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CHINESE
REMONSTRANCE

TO THE
PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
VICTORIA.

ISSUED BY THEIR COMMITTEE :

CHEOK HONG CHEONG, CHAIRMAN.

L. TYE SHING.

LOUEY WAH

HANG HI.

NG HOCK SEONG.

W. SHI GEEN.

SUN SUEY SHING.

JAMES MOY LING.

KONG KEE.

Melbourne :

WM. MARSHALL & CO., PRINTERS, ROYAL LANE.

1888.



OLD TESTAMENT LAW RELATING
TO FOREIGNERS.

Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.—EX. XXII., 21.

And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.—LEV. XIX., 33, 34.

One law and one manner shall be for you and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.—NUM. XV., 16.

And I charged your judges at that time, saying: Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother and the stranger that is with him.—DEUT. I., 16.

Thus saith the Lord: Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place.—JER. XXII., 3.

Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless and widow. And all the people shall say, Amen.—DEUT. XXVII., 19.

If ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place in the land that I gave to your fathers for ever and ever.—JER. VII., 6, 7.

O. Z. M.

Chinese Remonstrance

TO THE

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

OF

VICTORIA,

TOGETHER WITH

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENT

OF THE SAME,

AND

ADDRESS TO SYDNEY CONFERENCE.

ALSO,

PUBLIC ADDRESS

BY

CHEOK HONG CHEONG.

Melbourne:

WM. MARSHALL & CO., PRINTERS, &C., ROYAL LANE.

1888.



TO THE
PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
VICTORIA.

THE committee of Chinese residents, on behalf of themselves and fellow countrymen, in placing before you the correspondence with the Government and kindred matters, do so by way of inviting the fullest investigation of the Chinese Question, and having the assurance and right to conclude, that it cannot be the desire of the majority of the people of this colony to outrage the common feelings of humanity, by giving countenance to harshness and injustice towards us.

When from the speeches and actions of agitators we saw that the passions and prejudices of the unthinking might be aroused, we as early as December last thought it advisable to request in an orderly and respectful manner that the Government would afford us the courtesy of receiving a deputation, by which means we might place our views and convictions before the people of this colony. To this request after a second application, a reply was tardily given, but for some reason, as yet not explained, the request itself was never granted. From what has since transpired, we are not so sanguine as to suppose that anything we could have urged would have been forcible enough to have stayed the recent outbreak of fanaticism, but at all events we should have had

the consciousness of having done what we could in that direction. Be it understood we do not, in addressing you, take the place of "Suppliants," for that would be unworthy of the great nation to which we belong. No, we take our stand as human beings entitled to fair treatment, and also under the existing treaty obligations between Great Britain and the Chinese Empire, which we maintain have been grossly violated by the Government in its recent proceedings. We do not deny that grave evils exist in connection with the settlement of our countrymen, and which we greatly deplore, but these we think could be much mitigated by the firm application of municipal and sanitary laws.

That similar evils exist amongst the European population we are aware, which are also much deplored by the best of your own citizens, but we are not so unfair or ungenerous as to urge this as a reason why punishment should not overtake evil-doers of our own nation. By no means. We see rather that it would be our duty as well as our privilege to assist all we could to remove these evils that afflict both races alike. The reflection forced upon us at this point is, that the same complex social problems that baffle and pain all good men, are met with, not surely amongst the Chinese alone, but amongst all races, European and others.

We affirm that our countrymen as a whole are amenable to just laws, and we have shown by the public records that they bear no unfavorable comparison with Europeans in regard to criminal statistics. What reason, then, is there, for this outburst of fanatical fury and impending inhuman legislation? We

know it is alleged in justification of past and further proposed measures, that Australia is threatened with "hordes" of Chinese, to use the polite language in use. This may suit as a cry, the mere politician for the present, and under this cry he may gain the temporary success he desires; but, when in the light of a fuller experience, cleansed by trial, it may be from its present uncharitable frame of mind, governed by nobler men, able to take larger and humaner views of their obligations to other races, Australia will look back with regret and shame, noting carefully that the only residuum that was left, when the froth had subsided, consisted of the selfishness, the prejudices, and the shams, which form the warp and woof of the present agitation.

Men actuated by statesmanlike views, and superior to the desire of snatching a fleeting popularity at the expense of a few strangers, would have sought for and obtained sound information either from the British authorities at Hong Kong, or from the Imperial Government at Peking, and the result would have allayed their fears (if they really had any) regarding a great influx of Chinese population.

In the course of this agitation we have learned that it does not "take two or more to make a quarrel," for truly it has been made manifest before the sight of all men that the quarrel has been wholly one-sided; and further, our education has been improved to this extent, that now we dimly begin to understand the difference between a statesman and a mere politician.

There is shortly to be erected in the City of Melbourne a memorial to a real king of men—

General Gordon—and in the language of some of its advocates, this memorial was to point the youth of Victoria for all time, to a life of simple greatness, combined with rare unselfishness and benevolence. This was the man who endured privations, and laid down his life rather than sacrifice or desert uncivilized people. We knew him well, for he loved and served our nation, and was beloved and trusted in return. We can conceive of his noble scorn of the language and proceedings of the past few months, and if it were possible for those silent lips of bronze to speak when the statue is erected, we believe they would utter a mighty protest against being placed in the midst of a people capable of enacting what some of its public men have proposed.

The legislation set forth in the "Bill," agreed to at the conference in Sydney, we regard as barbarous, and therefore unworthy of a civilized community. If this bill is passed, it will mark a relapse so distinct as to fix an indelible stain on the Australian name. The terms are cunningly devised, but we ask, is it possible the Parliaments of Victoria and of the other colonies can enact, that even a British subject, if of the Chinese race, and just because he differs from the European in the color of his skin, is therefore to be treated almost as a felon? Then again, is it possible that common human rights, accorded to other civilized peoples, are to be denied to us? That it is to be a crime, punishable by imprisonment with hard labor, if man or woman of the Chinese race travel over the line separating any of the colonies without a permit, which might not be obtainable? If such is to be, then we protest in the sight of Heaven that this is a crime, not as com-

mitted against us only, but against the great Creator of all "who made of one blood all nations of men."

There is a sentence in the cablegram sent from the Sydney Conference to the Secretary of State, London, which is so unctuous we cannot forbear quoting it. It reads as follows:—"In conclusion the Conference would call attention to the fact that the treatment of Chinese in the Australasian Colonies has been invariably humane and considerate." Well, we are sometimes perplexed by words in the English language, and there is one word called "hypocrisy," the full meaning of which we may not understand, but if we do, then we care not to search either the pages of history or elsewhere for a better example of it than this. The Sydney Conference was evidently saturated by passion and prejudice, and in its haste and under these malign influences it has placed upon record what may well cause the ears of Australians to tingle for very shame. However, it is our earnest hope that the Parliament and people of Victoria may not descend to its level, but rather will show to the world that they belong to a race whose boast it is, that it deals fairly with all peoples, oppresses none, and affords an asylum to all.

Commending the correspondence, &c., to your dispassionate consideration,

We are, yours in all sincerity,

CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Chairman of Committee.

L. TYE SHING

W. SHI GEEN

LOUEY WAH

SUN SUEY SHING

HANG HI

JAMES MOY LING

NG HOCK SEONG

KONG KEE.

CORRESPONDENCE.



FIRSTLY.—REQUESTING AN INTERVIEW.

Montgomery Villa, Gore Street,
Fitzroy, December 22nd, 1887.

THE HON. DUNCAN GILLIES,
Premier of Victoria.

Sir,—Observing that Deputation after Deputation has waited upon you from the Anti-Chinese League, and made such gross misrepresentations against us as a people, we beg to request that you would kindly receive a Deputation from the Chinese and other residents of Melbourne, who deprecate the unreasonable and unjust spirit of the Anti-Chinese agitation, and fix a day and hour at your earliest convenience to receive the same.

I have the honor to be,
Your humble, obedient servant,
CHEOK HONG CHEONG.

Signed at the request and on behalf of a committee of Chinese and other residents.

[N.B.—No reply has ever been received to the above.]

58 Little Bourke Street,
Melbourne, May 18th, 1888.

Sir,—We, the undersigned Chinese merchants and other residents of Melbourne, have the honor to request that you will grant us an interview for the purpose of laying before you our views on the present Chinese-trouble.

L. AH MOUY.
L. KONG MENG.
L. TYE SHING.
CHEOK HONG CHEONG.

The Honorable The Premier.

[N.B.—The above is printed from memory as no copy has been preserved. The following reply is all that has been received. A “day” has never been “named” for “the desired interview.”]

[REPLY.]

Premier's Office.

Melbourne, May 19th, 1888.

Gentlemen,—I have the honor, by direction of the Premier, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 18th inst., asking for an interview relative to matters affecting the Chinese, and to inform you that Mr. Gillies hopes to be able to name a day for the desired interview shortly.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. SEWELL,

Acting Secretary.

Messrs. L. AH MOUY, L. KONG MENG, and others,
58 Little Bourke Street, Melbourne

SECONDLY.—IN REFERENCE TO THE PASSENGERS PER S.S.
AFGHAN AND BURRUMBEET.

Montgomery Villa, Gore-street,

Fitzroy, May 26th, 1888.

Sir,—On behalf of the committee of Chinese residents in Melbourne charged with the duty of looking after the interests of their countrymen. I have to request now that the 14 men who came by the *Burrumbeet* have, after an illegal incarceration of five days on the vessel and 19 days at the Quarantine Station, been brought up to Melbourne at the Government expense, the poll-tax having on their behalf been previously tendered three times and by the Government illegally declined, that your attention be directed to the position of the 12 men in the *Afghan*, on whose behalf the poll-tax was also tendered and declined by the Government.

These men are, we contend, just as illegally kept out of the colony and carried off from their destination as were the *Burrumbeet* men, and the latter having now been admitted, we call upon the Government to bring back the 12 men in the *Afghan* who are now confined to that ship in Sydney Harbour. The poll-tax will be paid on their arrival.

With regard to the other men on board the *Afghan* who hold naturalisation papers, we submit that each of these papers should have been dealt with on its merits. Some of them may have been irregular, but we are in a position to state that a large proportion of them were undoubtedly correct and in order, and the men holding them had a right to land, being British subjects, made such by the Victorian Government, who issued to them these certificates.

As to any of the men whose certificates were irregular, or otherwise inadmissible, the practice of the Government has hitherto been to admit them upon payment of the poll-tax, and we submit that any alteration of the previous practice should have, in fairness, been publicly notified.

We, however, say nothing for any men who may have held such papers, but on behalf of those for whom poll-tax was tendered, and those who hold correct certificates, we request that the legal course shall be adopted by bringing them back and admitting them.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Chairman of Committee.

The Hon. D. Gillies, Premier of Victoria.

[REPLY.]

Premier's Office,

Melbourne, May 28th, 1888.

Sir,—I am directed by the Premier to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant relative to the cases of the Chinese immigrants who arrived in this port on board the steamers *Afghan* and *Burrumbeet*.

Mr. Gillies directs me to say that your letter contains statements which are not accurate, and assertions hazarded without knowledge. He must, therefore, be excused from acknowledging the force of the statements which you make.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM SEWELL,

Acting Secretary.

MR. CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Montgomery Villa, Gore Street, Fitzroy.

Montgomery Villa, Gore Street,

Fitzroy, May 29th, 1886

Sir,—In reply to yours of yesterday's date I beg to state that at any time, under any circumstance, I should be sorry indeed to "hazard assertions without knowledge," or make "statements which are not accurate," but particularly so in the present grave emergency, when so much—very much—depends upon accuracy of knowledge.

I shall feel myself under no small obligation, therefore, if you would be good enough to inform me and my committee wherein I have made "statements which are not accurate, and hazarded assertions without knowledge."

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Chairman of Committee.

The Hon. D. Gillies, Premier of Victoria

[REPLY.]

Premier's Office.

Melbourne, May 30th, 1888.

Sir,—I am directed by the Premier to acknowledge the receipt of your further letter, of the 29th inst., relative to the recent arrivals of Chinese immigrants at this port.

In reply I am to state that Mr. Gillies does not intend to enter into any discussion with you, or with the committee which you represent respecting the course which was adopted with reference to the passengers by the *Afghan* and *Burrumbeet* respectively. He must, therefore, decline to enter into particulars which would necessarily take the form of a discussion.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. SEWELL,

Acting Secretary.

MR. CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Gore Street, Fitzroy.

Montgomery Villa, Gore Street,

Fitzroy, June 1st, 1888

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th ult., in which you intimated that you declined to enter into any discussion with me or the committee of Chinese residents which I represent, regarding the *Burrumbeet* and *Afghan* passengers.

It was very far from my intention to create any discussion whatever, but you, perhaps, will not be surprised if I now say on behalf of my committee, that your present letter but adds an additional sting to the injustice we feel we have suffered at the hands of the Government.

In my letter of the 26th May, I preferred what even you, sir, must admit to be a moderate claim that my countrymen, arriving by certain steamers, should be treated in an equitable manner in accordance with the laws of the country, to which you replied on the 28th idem that I had made "statements which are not accurate, and hazarded assertions without knowledge."

These serious defects alleged to have been made by me, I wished pointed out, but you have met my request with a refusal. Be the laws just or unjust, no request was made that these should be relaxed, or even generously construed in our favor. What we thought was that since the *coup d'état* of the 28th April on the part of the Government, by which all the Chinese passengers of the steamship *Afghan* were forcibly prevented from landing at the port of their destination your Government have availed themselves of the ample time at their disposal for calm reflection. At least we thought we were justified in the view by the release by the Government of the whole of the passengers per *Burrumbeet*

after a forcible detention of three weeks and three days, that our request that the passengers of the *Afghan* be similarly dealt with will not be refused.

We cannot, of course, say that we are altogether taken by surprise, since the Government which could strain and wrest the law to gratify some noisy clamour, would in strict consistency deny us the rights which the law of the land, however inequitable in our view, never for a moment questioned.

We would, however, point out that our nation is at the present time, and has been for many years past, happily at peace with the great nation which your Government represent in this colony; that moreover, a treaty of peace and friendship exists between them which confers reciprocal rights, and until such treaty has been abrogated the surreptitious proceedings of the Government are alike dishonourable and dishonest.

In relation to this we beg to lay before you the conduct of our Chinese Government respecting foreigners. Irritating as were the proceedings of the French in Chinese waters two or three years ago, yet immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, and in a time still of great public excitement, an Imperial Edict was issued, directing the heads of the various provincial governments to "correct popular misapprehension, and calm popular feeling." From one of the proclamations I beg leave to quote the following sentences:—"Neither party shall inflict injury on the other; each shall pursue in peace and quietude its respective callings; and the desire of the state to include in its kindly benevolence the men from afar equally with its own people, shall not, I trust, be frustrated."

Our Imperial Government, moreover, is by no means ignorant of the attitude and proceedings of the Australian colonies, as the following passage in one of the Marquis Tseng's speeches in England bespeaks. In reply to one of the numerous addresses that poured in upon him from the various municipal and commercial corporations prior to his departure from England, His Excellency said:—"We look to you and the representatives of your colonial possessions now in London, to see that these returning Chinese bring nothing home with them, but what will promote peace and goodwill between the two countries; no memories of suffering injustice or exceptional treatment; no memories but such as I and my family will take away with us of the seven pleasant years we have spent in merry England."

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

CHEOK HONG CHONG,

Chairman of Committee.

The Hon D. Gillies, Premier of Victoria.

[REPLY]

Premier's Office,

Melbourne, June 5th, 1888.

Sir,—I am directed by the Premier to acknowledge the receipt of your further letter, dated the 1st inst., relative to the Chinese immigrants who arrived at the port of Melbourne by the steamers *Afghan* and *Burrumbeet*.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. SEWELL,

Acting Secretary.

MR. CHEOK HONG CHEONG,

Montgomery Villa, Gore Street, Fitzroy.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Chinese Committee held on 26th June, 1888:—

1. "Having examined the proceedings of the Conference in Sydney, called to consider the relations that exist between our people and the various Governments of the Australian colonies, we solemnly protest against its decisions as being inconsistent with treaty rights, harsh and arbitrary in their nature, and if carried out will oppress many of our countrymen at present in Australia."

2. "That in view of a Bill being introduced into the Victorian Parliament to give effect to the decisions of the Conference, this meeting is of opinion that the circumstances are of such importance that the Chinese Ambassador at London, and the Imperial Government at Peking, should be advised of them by cable and by letter."

3. "That the views and feelings of the Chinese residents be embodied in a 'remonstrance' addressed to the Parliament and people of Victoria."

4. "That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Government of Victoria."

ADDRESS TO AUSTRALASIAN CONFERENCE.

*To the Representatives of
the Australian Governments, in Conference assembled.*

Honourable Sirs,—The Chinese residents of Victoria, through their committee, beg respectfully to approach your honourable Conference in the hope that, under the deep sense of responsibility attaching to your present deliberations you may see clearly that there are two sides to this important question. Locally we have had scant courtesy shown to us as subjects of a great and friendly power, and this is probably the experience of our brethren at many other Australian ports, but of this we do not speak at present.

We consider the “cry” of a great influx of Chinese as one of those poor hollow things that time and reflection will cause the generous British mind to feel heartily ashamed of, but at the same time the cruel injustice inflicted under it may be far-reaching. “Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.”

Our own land has no equal on earth for fertility and resources, which by-and-by will cause her to weigh heavy in the scale of nations, and therefore we assure you, honourable sirs, that the question whether a few stragglers should emigrate from such a stupendous empire like China is one of perfect indifference to her Government or her people. But the evil treatment of the few that are here, or who have been recently turned away from these shores, is a different matter altogether. We hope it may not be, but fear it may, that a deep wound has been inflicted that will rankle and bear evil fruit in the near future. Our late ambassador in London spoke wise words when he said before a British audience, “We look to you and the representatives of your colonial possessions now in London to see that these returning Chinese bring nothing home with them but what will promote peace and goodwill between the two countries—no memories of suffering, injustice, or exceptional treatment,” and we commend these words to the thoughtful consideration of the Conference.

In a vivid epoch in the history of your own great country, it was not so much the severance of the political tie which bound the American colonies to the mother country as the cruel heritage of strife that was

left to rankle, causing sore grief to the wise men of both lands. But for this heritage, it is possible that to-day they might have been so united by common feeling and interest as to stand out to view the arbitrators of the world. Notwithstanding the impassioned protests of a few splendid men, the strife was entered on with a light heart by the ruling statesmen of the day, and though as yet we have had no colonial statesmen to protest against the injustice we have been subjected to, yet in this connection we are glad to admit that in our intercourse with the best classes of colonists we have found amongst them a feeling of repugnance at, and an utter detestation of, the treatment which our countrymen have received at the hands of the various colonial Governments. We draw the moral from the American incidents just referred to, that it is much easier to plant a thorn in the national feeling than to withdraw or heal the wound.

We affirm that the Chinese are a peaceable, industrious, and law-abiding people, and that they are not insensible of, nor ungrateful for, the protection of wise laws justly administered. What they do complain of is—

1. That the laws have been strained and tortured to oppress them.
2. That the laws have even been broken to inflict harsh treatment and injustice.
3. That by the hasty and violent conduct of various colonial Governments, which should have held the scales of justice evenly balanced the more ignorant portion of the population have been incited and encouraged to outrage the feelings and show contempt and hatred to our countrymen.

We think all this is bad and foolish for these reasons—

That a time may come, nay, probably will come sooner than is supposed, when the presence and power of China as a great nation will be felt in these seas, and it lies with you to say, as wise men or otherwise, if this is to be for good or for evil.

That injustice, inhumanity, and violence afford a poor foundation to build up the life of a young nation, and however popular in the meantime it may be with the unthinking multitude, yet we are most sure such weapons mean disaster in the future to the users.

The stringency of the laws at present relating to immigration from China effectually preclude many being added to the population if even it were much desired. We, however, do not hesitate to confidently affirm that were the ports open and free the Chinese population of Australia would always remain an insignificant portion of the whole.

Finally, it is our belief that the matter your honourable conference has in hand is weighty, no mere family quarrel, but one that touches most intimately international rights and obligations. Dealing as it does

with the stranger within your gates, it cannot be decided by a wave of the hand, nor by heated public orations.

The Supreme Court of one colony has declared that "It is not aware that such a course of conduct as has been pursued in reference to the Chinese has ever been adopted at any period of our history." Imperial statesmen have counselled you that friendship with China was well worth purchasing at the cost of a little sacrifice. We trust, therefore, that for the sake of the two countries whose interests are involved the dictates of humanity and justice may rule your deliberations, and that you will be guided to remember that it is righteousness alone which exalteth a nation, but that sin is the reproach of any people.

For and on behalf of the committee of Chinese residents, Melbourne

(Signed)

CHEOK HONG CHEONG, Chairman.

L. AH MOUY.

SHI GEEN.

SUN SUEY SHING.

JAMES MOY LING.

PUBLIC ADDRESS

BY

CHEOK HONG CHEONG

In the Masonic Hall, Collins Street, before a large and representative gathering of the citizens of Melbourne.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—As the address, which we presented to their Excellencies the Chinese Commissioners, sets forth very clearly our position in the colony, I shall read it to you before speaking more directly upon the subject I have taken in hand to address you to-night :—

Melbourne, 3rd June, 1887.

To their Excellencies General Wong Yung Ho and U. Tsing, Chinese Imperial Commissioners.

May it please your Excellencies,—We, the undersigned Chinese residents of Melbourne would avail ourselves of the opportunity of your Excellencies' visit to assure you of our loyalty and devotion to the throne and person of our Most Gracious Sovereign, the Emperor of China, and the great gratification with which we view the generous impulse which dictated the policy of His Majesty's Government in your Excellencies' mission of inquiry into the circumstances, commerce, and condition of our countrymen resident in the islands of the Malayan Archipelago and Australia.

And further to formally bring under your notice the penalties and disabilities inflicted upon our nation by the law of the land, in the earnest hope that your Excellencies may be pleased to make such representations to the Governments of Victoria and the other Australian colonies as would lead to the removal thereof.

First,—The Poll-tax.—This, your Excellencies are aware, is a special tax of £10 a head, imposed by the Governments of Victoria and the adjoining colonies, and upon none other than subjects of the Chinese empire.

We beg to call your Excellencies' attention to the report in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 31st ult., of your Excellencies' interview with the Hon. D. Gillies, Premier of the colony, in which the Hon. the Premier is reported as having said that "the Chinese cost the country a considerable sum of money in many ways, their protection was a matter of expense, and the poll-tax was imposed for a compensation."

If that report be correct, we venture to declare that the excuse seems to us as extraordinary as the imposition itself is in its departure from all the principles of international right and equity.

But without questioning the correctness of his premises or the justice of his conclusion, your Excellencies will please note what the Chinese contribute towards the expenses of Government.

Mr Hayter's "Year Book" shows that the Chinese contribution is greatly in excess of the average contributed by all other nationalities, as the following fact alone sufficiently proves.

From two out of numberless articles of Chinese consumption the Customs Department levies a duty equal to £3 3s. 11d. per head, whereas no article of European consumption is taxed more than at the rate of 10s. a head, whilst the next highest on the list scarcely reaches 2s. a head.

Your Excellencies will see from this that the Victorian Government has taxed us "liberally" enough through the Customs and otherwise, without singling us out for such a yoke of national ignominy and dishonour, which even in the darker days of the Roman empire was only reserved for the vanquished, never for the subjects of a friendly power, to say nothing of one in actual alliance.

Then, in regard to the cost for our protection the same undoubted authority, in his criminal statistics, shows the proportion of arrests per 1,000 of the population, to be—Chinese, 15·73; all other nationalities, 42·516; of committals for trial—Chinese, 0·15; all other nationalities, 0·97.

The excuse of "the Chinese cost," therefore, your Excellencies will see, has no foundation in fact, and it is quite possible, and indeed probable, from the tone of the reply to your Excellencies' request, that we shall have to entreat your Excellencies' good offices to lay the matter before the Imperial authorities at home for the speedy adjustment of this international wrong.

Secondly, with the result of further harassing and humiliating our people, the laws have been so made that we cannot go outside of the colony on any business without being re-taxed on our return, unless, indeed, we should choose to expatriate ourselves by becoming naturalised British subjects, or else are so initiated into the mysteries of the laws as to know that the Customs Department will grant "tickets of leave" to those who would beg it of them.

And, further, there is such a concert between the adjoining colonies that we cannot cross the borders on the north and west without being seized upon, as if we were so much "contraband goods," and detained in custody until such time as we can find the duty levied upon us.

Your Excellencies can well imagine what an outcry would be raised against Chinese perfidy if a Briton were thus treated in China, and yet such is precisely the treatment meted out to us by these dependencies of the British Crown, in direct violation of all international law and usage, and in contravention of the treaty engagements entered into by the Governments of the two empires.

Thirdly, we complain not, your Excellencies of the administrators of the law, who, on the whole, deal out justice to us with becoming and even praiseworthy impartiality; but it is the law itself, and some of the

authors of it who, by their objectionable language, have so far incited the ill-feelings of the young and the simple that our tea and vegetable vendors, in the plying of their peaceful avocations, have frequently been subjected to unprovoked and cowardly assaults, so much so that the righteous indignation of the magistrates themselves has oftentimes manifested itself by their expressions of regret that the law does not allow corporal punishment to be inflicted for such bodily injury, and by their desire for such an amendment of the law as would admit of the use of "the lash;" and it is our earnest conviction, also, that the amendment so much desired would prove a deterrent to that class of offenders, and trust that your Excellencies will lend the weight of your official influence to bring it about.

Signed)

L. KONG MENG.
CHEOK HONG CHEONG.
WONG SHI GEEN.
L. TYE SHING.

And some forty other leading Chinese residents.

SIR,—Through the busy efforts of the party-spirited, a great deal of attention has of late been lavished upon our country and our people. Though the nature of much of it I cannot but regret, still I do hope that the events which have transpired in consequence thereof will cause a better attention, and that the once neglected subject will be studied with a freshness of interest commensurate with its importance, and arising not from motives of jealousy or expedience, but from a sincere desire to know one another, in order to be able to respect and appreciate each other.

For, were it possible that two vast empires like Britain and China, and two enduring races like the British and the Chinese, with an unlimited number of men and no end of material resources at their disposal,—I say were it possible for them to enter upon a course of wilful misunderstanding and misrepresentation of each other, such a course, I verily believe, would be fraught with disastrous consequences, not alone to the races directly concerned, but to the whole

civilized world. For with a common frontier of at least 2,000 miles and other possessions so near each other, what is there to prevent them, if they should so persist, from giving way to those brutal instincts the flesh is heir to and precipitate a struggle of vaster dimensions and far more terrible destructiveness than that which once engaged the empire cities of Carthage and Rome, and which led to the total destruction of the one and the demoralization and consequent decline and fall of the other. Such a state of things, I need scarcely say, ill comports with the enlightenment of the 19th century, and entirely at variance with that spirit of brotherly love and good-will which should characterise the intercourse of nations.

As one, therefore, who holds to the broad principles of righteousness and goodwill, I shall endeavour to set forth the truth so as to reveal in its clear light the misconception unhappily entertained by many regarding our people and the country whence they came, in the earnest hope that the truth "set forth" may "set free" the many from prejudice, and lead them to entertain, in lieu thereof, a larger charity and greater friendliness of feeling towards the strangers within their gates.

Now, I need not remind you that the subject I have taken in hand to address you to-night is one which has of late loomed largely on your political horizon—the result of a cry got up by certain busy-bodies leagued together in agitation. It is not my intention, however, to review the action of these men, nor to answer the cruel and calumnious charges they have ever and anon levelled against our people, but simply to call your attention to the misconception

which many otherwise sober-minded and reasonable men have fallen into.

Let me, then, point out wherein the misconception lies.

Even as far back as 1841, your historian, Miss Harriett Martineau, thus wrote :—

“The general notion of China was and is that of a country dreadfully over-peopled, so that multitudes are compelled to live in boats.”

This notion, which Miss Martineau had in the same paragraph proved utterly fallacious, the Conference of Australian Governments forty years after found it the most convenient to take up and appropriate. In their joint memorial to the Imperial Government, they submitted that—“The objection to the Chinese is not altogether one of colour or race, but is founded in a rational view of the danger to those British communities which might, in course of time, flow from a people numbering more than four hundred millions, whose language, laws, religion, and habits of life are alien to those of Her Majesty’s subjects in Australasia, and whose geographical position makes the danger more imminent.”

Two reasons are here advanced. The first is the danger which might, in course of time, flow from a people numbering more than four hundred millions. The second is, because of the fact that the Chinese are a people whose language, laws, religion, and habits of life are alien to those of Her Majesty’s subjects in Australasia. This latter, however, does not appear a strong reason, or any reason at all, upon which they can base their objection or claim justification for so extraordinary a departure from the law of nations,

seeing that Frenchmen, Russians, and others, though equally aliens to Her Majesty's subjects in Australasia, are not visited with any of the disabilities under which we at this moment labour. The former, then, is the stronger reason of the two, and, indeed, the only reason which has been advanced, viz., the danger which might, in course of time, flow from a people numbering more than four hundred millions. But even this is indebted to the imagination for what strength it possesses; for I feel thoroughly convinced, that if one would but use his reason to examine into facts, he will soon see the baselessness of the alarm, and how much more reason there is, even upon utilitarian grounds, to cultivate cordial relations with China.

My remarks this evening will be confined to the proving of the two propositions just stated, viz., the baselessness of the alarm, and the advantages of cordial intercourse with China.

I.—The baselessness of the alarm.

In contemplating the immense aggregation of human beings which inhabit China, one Victorian M.L.A., whose ill-will towards our people has shown itself in the nasty things he has often said about us, told his fellow M.L.A.'s, during the debate on the Chinese Immigration Restriction Bill, a few years ago, "that one tip of the Chinese bucket will flood the whole of Australia." This was, of course, but a figure of speech—the creation of an active imagination of an active opponent. The idea, however, has spread its contagion. Hence the legislative enactments which have disgraced the statute books of Australasia.

That such an idea has spread with such marvellous rapidity can only be accounted for by the fact that people, as a rule, have confounded the characteristic of the Mongols with that of the Chinese. And as the Mongols are known to be nomadic, *i.e.*, are restless and migratory in their habits, and in the middle ages, under their great chiefs, Genghis Khan and Tamarlane, had carried their victorious arms over two continents, and became, indeed, the "terror of man and scourge of God." So certain politicians, availing themselves of that impression in the public mind, raised the alarm that Australia was in danger of a Mongolian invasion, or, at least, of being Mongolianised.

In the same strain, though the opinion of a friend, a clergyman said to me some time ago, that he thought, if China were properly armed, she might conquer the world. I told him he had altogether mistaken the character of the Mongols for that of the Chinese, and that, whilst the former, owing to their temperaments, might very well be characterised as "never at peace, unless at war," the latter cannot be regarded as other than lovers of peace. The constitution of Chinese society proclaims it, and the following just division of the people ensures it:—

First, are literary men: they are placed first because they are the rulers of the people.

Secondly, are farmers: because upon them depends the sustenance of the people.

Thirdly, mechanics: because their ingenuity tends to economise human toil and multiply human resources.

Fourthly, merchants: because they only buy and sell what is made to their hands, and are, therefore placed fourth, and next to—

Fifthly, barbers, play-actors, and beggars.

Here, then, soldiers are left altogether out of count, and not only so, but that as their occupation calls forth the brutal instincts, the designation, "dogs of war," is fitly expressive of the national sentiment and regard for the military profession. The so-called "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" has, therefore, no attraction for the Chinese mind, whose strength and resources are spent rather in the literary arena, and in the cultivation of the arts of peace.

But, says a member of another "Assembly of the Wise," although China may not have the aptitude in modern warfare to conquer us by force of arms, they may nevertheless do it, and that peacefully, by sending us millions of her paupers to spoil us of our industries and starve out our people!

That is, without doubt, a tremendous conclusion, and if it ever will come to pass, or at least, if there should be premonitory signs to indicate its coming, then, I too, admit fully and unreservedly that the law of self-preservation will amply justify all necessary measures for its prevention.

Let us then examine *seriatim* into the three questions involved in the conclusion, and see whether it is justified by facts:—

First—The number of Chinese immigrants as indicated by the word "millions."

Secondly—The charge that Chinese immigrants are "paupers."

Thirdly—The effect of Chinese immigration assumed in the words “to spoil us of our industries, &c.”

First—Let us look at the number of Chinese immigrants in Australia.

Instead of “millions,” what does Hayter show? Why, notwithstanding the attractions of Australian gold, and notwithstanding also the close proximity of China, there has not been at any time in all the colonies of Australasia a larger number of Chinese immigrants than 60,000. Compare this with the literally “millions” that have come from the far-off continent of Europe, and judge for yourselves whence the inundation is likely to set in in the future.

To continue the argument. In the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, which in the aggregate measure a million of square miles, which are near to China, and abound in all the productions of tropical climes, which are rich in gold and silver, and tin and precious stones; in which also Chinese merchants monopolized the bulk of the trading interests, and Chinamen are found in the magistracy and on the Council Boards of Government, and into which Chinese immigration is actively encouraged by the local governments, the total number of Chinese immigrants is not more than 150,000.

Then again, look at the States of further India. Although they are but sparsely peopled and contiguous to China, and although Chinese influence has for ages been paramount, not only in their commercial and financial world, but likewise at their respective courts, the whole Chinese population is a million and a half, which is less than half the

European population in Australia, and not one-fiftieth part of that in North America.

This I think is sufficient demonstration that there is but little disposition on the part of my countrymen to emigrate.

Secondly—The charge that Chinese immigrants are “paupers.”

As I understand it, there is a marked difference between the meaning of the word “poor” and that of the word “pauper.” A “poor” man is a man relatively poor, who has to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and yet may have the independence of spirit to scorn help when offered in the shape of charity. A “pauper,” on the other hand, is a man absolutely and abjectly poor, who has to depend on charity for his daily sustenance. According to this signification, then, the word pauper is wholly inapplicable to Chinese immigrants, who are neither assisted out by the State nor by private charity, whose emigration is entirely voluntary, and who pay for outfit and passage more than a hundred dollars each.

Thirdly—The effect of Chinese immigration assumed in the words “to spoil us of our industries &c.”

This is, to say the least, an extraordinary assumption. I know a great deal has been said in regard to the cabinet-making trade, and I will doubtless be told that that is an instance in point. But the number of 328 engaged in it, though large, is not abnormally so. And when it is remembered that the mechanical ingenuity of the whole Chinese population is absorbed in it—every other trade being jealously guarded against them—the number is a very small one.

But, even taking the narrowest view of matters, and granting for the sake of argument that the Chinese have not the rights of "the most favored nation" to engage in any and every industrial pursuit which the Anglo-Chinese treaty secured to them, and granting also that the 328 Chinese cabinet-makers have supplanted that number of Europeans, will it be denied that the labors of the Chinese have opened up other avenues of trade to the Europeans? It is my firm conviction—conviction too, supported by ample statistical evidence, that, had a Royal Commission been appointed when the Australian Natives, to their credit, be it said, so bravely contended for one, they would have demonstrated the fact that the Chinese in Victoria have contributed largely to the material wealth and prosperity of the State. Had time permitted me, I would have made my own compilation of figures; but as America has oftentimes been pointed to as a country much ruined by the Chinese section of its inhabitants, I will content myself with quoting a few statistics collected by so disinterested a body as the Committee of the Legislature of California:—

Duties paid by Chinese importers	..	..	..	\$500,000
Freight money to ships from China	..	..	..	180,000
Passage money to ships from China	..	..	..	382,000
Rent for stores and storage	..	..	..	370,000
Licenses, taxes, &c., in State	..	..	..	2,164,273
Teaming and drayage in State	..	..	..	419,662
Paid for American products in State	..	..	..	6,000,000
Paid for insurance	..	..	..	35,572
Paid for steamboat fares and freights	..	..	..	130,000
Paid for stage fares to and from the mines	..	..	..	250,000
Water-rates for Chinese miners	..	..	..	2,160,000
Mining claims bought by Chinese	..	..	..	1,350,000
Commissions to auctioneers, &c.	..	..	..	32,719

Commenting upon this table the Committee said :

“ From the above remarkable statistics amounting to fourteen millions of dollars, you will be able to form an idea of the value which this Chinese population and industry confer upon the State. Dissect these various items, and observe what employment this scourged race gives to our shipowners, our water-men, teamsters, steamboat men, stage-owners, with their hostlers and horses, and blacksmiths and carriage makers, our farmers and cattle men ; in short, in nearly every branch of human industry in the State.”

Mr. George F. Seward, one of the foremost Statesmen of the American Union, and an ex-Minister to the Court of Peking, in commenting on the comments of the Committee, said :—

“ The language thus used is very just, but it was not necessary to give statistics to enable one to reach the interesting conclusion of the Committee. It is entirely certain that the earnings of any class of labourers are expended almost as soon as they are received. The Chinaman is not an exception to this rule. He is described as very thrifty, yet it is his weakness as it is that of other men, to increase his outlays as his income increases. If he saves 10 per cent. of his earnings he does well for a man of his class. My own opinion is that he does not do so, and I am fortified in this judgment by my personal knowledge of the Chinaman. Let us suppose then that his earnings are 15,000,000 dollars annually ; of this sum 10 per cent. having been deducted for savings, 13,500,000 dollars will pass into general circulation, remaining to enrich the State or passing out of it to pay the debts of the

general population. It is a stream of wealth which enriches the whole region. It is perennial in its flow. Its benefits do not cease at the source or with its origin. It moves the wheels of industry throughout its whole course."

These comments of Mr. Seward, and those of the Committee of the Californian Legislature are, with a few local variations, quite applicable to the Chinese in Victoria.

It is really deplorable therefore, and particularly so, when the colony is about to celebrate its centenary by holding an International Exhibition, and thus practically inviting the competition of the world, this "miserable cry" of national antipathy, raised by a few foolhardy men, should have been pandered to by the Government of the country, and that too, in spite of the fact that His Excellency the Governor and the President and members of the International Exhibition Commission had so cordially invited, yea urged, upon their Excellencies, the Chinese Commissioners, to make such representations to their Imperial Government as would secure to the Exhibition the valuable co-operation of China. And it does seem a strange coincidence that just about the same time preceding the last International Exhibition, the same "cry" was raised by the same people, but initiated and led on by an ex-Minister of Customs. In consequence of which I addressed an appeal to the Victorian public through the *Argus* and *Age* newspapers, to which was also attached the names of Messrs. Kong Meng and Tye Shing. And as it is pretty brief, and answers many a question at present agitating the public mind, I shall give it you in full:—

“ By this time you will have heard not a little about what is termed ‘ the chair question.’ You will have read also the pros and cons used by the Exhibition Commissioners, and somewhat too perhaps of the reasons why our people has been dragged in in the contest. And you will, doubtless, admit that conditions of exclusiveness, coming from a corporate body at any time, deserve high reprobation, but doubly so when coming as they did from the Executive Committee of an International Exhibition.”

But this subject, however, might have been quietly disposed of by the properly constituted Commissioners, had it not been for a few who are ever loudest in proclaiming the truths of equality and fraternity among all men raising the “ hue and cry ” — “ Down with the Chinaman.” But why is it, we ask ? What have we done ? What sins have we committed ? What laws have we broken that we should be treated thus ? Have we ruined every trade ? Have we spoiled all the industries ? or have we given the signs of rushing the tender-box. No ; all this has been done to suit the purposes of a few “ would-be patriots,” who are ready and eager to immolate us on the altar of their “ popular god,” but we, disliking these attentions, particularly at the hands of such a “ ring of patriots,” have resolved upon appealing to you, and being persuaded of the fair fame for honour, honesty, and candour of the grand jury of the nation we are approaching, we feel the greater confidence that you will not uphold the doings of the agitators, but would, at your earliest convenience, relegate them to their legitimate calling.

Now the facts of the case are these:—A number of Chinese miners finding that alluvial diggings in their respective districts have become all but exhausted, came to the Metropolis in quest of employment. This, not, however, being at hand, they fell to learning the trade of cabinet-making—most of whom, through intelligent and persevering application, have so far mastered the art, that they are able to earn a comfortable livelihood by it. These are now set upon as the enemies of society. What they earn by the sweat of their brow is regarded as having been taken out of the mouths of their British fellow-workmen. But we object not, say some, to their following any industrial pursuit; what we object to is their underselling European labour, and in order to do that they live in the most wretched hovels and upon the scantiest fare. To these mild objectors we reply, that what they state is but hearsay fabricated and spread about by some knowing friends of workmen, with the intent and purpose of trading upon their credulity; for they had bethought themselves that if they failed they would lose nothing, if they succeeded they would gain everything they heartily desired—popularity, legislative honours and other possibilities.

But our friendly objectors forget that the people, which is recognised by all others as *par excellence* a commercial people, know well enough how to buy at the cheapest market and sell at the dearest, and that coming, as they did, from a country wherein abound, not only all the necessaries, but also all the luxuries of life, they do not need to be told that they ought to live comfortably.

It is really to be pitied how many a well-meaning, though simple and unwary, workman has been taken by the "catch" thus cunningly thrown to them, which a little personal investigation, with a little exercise of the reasoning faculty, would speedily convince them of the awkwardness of their position.

For what has been the result of the personal investigation undertaken by the *Age's* special reporter? What has he brought clearly to light? Why, notwithstanding his prejudice of mind, his fervid imagination and his microscopic vision, he has brought to light what? Nothing—nothing which would not be found in English dwellings and in English workshops, except that they work on long narrow benches, and with what he was pleased to call primitive tools; that they earn between 15s. and 55s. per week. But he forgot to mention that those who earn the smaller sum are suffering from the depression of the times as well as other people—being engaged only intermittently.

Then as to the dirt and filth which he avers to have seen in Little Bourke Street, which, if it were true, would be as much a reflection on the vigilance of the Health Officer as on the Chinese in the locality where it is found. And the same argument would apply equally to any other portion of the city occupied by Europeans.

Now, as to the circular issued by the Anti-Chinese League, permit us to testify that the whole of it is a monstrous fabrication, unworthy the language in which it is written, unworthy the nation to whom the language belongs, and a thousand times unworthy the religion to which it with sacriligious hands attempts to appeal. We, therefore, beseech it

of you to blot it out of your book of remembrance, that it may not disgrace the pages of your history, and that you may continue a nation established on righteousness and good-will toward men."

All the outcry, then, has been as unreasonable as it is unjust, for, as I have already shown, there has not been, nor likely to be, any considerable number of people emigrating from China, and I have shown also that this is owing to the general disposition of the Chinese mind, or, perhaps, more correctly, to its want of disposition to leave the land of their fathers.

There is yet another and, I think, a more potent reason which keeps them to their native clime, and that is the great territorial extent of China.

In looking at the immense aggregation of Chinese population some have wondered how they all managed to live, but it does not seem to have occurred to them that the territorial extent of China is also very great, averaging a square mile of country for every seventy-two of her inhabitants—that is to say, five and a half million square miles of territory for her 400 millions of people. Now compare this with some of the countries of Europe. France, with her 200,000 square miles, has 40 millions of people, or 200 to the square mile; Germany, in the same way, has 230; Great Britain has 333, Holland 350, and Belgium 500. Hence you will see that the Chinese have still "breathing space" and "elbow-room," and have it in a measure several times greater than is enjoyed in the most favoured countries of Europe.

Nor is this all: the soil of China is much more fertile and capable of producing a more rapid succession of crops, and in greater abundance than that of any country in Europe. China is also rich in all

the productions of tropical and temperate climes, and is thus not inaptly called "The Garden of the East," "The Flowery Land."

And, further, not only is she richer than Europe in agricultural products, she is also far richer in mineral resources. In all the provinces of the empire there are valuable deposits of coal, which, according to Professor Ansted, the eminent geologist, measure in the aggregate 419,000 square miles, or more than twenty times the extent of the aggregate coal-fields of all the coal producing countries of Europe, and three-and-a-half times that of the United States ! To add to the significance of these figures, side by side with all the coal-fields explored are to be found iron ore and ironstone of every description, and in equal abundance. And as it was through the vast stores of coal and iron in the United Kingdom which helped so materially to develop the latent energies of the British race, and placed them in their position of pre-eminence in the commercial and financial world of to-day, what the immeasurably vaster stores in China may do for her people, I think, may be safely left to conjecture.

Then, as regards other minerals, such as gold, silver, copper, lead, and tin, they are upon an equally magnificent scale. "Not a province," a distinguished Scotchman has testified, "which does not possess less or more of each, while in some they exist in great profusion ; so that I am within the mark, when I say that, excepting the stupendous mineral wealth of the Western States of America, there is no equal to them in the world."

What possibility, then, for any large outflow of Chinese population ? Where's the inducement ?

Though Australia herself be the fair land of promise, if the Chinese have in actual possession so magnificent a heritage.

II. The proposition,—the advantages of cordial intercourse with China, is evident from the extent of her mineral resources, the variety and abundance of her staple commodities, and her prodigious wealth. To give you an idea of the latter, one hundred and forty generations of my countrymen have been gathering gold and silver from a hundred different fields ; so that we have at this moment the accumulations of more than four thousand years, besides the tributes from the neighbouring states, and the proceeds of trade and commerce with the rich islands of the Malayan Archipelago and distant countries. The wealth of China, therefore, is perfectly incalculable. The Chinese have thus an enormous capital with which to trade, a mind too thoroughly appreciative of the advantages thereof, and an energy to set the whole in motion. Of late years she has bought largely steamers for commercial and naval purposes, telegraph wires, &c., to connect the great cities of the empire ; and soon she will have railways which, when once commenced, will give a tremendous impetus to the trade of the world. Already, several powerful syndicates of Europe and America have sent their representatives to Peking to compete for her custom ; and so she will be, beyond doubt, the greatest market in the world for railway materials. And why railway materials only ? Why not also for Australian wool ?

There is a large and increasing trade in Russian furs ; and furs, you know, are peculiarly the luxury of the rich. Why not, then, Australian wool for the

great middle class and the poor? Ah! it is that a more cordial intercourse might first be established.

Let us, then, seek to establish that intercourse, and if Christians indeed, establish it not only on grounds of expediency and commercial advantage, not only because it is the instinct of our common nature, but by reason of the high vocation whereunto ye are called, and because of which Christ has said, "Ye are the salt of the earth, ye are the light of the world."

In conclusion, lest anyone should think I have set an unduly high estimate upon my country and my countrymen, I here give you the estimate of the distinguished Scotchman above referred to:—"Here, then, we have a people embracing one-third of the human race; a people possessing vast territories, as rich and fertile as ever they were—territories full of immense mineral wealth, as yet practically untouched, all indicative of a triumphant future; a people of great reach of intellect, fertility of resources, full of energy and enterprise, fitted by nature and disposed by training to contend with any obstacle and carry out their enterprises in spite of all opposition; a people in a measure cultivated and prepared to receive all that can be placed before them for acceptance; a people whose youthful minds are directed towards moral excellence as the acme of all ambition, trained to imitate virtuous examples and to watch the springs of action, taught to set mental accomplishment above wealth and virtue above nobility; a people, through God's providence, so hammered and blended together that they retain their characteristics as well among the most vigorous and levelling races of the world as among the

immobile populations of the Archipelago; a people that has struggled after civilisation and high attainments for thousands of years, passed through revolution after revolution, disorganisation and reconstruction, come to the surface again and again, repeatedly raised their heads to the same point, but again sunk, and never got beyond a certain limit of civilisation, all for want of the word and spirit of God to enlighten their minds and renew their hearts; a people possessed of all the elements of success and dominion, with no end of material resources, and with brains to plan and govern. They have always been the imperial race of the East, and are as able as ever to exercise dominion and power."

CHINESE CIVILIZATION AND ATTAINMENTS.

THE ignorance which prevails regarding the mental and moral character of the Chinese nation induces me to add a few statements of facts on Chinese Civilization and Attainments, especially as epithets such as "semi-civilized" and "barbarous" are so frequently levelled at us by the "intelligent" Press and platform, and not infrequently, also, by many of the law-makers themselves. And these latter "gentlemen," be it noted, not only when upon the hustings, but also from their lofty chambers in the "Assembly of the Wise," where one very naturally expects a "calmer and serener" atmosphere.

That the Chinese are neither "semi-civilized" nor "barbarous," is evident from the following facts:—

1. That they live under a settled form of government, whose foundation principle is virtue, and whose established rule of practice is the selection of the "wise and talented" for offices of responsibility and government.

2. That education is well diffused among the people without any aid of government "compulsion" or the intervention of a "free" Education Act.

3. That the sum and substance, the object and aim of education in all the grades of schools throughout the empire is to make men better, and thus more

worthily fill their position as the citizens of a great state, and is founded on the maxim laid down by one of the sage Emperors in the year 2,435, B.C., that "there is no virtue higher than to love all men, and there is no loftier aim in government than to profit all men."

4. That their extensive literature, embracing books of all descriptions, full dynastic histories from the earliest times, works on natural history, astronomy, botany, medicine, geography, mathematics, morals, political economy, agriculture, arts, biography, military tactics, *belle-lettres*, and other departments of literature bespeaks their intellectual activity.

To illustrate this, one fact alone will suffice. In his desire to summarize knowledge in the form of an encyclopædia the Emperor, who reigned at the close of the fourteenth century, appointed a commission of 2,194 learned men to compile a work, which should contain dissertations on all known subjects. They sat for several years and produced, as the result of their labours, a work of 22,937 volumes, by far the most gigantic literary achievement in that or any other age. And further, to this, it was afterwards added, an appendix of 10,000 volumes, beautifully illustrated.

5. That some of the most important discoveries, such as silk, porcelain, paper, printing, the mariners' compass, gunpowder, &c., having been made by them is evidence of their inventive genius.

6. That their education as indicated above is not only intellectual but moral, for in all the schools of the empire boys are taught.—

"That learning is to be valued above wealth, and virtue above nobility."

“That the mind is the man, and that in proportion as the mind is cultivated and garnished by virtue, will the man truly rise above his fellows.”

“That there is a nobility of heaven and a nobility of man. Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration and an unwearied joy in what is good, these constitute the nobility of heaven. To be a duke, a marquis, a great officer, these constitute the nobility of man.”

7. That the principle, “howe'er it be, it seems to me 'tis only noble to be good,” has been inculcated in China for the last four thousand years, is proof of the national nobleness of purpose, and accounts for her supremacy of place among the nations of the East.

8. That the teachings of our sages contain political and moral wisdom fitted, not only to instruct the Chinese and to secure to them “long-continuance” in the land, which the Providence of God has vouchsafed, but will also afford instruction to the statesmen and peoples of other countries and climes, as the following brief synopses of the writings of two of them will show :—

I. That of Laou-tsze, the Old Philosopher. He taught that “a nation is a growth not a manufacture;” that “prohibitory enactments and constant intermeddling in political and social matters, merely tend to produce the evils they are intended to avert;” and that “to interfere with the freedom of the people is to deny the existence of a sense of rectitude in their midst, and to make them the slaves of rules rather than freemen of principles.” He would recall men from the sway of their fierce passions, not

by the imposition of laws and prohibitory enactments, but by "gentle suasion." "When the world," he observed, has many prohibitory enactments the people became more and more poor. When the people has many warlike weapons the Government gets more and more into trouble. The more craft and ingenuity the greater the number of fantastic things that come out. And as works of cunning art are displayed thieves multiply." "For my own part," he said, "I have three precious things, which I hold fast and prize. They are compassion, economy, humility. Being compassionate, I can be brave; being economical, I can be liberal; being humble, I can become the chief of men. But in the present day men give up compassion and cultivate only courage, they give up economy and aim only at liberality. They give up the last place, and seek only the first. It is their death. Compassion it is which is victorious in the attack, and secure in the defence. When Heaven would save a man, it encircles him with compassion."

Again, he says, "A truly good man loves all men and rejects none. He associates with good men and interchanges instruction with them; but bad men are the materials on which he works, and to bring such back to right principles is the great object of his life. And, again, "Recompense evil with good."

II. That of Kung-foo-teze (Latinized Confucius). His system of teaching is comprehended under the following four heads:—

1. The rectification of the heart.
2. The cultivation of the person.

3. The regulation of the family.
4. The government of the state.

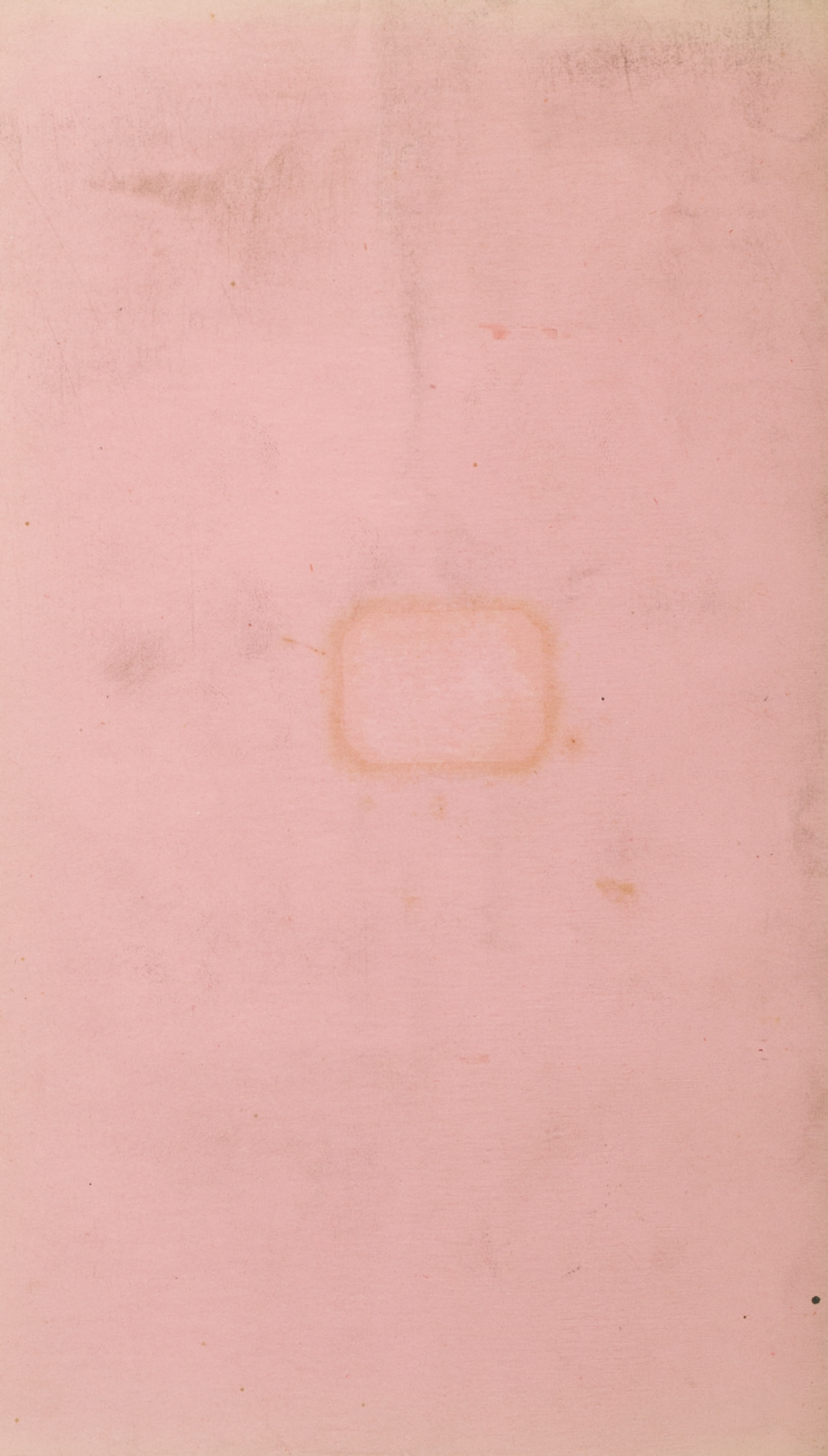
Thus Confucianism recognises that the heart is "prone to err," and that "its affinity for the right way is small, and urges the same lesson as the Sacred Book of the Jews and Christian urges, viz., "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." The next step in the progress of the Confucianist is enjoined to be the cultivation of the person, and after that he is to seek to influence for good all who are immediately around him, and gradually and ultimately the whole empire. He is to begin his task by a searching self-examination. He is to carefully guard his words and watch his conduct. He is to avoid all that is base and disquieting, and to take to himself benevolence as his dwelling-place, righteousness as his road, propriety as his garment, wisdom as his lamp, and faithfulness as his charm.

"Is there one word," asked a disciple of Confucius, "which may serve a rule of practice for all one's life?" To which the Master *at once* replied, "Is not reciprocity such a word?" What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

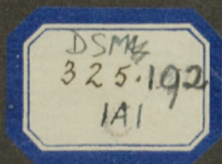
This negative form of the golden rule is practically changed into the positive in the following candid confession: "In the ways of a superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I yet attained. To serve my father as I would have my son to serve me. To serve my prince as I would have my minister to serve me. To serve my elder brother as I would have my younger brother to serve me. To offer first to friends what one requires of them."

Such in briefest outlines are the teachings of two of China's greatest sages. They have largely contributed to the moulding of the national character, and the firing of the national enthusiasm in the direction of virtue and mental accomplishments. They have secured to China her length of days, and all that's noblest and best and most enduring in her institutions.





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