they hope to win something of permanent value; wherefore the agitators of the boycott are doing all in their power to keep alive the flagging interest in their cause until a new and, from their standpoint, a more satisfactory treaty is made. A thing is not highly estimated by an Oriental which is obtained with ease, or that is thrown at him as a gift. He can barter all day with a hard customer without losing his temper or feeling the least enmity, whatever the result.

The opium clause in the American treaty appears to be disliked rather than appreciated by the Chinese, probably because it implies that they are weaklings incapable of taking care of themselves. If the opium traffic was in violation of Chinese law, this attitude would be unobjectionable, but being legalized, it seems meddlesome and out of place. Were England willing to sacrifice the opium trade between India and China, it would be possible for the latter to legislate against the growing of the native drug and so redeem the nation from this terrible curse. It is open to question whether China would undertake to do this or not, since a heavy loss of revenue would result therefrom, as well as numerous opportunities for profits to the officials. At any rate, the American restriction upon its citizens concerning the opium traffic, under present conditions, or any conditions likely to ensue, serves no good purpose to the Chinese, but constitutes one of the disadvantages to American interests in China.

Among the disadvantages under which Americans in China are placed is the subsidizing by other foreign governments of the coast and river shipping of their nationals. They also acquire and develop land concessions, build jetties and other facilities at the treaty ports, and reduce all consular charges and formalities to a minimum. America does none of those things for her people, but holds on to methods that both handicap and discourage enterprise. As a rule the American consular fees are more than double those of other nationalities, while the red tape connected therewith is oftentimes most exasperating. Passports to go into the interior are issued by consuls of other nations, without formality or delay, and at a cost of a couple of Mexican dollars. Passports for Americans issued in China have to be forwarded to Peking for the Minister's countersignature, which causes a delay of from one to three months, according to locality, and costing several times the above amount. The author some three years ago obtained a passport through the American Consul at Hankow. It required more than a

month to get the document back from Peking, and its cost was eight Mexican dollars.

The benefits interchanged between America and China are in several respects incongruous and one-sided. While the Chinese in America, with their entire freedom of competition with its citizens, are sending home millions of dollars of American gold every year, the Americans in China, not supported from home, with the many restrictions placed upon them, have hard work to make both ends meet. America is open from ocean to ocean for Chinese to engage in any enterprise they may choose. Americans in China can only undertake certain lines of business in the *treaty ports*, the rest of the country being closed against them. While China is demanding freer access to America for her people, she will not for a moment listen to any suggestion of greater freedom for American enterprise within her own borders. In fact, in addition to the boycott, she has done all possible to prevent American capital being invested in the country for any purpose. She cancelled the American concession to build the Hankow-Canton Railway, and at once went to England and France to borrow the money to complete it.

The policy of forceful pressure upon China will evidently be a necessity until the old system has entirely given way to something better, and the common people have become in a measure inspired with the spirit which prevails among the better class of foreign educated students. How long this will take is a question no one at the present day is competent to answer. A glance at the status of intelligence prevalent with the native population outside the treaty ports shows little to inspire hope that the present generation at least will witness much change. The only really hopeful feature is found in the foreign educated students, and the majority of these, when not under the direct influence of foreigners or the more conservative Japanese, are so violent or impractical in their ideas as to suggest more of fear than hope from them. However, that they have been able to exert a powerful and salutary influence upon the general government of China is very evident. The starting of a commission abroad to investigate foreign methods is largely a result of the representations of the students. As to how much they will learn is a matter for conjecture, since of the five high commissioners detailed not one speaks any foreign language or can be said to have even a rudimentary knowledge of the Western sciences. At Hankow some three years ago the author was present when the Commissioner of Customs received a call from one of the most prominent members of this commission, when a few remarks in English were passed concerning the Venezuelan difficulty then in process. On the Mandarin enquiring what was the topic of our conversation, his interpreter undertook to explain it to him, meanwhile using his best diplomacy to conceal his master's ignorance upon the situation. As we understood the language they were speaking it was easy for us to see that the Mandarin had never heard of Venezuela before, and that it was a hard task for the interpreter to give him any idea as to its size and in what part of the world it was located. It is to be feared that the minds of the Commissioners have waited too long for impressions of the great outer world to receive much during their journeys that will be of use

in remodeling the Chinese Government. And yet, whether they achieve anything of purpose or not, the fact of their going shows that even Chinese officialdom has partly gotten over the belief that the Middle Kingdom is the greatest nation on earth, and that the civilization of the "outer barbarian" is not worth considering.

While the policy of compulsion is still, and will probably continue to be for yet many years, a necessity with the Western governments in their dealings with China, there evidently ought to be more and more consideration shown for the slowly increasing enlightenment of the country. This should be so tempered as to encourage Chinese progress upon conservative lines and to discourage the fanatical and violent elements that are ever ready to spring into being.

It would seem that Japan ought to establish a censorship of the literature which is now extensively printed in her domain and circulated in China, for much of this literature is of a vicious and revolutionary character, calculated to do naught but harm in the present formative stage of China's awakening.

The boycott, and the violence and losses to native commerce attendant upon it, is considered by most foreigners in China as a legitimate outcome of a weak and undignified policy wholly unsuited to Asiatics. It is generally believed that China will have to be legislated for and treaties forced upon her until she learns international manners and is able to maintain order in her domain. She will for yet many years have to be regarded as an unwieldy mass of humanity unable to control her many millions of ignorant and debased people, and which requires the military assistance of foreign powers to hold them in order. During the month of September last, when the rioters at Amoy were destroying the Custom House and proceeding to burn and loot other buildings, a British warship landed marines who charged and dispersed the mob and quickly restored order. The Chinese Government found no fault with this action, in fact was very thankful for it, since its own slow and bungling officials would have done nothing until heavy losses had been sustained. The Chinese officials have not, as a rule, the power at hand to quell a mob, or if so they fear serious consequences from attacking rioters. Rebellions are easily started in China and soldiers sent to quell them are readily won over to the enemy, if seeing better pay or chances for loot. The rebellion started several years ago in Kwangsi province is still pursuing its career of devastation and misery. The Mandarin in many respects has his hands tied in matters requiring force with any strong clan or social organization, and until the Imperial Government gains more strength and influence with the people, the help of foreign powers in controlling at least the coast and river population will be needed.

That America has played a losing game in her complex and, to the Chinese, confusing methods, is evidenced in the small number of Americans doing business in the Far East, as compared with other foreigners, in her ridiculous share of barely one per cent of the shipping tonnage on the coast, and also in the boycott which would never have assumed any serious proportions had forceful pressure been invoked instead of parleying. The

Chinese were diplomats enough to realize that America was fatally handicapped by her professions and policy in the past, the which assumed that a reasonable appeal to the Chinese government was sufficient to check all the wrong doings of the natives. Another nation, not handicapped by professed intentions of settling grievances by peaceful arbitration instead of by the sword, upon seeing the possibilities of the boycott, and that the Mandarins were encouraging it, would have simply sent a fleet to Shanghai or Canton held up the China merchant steamers and given the Peking government a week to end the agitation. It would have ended promptly, and to the mutual benefit of all concerned. It is freely admitted by all well informed Chinese that so far they have been much heavier losers through the boycott than the Americans, and they also admit a foreboding of evil for the internal affairs of their country as a result of the officials allowing the passions of the ignorant people to be fanned aflame by lying agitators. For whatever sorrows may come upon China in consequence of this fanatical agitation, the United States government will be held blameworthy, even by the Chinese themselves, for not having taken timely measures to stop it—not by conciliatory appeals, which only encourage their passions once they have entered upon a contest—but by determined display of naval force. Such a demonstration would have been of invaluable service to the Chinese government—in quelling an agitation dangerous to its own interests—for it is as yet, and is likely to continue for many years to come, virtually incapable of governing its own subjects on civilized lines, without foreign aid.

MONGOLIAN IDEAS OF DIPLOMACY.

The Mongolian mind is as a sealed book to most Westerners, so careful are its inner workings guarded by the race. In every day life they train themselves to disguise the innermost feelings and to simulate whatever disposition will best serve the purpose in view. In mercantile barter, or in the hiring of help or conveyances, the Mongolian always assumes an air of entire indifference as to whether he gets what he is bargaining for or not. He poses as if should he not get it remarkably cheap he can just as well do without it, all to the purpose of deceiving the other party as to his real motive. Thus they become experts at any kind of diplomatic bluff or deception and also quick to discern the disposition or designs of others. The naturally straightforward Caucasian is no match for them in this respect until he has had experience with their methods. In the boycott the Chinese diplomats have constantly presented to the Americans the spectacle of a grievously offended people trying to make known their feelings to a great and benevolent nation, and they have found hundreds of impulsive Americans to join in the chorus and proclaim the righteousness of their cause, that China has at last awakened to a sense of her national dignity, etc. While this play upon American sentiment has been going on, a very different phase of the drama has been enacted behind the scenes in China. The agitators paid by the funds of the coolie brokers and forced contributions from merchants have preached the doctrine broadcast that an effective

boycott would compel America to repeal the Exclusion law and to admit Chinese the same as other immigrants. It is pointed out that if this happens millions of Chinese can go to America and get rich, just as a couple of hundred thousand have done in the past. The ignorant people are told that American prosperity depends on commerce, and that if this trade is suspended long enough the Americans will be starving. Some of the agitators have gone so far as to say that if a few hundred thousand Chinese can be settled in America, in time they will be able to control the politics of the country and eventually to overcome and exterminate the hated white men. Very little of the native exhortations upon this subject have been translated into English, but enough has come to light to show that the offended dignity of Chinese travelers, etc., landing in America has had little to do with the case, except to be made use of in the diplomatic campaign.

The white man must be of an exceptionally skeptical and suspicious disposition not to be more or less misled by the plausibility of Chinese diplomacy. They are experts at any kind of deception, and the ease with which they impose upon missionaries and others, even after they have been many years in the country, is remarkable. Many of the Chinese students and others of the race in America become good diplomatic agents for their country. They discover what the Americans desire them to be and for the time being act up to that standard, often encouraging in the good church people the fond hope that China will soon be Christianized. Ability to wield power, and especially the cunning to attain it, excites the highest admiration and respect in the Mongolian mind. Mongolians will respect a government, no matter how cruel or corrupt its methods, so long as it can enforce its decrees; but its influence with them wanes quickly through defeat, or even leniency, which latter is always classed with weakness. After the display of power by foreigners in the conquest of the Boxers, the desire of the natives for Western knowledge rapidly increased, and foreigners even in the distant interior were treated with a degree of respect previously unknown. This does not necessarily imply any greater love for foreigners or even a desire to be on friendly terms with them, but should rather be taken as evidence of increased respect for their power and an awakened sense of the necessity for China to acquire this peculiar power for her own protection as a nation. Now, while the Chinese are not blind to their present deficiencies, a majority of them still assume that their country holds, or should hold, an arrogant position as the greatest among the nations, and the attitude of what is termed "Young China" tends to encourage this assumption. Wherefore, nations making treaties with China will do well to take this sentiment into consideration and carefully avoid whatsoever smacks of the parental and protective sympathy order, or in any way places her along with small countries or helpless savages.

CONCERNING MISSIONARIES.

The position which America has assumed with regard to missionaries in China differs but little from that of the other Christian powers. From a Chinese point of view she has been comparatively liberal on the subject, especially as regards converts, and in demanding compensation for lives lost and property destroyed, and the only point of criticism they make concerns the general principle of missionary effort. American missionaries at the present time in China number about one thousand, and, estimating their salaries at one hundred dollars each per month, and their expenditures on schools, hospitals and churches at nearly as much they may be said to cost America annually more than two million dollars. This large number of intelligent Americans are spending the best part of their lives in China, struggling against many adverse conditions, and much American money as well, in trying to convert the Chinese to Christian ideals. This seems a clear sacrifice on the part of America, since China expends nothing in a benevolent way outside her own domains. From a Chinese standpoint, however, it is a large concession to America to allow her missionaries to propagate their doctrines in China at all. The good accomplished, they say, does not compensate the evils which the country suffers from their presence. These evils are chiefly due, they admit, to the converts, who are generally looked upon as such for the material advantages derived through connection with the missions. Without the inducement of material advantages, they argue, converts would be few indeed. Their arguments, however, can be said to be neutralized by the proposition that if the convert uses his connection with missionaries to protect himself from the rapacity of the Mandarins, or even to encroach upon his neighbors, he is nevertheless a Chinese subject and Chinese officialdom shows pitiable weakness in not being able to deal with its own people, whatever their cult or creed, in a manner through which foreign governments could find no occasion for protest. It can be said that the converts, however despicable they may be as a class, are never so bad as to justify extermination or even the petty spite and annoyance to which they are frequently subjected. Since it has been proved almost impossible for a convert to obtain justice in a native court without missionary aid it has come about that every missionary in charge of a station is placed in the position of an attorney, and where converts are numerous the dealing with law cases occupies a large share of his time. This state of things had much to do with the demand of the Catholic priests to be empowered with the rank and dignity to compel the Mandarins to deal honorably with the converts.

The statistics of the Protestant missions in China show about two hundred and fifty thousand converts and communicants. Some allowance for exaggeration of numbers, at least in the case of those termed "communicants" will probably not be amiss. The following, which is the substance of a story related to the author by a missionary friend, illustrates the opportunities and temptations to overstate the number of inquirers, or applicants, for church membership. The missionary in question visited a certain village in Southern China whose "head man," so-called, happened

to be a rather strong minded woman. To this personage the advantages of Christianity were so eloquently expounded that she asked to have the whole of the two hundred odd inhabitants of the village registered as Christians. To the suggestion that there should be due consideration of the subject by each individual concerned, she replied that it did not matter, that they would all do as she willed. When, however, in the course of a month or so the missionary called again, the village gates were closed against him. The head woman had changed her mind and there was not a Christian in the place. It is through the impractical and often whimsical methods and reports of the missionaries that they are brought into disparagement with other foreigners in China. They in many instances seem to have become so wrapped up in the interests of the class of natives with whom they work as to feel neither regard for the rest of the population of China nor for what is of vital importance to their own country. Most of them would like, on returning to America, to bring a dozen or so of their converts along for the pleasure of pointing out to them the glories of American civilization, and so they find fault with the Exclusion law which interferes with this childish desire. It is natural, however, that in such surroundings as most of them are placed their minds should become warped and out of harmony with practical events. A missionary who undertakes to preach upon the great problems of the higher civilization, or even upon the essential spirit of religion, will find himself misunderstood by the primitive natives and will make few converts, while a small politician who concerns himself with trivial household affairs, and promises a measure of protection to their few belongings, will have many flocking to his standard. Among missionaries there are to be found a few astute and scheming minds who are generally regarded as more or less unscrupulous, especially in reports upon the progress of their work, but who are at the same time the successful organizers and gainers of a native following; but the majority are so ultra religious as to make them appear the most impractical people on earth. With Mongolians, who give little or no evidence of the higher spiritual perceptions, the former type of missionary will prevail, but with Caucasians only those of the latter disposition are successful in making converts. Thus, a thoroughly practical business minister usually shows woeful lack of spiritual enthusiasm, and his preaching is attended by meagre results. This may be said to be due to the fact that religion, in its highest sense, ignores the baser world and concerns itself wholly with the supermundane and spiritual. How to harmonize a practical, enterprising life with the exalted principles of religion is one of the great problems. Christ advised a certain rich man who aspired to the higher spiritual life to sell all he had and give to the poor, thereby giving it as His opinion that material and spiritual prosperity are diametrically opposed to each other. What this has to do with America's official dealings with China is that the results of missionary work there, viewed from a disinterested standpoint, show a confused mixture of good and evil, with the latter, up to the present date, greatly in the ascendency, and that if missionary effort were not encouraged by foreign governments, or were confined to the treaty ports, many serious complications would be averted. It is the general verdict of foreign residents in China, not

connected with the missions, that foreign women and children at least should not be taken into the interior. Free and disinterested discussion of the missionary question with the Chinese literati invariably brings forth the admission that while the missions do a great amount of benevolent work and seem to them inspired with every desire to benefit China, owing to their drawing hard and fast lines between their followers and other natives, very serious consequences are likely to ensue. As a rule only such members of the literati as have no foreign education will give their views freely upon this subject, it being useless to question those who speak English, since they are usually beneficiaries of the missions or of foreigners in some capacity, and so realize it as bad grace to pass any adverse criticisms.

There is but one course for the missionaries to pursue to avert disastrous clashings with the natives and endangering the future peace of China, and that is to teach no creed-doctrines whatever, but to confine their efforts to the regeneration of Confucianism with the ethics of Christian civilization. What is broadly termed Confucianism may be said to cover the Buddhist, Taoist, and other native religions, although the Chinese themselves make certain distinctions between them. From a strictly Chinese point of view only the literati, or at least such as are able to comprehend the ancient classics, are true Confucians. However, as practically all Chinese, unless the Mahomedans of the northwest be excepted, take part in the same ceremonials, it is proper enough for general purposes, for Confucianism to be termed the religion of China. Now in esoteric Confucianism there is nothing immoral or in any sense repugnant to Christianity; the pagan ceremonials prevalent have little to do with the classical teachings of Confucius or his disciples, neither are they advocated by Buddhism proper. Such Joss ceremonials (like those practised in the basic forms of Christianity) are simply an outgrowth of gross ignorance and superstition. Hence it would seem that if Confucianism proper be accepted as the fixed and permanent religion of China, and the work of Christian missionaries be confined to the infusion of new life into its time-worn doctrines, in connection with schools and other benevolent institutions, the good will of all classes of Chinese can be relied upon, and the dark suspicions of foreign designs in this connection will be allayed. For such work many of the missionaries at present in China are wholly unsuited, they being so hide bound in their respective creeds as to incapacitate them from teaching Christian ethics upon any broad or comprehensive basis. The numerous dissensions which occur between the converts of different church denominations are pointed at by thoughtful Chinese as evidence of a dangerously antagonistic spirit. Catholic and Protestant converts occasionally have pitched battles with each other, and were their numbers sufficiently strong these collisions might develop into civil war. Such conflicts under present conditions are generally regarded in the nature of clan fights, which are common occurrences in China, and simply show that the converts regard themselves as clansmen for mutual benefits obtainable therefrom under the semi barbaric social system of the country.

As has already been suggested, the Mongolian is practically devoid of the faculty of intuitive spiritual enthusiasm, which is present either in a

dormant or more or less perfected state in the Caucasian mind. If this hypothesis is correct the Chinese can never become Christians as the term applies to conscientious Caucasians. It is possible they might eventually adopt Christianity as a creed, but whether it would elevate the national character in the least is open to grave doubt. They have degraded Buddhism to a mere system of idol worship, while the philosophy of the Confucian classics is understood by but few and its principles are practised by none.

REASONS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF MONGOLIANS.

Since the enactment of the first effective Exclusion law in 1888, the Chinese population in the United States has been reduced from some 300,000 to 120,000. With the departure of so large a proportion of these people from the American shores the strong sentiment against their presence which formerly prevailed has been somewhat softened, and there is a disposition to relax the barriers, if not to the extent of their increase in the country, at least to permit the present number being maintained. Those who can see any profit to themselves in Chinese immigration are eager to take advantage of this sentiment to make their influence felt in Washington. Missionary and other sentimentalists are also at work on the side of the Chinese in their effort to secure more favorable terms. Their loudest plea is that American commerce would be greatly benefited through the presence in America of more of the merchant and student classes of Chinese.

As regards students coming to America to be educated little need be said, that is if they are genuine students with means to pay their own way. And yet it is a fact that a majority of these students, on returning to China, become the most pronounced enemies of America. As a youth in an American college, the recipient of special attentions from every one, the Chinese student is good natured and calculated to make a favorable impression upon every one, but when afterward facing the stern realities of life in his own country, his disposition changes, and if finding himself more popular through denouncing foreigners, he is likely to exaggerate every ill feature of the land he can pretend to know all about. As for Chinese merchants, whose wealth and influence some people have proclaimed would so greatly benefit America, when viewed in detail they are not what distant imagination pictures them to be. There are practically no Chinese merchants with capital of their own to invest who have any desire to come to America. The rate of interest on money in China is at least fifty per cent higher than in the United States and the opportunities for profitable investments are also greater, so that in the nature of things at the present time the tendency is for capitalists to come to instead of to go from the Far East. There are, of course, millions of Chinese eager to go to the United States and there make the money to become merchants. Every Chinaman who has attained to the rank of a merchant in America would be glad to bring over as many of his relatives as possible to assist in the expansion of his business, and who would succeed himself when he retires to the Flowery Kingdom. The real Chinese merchant from China would be utterly help-

less in America without underlings as well as patrons of his own race, and this would necessitate letting in more coolies, or those slightly above the coolie class.

There are already enough Chinese merchants in America to meet all the demands of the Mongolian population, and surely no one desires to see them taking the place of white merchants or manufacturers in the general trade of the country. There are many reasons why Mongolian competitors in the internal trade of America should be discouraged. For instance, they will employ no white help if it can be avoided, their living expenses are not much above those of the coolies, and they would contribute nothing toward the upkeep of schools, churches and charitable institutions. Consequently they could easily undersell and drive Americans out of business. There is no merchant on earth more expert in the adulteration of food than the Chinese. Every article of food in China capable of adulteration is so dealt with, and an entire lack of conscience marks the methods used. Thrusting sand down the throat of a fowl and filling its crop to add to its weight, and the skillful insertion of slices of an inferior quality of meat in a roast of beef or mutton are common practices, while milk, which they absolutely refuse to sell pure, is diluted with whatever kind of pond or well water happens to be convenient. Vermicelli and other cereal productions which will absorb a good deal of moisture without detection are spattered over with water from the merchant's mouth to give it extra weight when delivered to a customer. Do Americans want these merchants, who are schooled in every conceivable device for defrauding their fellow beings, as competitors with white men, the majority of whom are honest in their dealings, who have respectable families, and who in general help to keep up the present high civilization of the country? Why should the Chinese merchant be allowed free competition in America when the American merchant in China is under so many restrictions? There can be cited but few Americans who, even prior to the boycott, have prospered in the Chinese treaty ports, and these have been most lavish in their expenditures for local improvements and charities. They employ many Chinese assistants and go-betweens in their dealings, so that it can truthfully be said that the natives have in every case made ten times as much out of the business concerned as the American merchant. No American retail merchant can possibly exist in China proper in competition with the natives, and, even as wholesalers in the treaty ports, the best share of their profits goes to the latter. Since the American merchant in China has to get on with native help, it seems no more than fair that Chinese merchants in America be told to employ the white help of the country instead of sending to China for it. As a matter of fact all the mercantile transactions which now take place, or may hereafter develop between the two countries, can prosper with no more than a hundred or so either of American merchants being located in China or a like number of Chinese merchants in America.

The sentiment prevailing in American policy since the Civil War, which proclaims the universal brotherhood of mankind and endeavors to eliminate racial distinctions, is mainly responsible for a peculiar leniency toward China, regardless of her shortcomings, which would hardly be

shown toward any Christian power. The reverse of this sentiment, frequently stigmatized as unreasoning race prejudice, which is manifest in the Southern States and in the West, and which is responsible for the laws against intermarriages between whites and negroes and whites and Mongolians, separate traveling and hotel accommodations, etc., form the backbone of the natural as well as philosophical opposition to colored immigration, whatever the nationality concerned. It is oftentimes asserted that the laboring men are the only opponents of the free admission of Mongolians to the country, and this has come to be a fixed belief in the minds of the Chinese. In contradiction of this it may be safely asserted that the money powers so interested could easily break down the comparatively feeble barrier which laboring men can oppose were it not for the support of an aroused race prejudice in which is enlisted some of the deepest thinking minds of the country. This prejudice (race loyalty would be a better term) is as strongly marked in the disinterested and non-sentimental wealthy and middle classes, of the South and West at least, as among the laboring men, though the latter are forced to greater energy in all exclusion efforts by the dire necessity of their position. Competition with coolie labor in the West prognosticates for the laborer all the evils of competition with negro labor in the South, while the social problem involved in having the country teeming with yellow men, brings forth the as yet less vigorous though equally earnest protest of all men capable of feeling any regard for the future of the nation. It thus appears that the sentiment which proposes to ignore racial distinctions and would give the same opportunities to Mongolians as to white immigrants, comes from the Eastern States where there have never been sufficient numbers of any colored people to arouse race antipathy. Caucasians being naturally the most charitable and humane of all men, it requires such special conditions as prevail in the South and West to arouse in them the baser prejudices which are found ever present in other races. Should negroes or Mongolians invade the East in such proportionate numbers as obtain in the South and West, race prejudice, now latent there, would come to the fore and special legislation against them would become popular. Australia and British Columbia have had sufficient experience with the dark races to bring forth this latent antipathy, as shown by the former colony's rigid exclusion of East Indians, South Sea Islanders and Mongolians, and the latter's poll tax of five hundred dollars a head upon Chinese. The latter has also made several attempts to exclude Japanese immigrants, but so far has been frustrated by the Canadian Government.

It is scarcely two years since Chinese coolies were admitted to South Africa, but a cry has already been heard from that unfortunate land for their deportation. Commercial England will probably not heed the cry and the white race will have to face the alternative of emigrating or entering upon another deadly conflict with the British Government.

There is every reason to believe that Mongolian immigration is destined to be a permanent and serious question for the whole of North America. Whatever the present or any future American Congress may do to weaken the exclusion barriers will only serve to excite the Orientals to

stronger efforts for further victories in this direction. The Japanese Government may for a time do something to divert its emigrants into Korea and Manchuria, in the hope of expanding its empire in that direction. But their success in this grand enterprise would mean the eventual ability to bring stronger power to bear upon America in forcing down all barriers to their free immigration with an infinitely larger population to draw upon. America's best hope for the maintenance of her present race and civilization against a possible future mighty Asia lies in the rapid increase of her white population in the West. That would stop the present cry for more laborers, and help also to dispel the dream of the Mongolians of ultimate conquest of the continent. Diplomacy will necessarily have to be made a more careful study than hitherto by America, in order to combat the many schemes the Mongolians will try in the interest of their colonists. If military force be impracticable, then boycott will have to be met with counter boycott or tariff legislation that will bring equal harm upon the aggressor. When the Oriental finds that a boycott can be worked both ways, and that mutual trade relations are the more to be desired, he will drop that form of persuasion and accept the inevitable with good grace.

The fertility and strong parental qualities of the Mongolians are important factors to be considered in connection with their immigration. The average Mongolian woman will bring a child into the world every year and, according to their means, no people on earth show better care for their offspring. No babies are destroyed in China because of dislike of the burdens entailed in their bringing up; the meanest coolie will rear all the children he can support. A woman defective in child-bearing is looked upon as accursed and only fit to be a servant; and should her husband be possessed of the means he will not hesitate to relegate her to that position and look for another wife. The author, during his stay in Swatow, became acquainted with a wealthy Chinese who had married his fourth wife during a period of a dozen years and yet had no children. This misfortune was looked upon as due to some malignant influence, for the banishment of which many experiments, mainly of the Joss ceremonial order, were tried. He was the laughing stock of his native village, and his mental perturbation over the fact of his being childless was most pitiable. Aside from the priesthood there are practically neither old bache'ors nor old mai's among Orientals, the religious obligation to become parents approaches a mania with them all, and that they will outstrip the Caucasians of America in race propagation admits of no doubt should their colonies there once obtain a firm footing. Owing to this peculiar mania, which with the Chinese is intensified by the Confucian doctrine of the necessity for posterity to pray their souls out of purgatory, the better classes of Chinese are married when mere children. Parents are so eager to secure to themselves and their offspring the spiritual blessings promised by their faith, as well as the peculiar honor which obtains in Chinese society through the birth of grandchildren, that they will seldom wait for their sons to complete their education, according to foreign standards, to have them married. These early marriages, taken together with the ignoring of the law of natural or love selection, doubtless accounts for much of the stupidity and physical defectiveness of the Chinese,

in comparison with other branches of the Mongolian family. Thus, while the upper classes of white Americans, for reasons often not creditable to themselves, are poor in offspring, Mongolians, no matter how wealthy they may become, appear to lose none of the primitive desire for a great posterity. It may be said that the principle of the survival of the fittest, from an industrial and physical endurance standpoint, would give the world to the Mongolians, but that for spiritually progressive and humanitarian reasons, it ought to continue to be dominated by the Caucasians. Survival of the latter, who, generally speaking, live for more than mere material aims, depends upon their protection from close competitive contact with the former, who practically live only for the baser functions of a semi-animal existence.

Americans have been misled as to the capacities of the Mongolians as colonists because the Chinese immigrants have shown but small increase through birthrate. The causes of this poor showing are not far to seek. In the first place, the Chinese have been dissatisfied in the presence of superior numbers of white men, with whose laws and customs they have no sympathy, so that few entertained the intention of remaining in the country longer than necessary to get what would be to them a fortune in China. They may be said thus far to have yielded to the general law that the dominating presence of any race of mankind acts as a discouraging blight upon all others who by reason of their blood and civilized standard are unassimilative. A sufficient increase of the Mongolian element on the Pacific Coast would have a similarly discouraging effect upon the white inhabitants. It would also turn back the tide of white immigration in like manner as the presence of the negro in the South repels white settlers in that region. The Mongolian, however, cannot be so completely discouraged in immigration for the reason that his own country is overcrowded and the opportunity to get rich in America will serve to hold his racial antipathies in abeyance. The aversion of the Chinese immigrants to the white Americans would be endured in patience were they able to bring their wives and families into the country in sufficient numbers. Once get real colonies of them started, where they can build their villages and enjoy their customs in their own peculiar way, and the question of their colonizing power will no longer be a doubtful one. The Japanese are much less exclusive than the Chinese, their women are more intelligent and are allowed more liberties, and there is every evidence to show that they will colonize readily, even in the midst of the white Americans. Their adaptability in this respect makes them possibly more to be feared than the Chinese, for while they are always loyal to their own people, they will intermingle freely with the whites until their numbers are sufficiently augmented for communities of their own. In this free intermingling they become alert to every advantage for themselves and every weakness of the white man, and efficient spies and helpers of the diplomats of their own country. So long as but few Mongolian women succeed in getting into America there is no practical danger of their forming separate colonies; the natural prejudice between the races can be relied upon under present conditions to prevent intermarriages on an extensive scale.

Had the white colonists to the United States been cut off from the European nations when they were only a million or so in numbers, they would in course of time have intermarried with the Indians and Negroes, and a mixed race would have resulted, as in the case of the Mongolian Huns, Turks and Russian Tartars. This intermixture of inferior blood would have lowered the skull development of the Anglo-Americans to the level of that of the modern Huns, Turks and Tartar-Slavs, and their civilization would never have risen above that of the Balkan States or of Central America. If Central and South America can get pure Caucasian immigrants in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the Mongol and Negro'd elements now predominant there, their civilization will rise accordingly; without such immigration the intellectual and moral status of those regions will improve but little upon present conditions. America can not get too many immigrants from Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia, where the Caucasian blood is comparatively pure, nor can she for her own good get too few from any part of Asia, Africa, or even from Southern Europe. In Southern Europe the Caucasian blood has been largely diluted with that of the Asiatic and the African; and while such immigrants are far more desirable than pure Mongolians, the inferior and anarchistic strain in their blood speaks strongly against them.

Those who seek to instil confusion into anti-Mongolian sentiment invariably ask the question, why exclude the industrious law-abiding Chinese or Japanese and allow the ferocious and anarchistic aliens from Southern Europe to come in? The answer is that the immigration of neither of these elements should be allowed, for the simple reason that one is pure Mongol and the other part Mongol. While the part Mongol is a fiercer and more dangerous man than the pure Mongol, it is really the better choice to take him, because of the white strain he possesses than to undertake to assimilate a straight-out alien. There may be enough pure Caucasian blood in America to assimilate and ennoble a few million mixed blood people from Southern Europe, but not enough to so deal with a like number of pure Mongolians. A mixed race, or ever growing Mongolian colonies in their midst, is what the Americans have to consider who care aught for posterity. Had our forefathers thought a little more upon this subject when they were importing negro slaves a different state of things would now be present in the South. No Civil War would have ever taken place, no billion dollar national debt, no hundred million dollars a year pension roll, while the South as well as the North, would have remained a white man's country. But commercial considerations won the day and the cry that cheap labor was necessary to develop the resources of the South was the one which prevailed. And the resources were developed, yes out of existence, as may be seen in the deserted cabins and defunct cotton fields which abound in that section. As a result of this vigorous enterprise with slave labor, we find one-half of the population of the South of the intellectual and moral standard of Dahomey and the other half, although of Caucasian lineage, dispirited and enfeebled through the presence in their midst of an inferior and servile people. The plaintive cry of commercialism to-day is the same as that which went up a century ago for more slaves. Exploiters of

shipping, railway, mining and other interests see untold wealth (for themselves) in freer Mongolian immigration, and those interests are able to "influence" Congress in their favor. It is for the labor organizations of the country and those patriots not so blinded by the craze for money making as to forget the permanent well being of the land, to make the fight against the yellow hordes now eagerly seeking admission.

In considering Mongolian immigration, the United States must naturally be concerned with the contiguous territories of Canada and Mexico. If Mongolians are allowed free entrance to either of those countries, they cannot be permanently restrained from coming over the border lines. If only coming over at the rate of a dozen a week they may be gathered up and deported, but if it be at the rate of a hundred or more a day, it would soon bankrupt the government to undertake their arrest and deportation? The Anglo-Japanese alliance is already bearing fruit in Canada and Australia, where the British government is exerting itself to break down all impediments to free Japanese immigration. That alliance is ominous for the United States, not only in the matter of naval command of the Pacific Ocean, but also as likely to force unlimited Asiatic immigration into British America. An East Indian influx into Canada has now set in, every steamer from Hongkong bringing a dozen or more of these aliens to Vancouver. The Mongoloid blood of Mexico exceeds the Caucasian strain, and there is consequently a stronger sympathy for Asiatics than for white men. The extensive colonization of Asiatics in that country will make Mexico a permanent enemy of the United States, that is if the latter remains a white man's country. The colonization of Mexico by pure Caucasians would tend to bring the two countries closer together and to insure lasting peace between them. What applies to Mexico applies in a measure to Cuba and other West India islands, and, in a lesser degree to the whole of Central America.