



Journal
OF THE
China Branch
OF THE
Royal Asiatic
Society.



VOL. XXI.
NEW SERIES.

NOS. 3 & 4.
1886.

Issued at Shanghai: March, 1887.

SUPPLIED *gratis* TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

SUBSCRIPTION TO NON-MEMBERS, \$5 per annum.

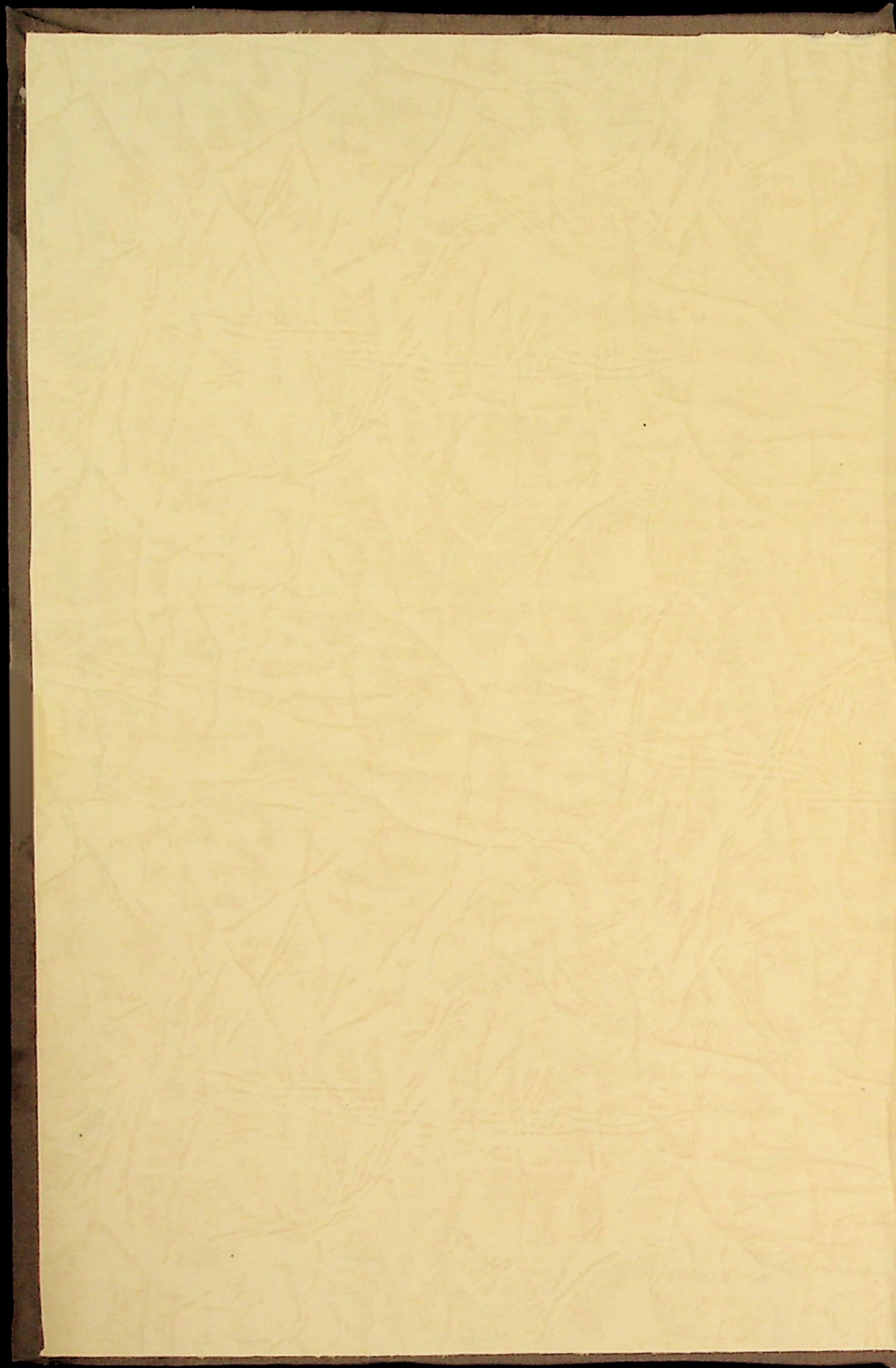
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1. Every paper which it is proposed to communicate to the Society shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary for the approval of the Council.

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ARTICLE VIII.

CHINESE GUILDS OR CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND TRADES UNIONS.

BY

D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

The following cursory observations on Chinese Guilds have been drawn up at the suggestion of Dr. Lühsen, formerly German Consul-General, Shanghai, communicated to me by Count d'Arnoux, Deputy Commissioner of Imperial Maritime Customs, Wénchow.

It is a subject of no inconsiderable importance, and has already received attention from Commissioners of Customs, Consuls, sinologists and publicists.* What follows is submitted merely as an additional contribution, in the hope that it may serve to elicit further inquiry, for until the administration of those institutions at each of the nineteen ports open to foreign trade is carefully made, this important feature in Chinese secular life can only be superficially studied.

Foreigners in China apply the term "Guild" to two classes of institutions denominated *Wei-kuan* (club-houses), and *Kung-so*

* "Reports on Trade:" Imperial Maritime Customs; 1866, p. 14; 1873, pp. 72, 110, 112, 119; 1881, pp. 5, 11. "Regulations of the Canton Guild at Foochow," translated by C. F. R. Allen, Esq., H.B.M.'s Consular Service. "Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language;" Foochow, 1872, Vol. II, p. 399. "Chinese Guilds and their Rules," by "K.," *China Review*, July-August, 1883. British Blue Book: "Commercial Report by H.B.M.'s Consuls in China, 1884," Part II; Consul Cooper's Report on the Trade of Ningpo. "Chinese Sketches," by H. A. Giles, H.B.M.'s Consular Service, 1876; "Guilds," p. 49. Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce: "Minutes of Annual Meetings and Reports, 1882-1883;" "Tea Weighing at Hankow—Taboo at Hankow." "Note sur les petites Sociétés d'argent en Chine," par G. Eug. Simon, Consul de France à Ningpo: *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, December 1868. *China Mail*, 6th April 1886.

(public halls). *Wei-kuan* may be not inaptly compared to Chambers of Commerce, while *Kung-so* fairly represent Trades Unions.

The subject, therefore, is naturally divisible into two parts, and under the following headings:—

PART I.—MERCANTILE GUILDS.

Their Origin.

Compatriot Guilds—

of Ningpo.

„ Pakhoi.

Guilds *versus* Local Authorities.

General Administration of Guilds.

Guild-halls.

Revenue.

Government; “Boycotting.”

Rules on Credit and Storage of Goods.

Rules of Weights and Measures; Closing and opening of the Year.

Rules of Tare; Insurance; Police.

Rules against fictitious Buying and Selling; Charities.

Wênchow Druggists' Guild.

Fukien Guilds at Ningpo: The Foochow, Amoy, and Hsing-hua.

Shantung Guild of Ningpo.

Shanghai Tea Guild; Silk Guild.

Regulations, “Boycotting,” etc.

Ningpo Bankers' Guild.

Fictitious dealing in Dollars.

Shanghai Bankers' Guilds.

Guilds and Foreign Merchants.

Collisions at Swatow, Hankow, and Ningpo.

PART II.—TRADES UNIONS.

Ningpo Fishmongers' Union.

Wênchow Blacksmiths' Union.

„ Carpenters' Union.

„ Copper Wire-drawers' Union.

„ Silk Weavers' Union.

Wënchow Millers.

„ Postal Companies.

„ Barbers' Union.

General Remarks ; Hours of Labour ; Apprentices ; Strikes ;

“Boycottings ;” Penalties.

Co-operative Clubs.

Reflections.

General Conclusion.

PART III.—SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Agricultural Labourers.

Agrarianism.

Contentment of the Proletariat of China.

PART I.—MERCANTILE GUILDS.

The origin of Mercantile Guilds is succinctly given in the Constitution and Bye-laws of the Ningpo Guild at Wënchow, which, in a preamble such as those institutions usually publish for their *raison d'être*, says : “*Wei-kuan* were first established at the metropolis by mandarins among compatriots or fellow-provincials for mutual aid and protection. Subsequently, merchants formed guilds like those of the mandarinat, and now they exist in every province.”

How long metropolitan compatriot Guilds have been in existence I have been unable to discover. Early in the Ming era a Kiangsu Guild (*Yen-ling, Wei-kuan*) flourished at Peking, and it is probable they were known as early as the Tang period. Being of the nature of clubs, their origin may have been much more ancient.

At Peking the Guilds include compatriot members and merchants—the official class, of course, preponderating in numbers and influence. In the provinces the mercantile is the controlling element ; mandarins not needing such protection.

Provincial compatriot Guilds have two main objects in view—protection against sectional prejudices to which settlers from distant places are subjected, and for the prevention of litigation among its members ; and, latterly, including the functions of Chambers of Commerce.

NINGPO COMPATRIOT GUILD OF WENCHOW.

In relation to the first-named object, the Ningpo-Wenchow Guild (established at the close of the last century) says in its preamble: "For a century, no province has been without Ningpoese residents. Ningpo is a maritime region. Those of its people who cannot find employment as agriculturists resort to other places for trade. Here at Wenchow we find ourselves isolated; mountains and sea separate us from Ningpo, and when in trade we excite envy on the part of Wenchowese, and suffer insult and injury, we have no adequate redress. Mercantile firms, each caring only for itself, experience disgrace and loss—the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a Guild."

CANTON COMPATRIOT GUILD OF PAKHOI.

This Guild in its preamble says: "The people of Pakhoi are very covetous, and of a licentious nature, showing little respect for the laws; while cases of robbery and theft are innumerable, to the great annoyance of our merchants; and when trouble arises between our trades and local merchants there is no way of dealing with the latter.

"It is hoped that the rules we have adopted will lead to uniformity of action and unanimity of feeling among our members, who are bound by ties of townsmanship, and in this way secure ourselves against gradual degeneration, while it will teach those outside the Guild that being of one mind in our determination to oppose wrong, unscrupulous merchants and bad characters will seek to avoid us, and so avert their own discomfiture."

It is strange that institutions of such obvious utility should be of recent formation. According to the above, they were scarcely known two centuries ago.

With regard to self-protection, which was the principal cause of their establishment, that function is effectually secured by the semi-official character that is accorded to them by local authorities. They undertake "To prosecute in behalf of their members when satisfactory proof is afforded of the equity of their claims. Members having occasion to go to law to obtain

redress for a real grievance, and finding their resources inadequate to carry on the suit, the Guild will address a joint petition to the Court praying for an adjustment of the case. Half the expense of legal proceedings will be defrayed from the funds of the association; but if it is discovered that the plaintiff has an unworthy case and no resources, or that his trouble originates from gambling or dissolute life, all claims to assistance will be dismissed. Members going to law to effect a settlement of claims will have three-tenths of the cost defrayed by the Guild, the balance being borne by the litigants. But before legal proceedings are commenced, the unanimous consent of a meeting of members for approval of action shall be obtained. The three-tenths contributed from the fund shall be inclusive of the amount involved, and will only be issued when the claim is insufficient to cover the cost of legal proceedings. When the claim sued is sufficient to liquidate costs, no grant will be made—not with a view to the saving of expenditure, but with the object of preventing advantage being taken of this rule for the sake of gain and to repress the spirit of persistency in litigation among members."

GUILDS *versus* LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

When piracy prevailed on the coast, complaints of victims were immediately written out by Guild secretaries in due form, which secured such redress as was possible.

Protection is sometimes needed against local authorities. Take the following illustration from the records of the Guild of the Ningpoese at Wëncchow.

In the latter part of the first decennium of the present century, a dearth of rice was experienced in several neighbouring provinces, at a time when that staff of life was abundant in Southern Chëkiang, and Ningpo traders in Wëncchow availed themselves of an Imperial Edict, which allowed the exportation of rice from any part of the Empire; they chartered vessels to engage in the trade, but the local authorities seized the junks and placed the merchants under arrest, refusing to admit the applicability of the Imperial Rescript to Wëncchow. The Guild appealed to the provincial authorities at Hangchow, without

obtaining redress; but, carrying their complaint to Peking, they secured exemption from further annoyance.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF GUILDS.

The officers consist of a general manager; a committee, who are elected annually, but eligible for re-election. In large centres of trade, each staple commodity has its committee-man, as at Ningpo. The Fukien Guild has three distinct departments—sugar, timber, and miscellaneous articles; while there are also sub-Guilds for several of its prefectures. In small ports the management is often assumed by members in turn. The most important functionary is the permanent secretary, a salaried scholar of literary rank, who, in virtue of his literary position, has the right of personally interviewing the mandarin, and, as Guild delegate, has a recognised official standing. He is a medium of all correspondence, and at the Yamén appears as the Guild's legal representative, pleading for its interests, demanding redress for its injured members, defending and protecting his constituents as occasion requires. He is useful to local authorities in soliciting from his Guild subscriptions for public works, charities, and extraordinary exigencies.

The membership seldom exceeds thirty; and when meetings are convened, those who attend are not too numerous to consider questions that come up for discussion. Although there are no written parliamentary rules for proceedings, decisions are arrived at with the decorum that befits deliberative bodies generally. Every institution, however, has its garrulous, fussy, crotchety debaters, not less in China than elsewhere. One of the Guilds has found it necessary to protect itself against such members; its single regulation reads: "At the public meetings of the Guild, should there be anyone of higher abilities than the rest, with a plan of his own to propose, whatever his station may be, he must argue and explain the case before all the members. He must not continue to dispute the matter after it has been decided, as such a proceeding is useless when there is no one to second it; that will prevent waste of the Guild's time." A further security against useless palaver disallows junior partners attending meetings.

GUILD-HALLS.

Chief among edifices in mercantile emporiums are buildings erected by Guilds for head-quarters—places of meeting, theatrical representations, and as lodging-houses for high officers when travelling, and for scholars *en route* to metropolitan examinations; chaplains—Taoist and Buddhist.

“Women and girls are not admitted to Guild-halls, to the end that decorum may be maintained.”

Sometimes these structures are truly palatial, representing the highest specimens of Chinese architecture; all that the arts of gilding and carving, masonry and sculpture, can effect is done to render Guild-halls imposing, the most striking portion being a court for theatrical performances in honour of the gods. At one end is a stage; at the other, shrines; in surrounding balconies the privileged witness plays, while feasting and chatting; the open court being free to the general public.

REVENUE.

Funds are raised from self-imposed taxes on commodities sold by the members—assessments varying in amount according to exigencies, averaging one-tenth of one per cent., which necessitates a monthly inspection of the books of every establishment, the examination being made by clerks of the various firms in rotation, two being detailed every month for that purpose where the firms are numerous, as of timber merchants at Ningpo. Some Guilds levy a higher rate on certain articles than on others, as at Wênchow, where the Ningpo concern exacts eight coppers for every thousand coppers' worth of medicine sold by those members who are engaged in the drug trade, and only two coppers from beancake dealers for a thousand-worth of that article disposed of; dealers in other articles are charged, some less, none more, than those charges, the intrinsic value of the commodities forming a basis for the assessment; those who deal in valuable articles consenting to a higher tax than that paid by dealers in coarse goods. The same Guild levies a tax of two dollars on each Ningpo junk that arrives; in this way the shipping interest pays its quota to the Guild treasury. The Canton Guild at Shanghai does not now

tax the trade of its members, the income from its property sufficing to meet current expenses. The amount of income varies from a few hundred dollars in small marts, to half a million, as in the case of the Druggists' Guild at Ningpo.

Inquisitorial proceedings like those adopted by Guilds to ascertain amounts at which members should be assessed for the maintenance of the institution are certainly remarkable. In no other land would merchants submit to an examination of their books, yet in no other land is the mercantile character possessed of greater prescience and acumen. The system, however, is made to work satisfactorily, which is evident from the fact that it is self-imposed.

There appears to be some friction in its working, attempts being sometimes made to represent current sales as less than the truth warrants. Punishment is provided against such delinquents by the infliction of fines.

A bye-law of the Canton Guild at Pakhoi reads: "At the annual meeting members shall hand in duly sealed statements of their contributions for the year, making obeisance in the Guild Temple in asseveration of good faith. In the event, however, of any account being confused or called in question, it is understood that, notwithstanding the member shall have already testified to its accuracy before the gods, a ballot will be cast to decide whether the member whose account is doubted shall produce his books for the inspection of the members. If the account proves to be false, he shall be fined five times the amount due, and if he refuses to produce his books or to submit to the finding of the meeting, he shall be expelled from the Guild."

It appears that in this Guild there is no provision for examining its members' books.

GOVERNMENT.

Guild regulations vary, of course, according to the particular traffic which forms its bond of union, a full account of which would acquaint us with the intricacies of Chinese Mercantile Law. Guilds are tribunals of commerce that enforce laws of their own enactment, by which litigation is narrowly circumscribed, their rules being regarded by the Courts as authoritative. A few instances will suffice in illustration.

Members are kept well in hand by laws like the following : "It is agreed that members having disputes about money matters with each other shall submit their cases to arbitration at a meeting of the Guild, where the utmost will be done to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities ; but if the complainant have recourse to the official direct, without first referring to the Guild, he shall be subjected to a public reprimand, and any future case he may present for the opinion of the Guild will be dismissed without a hearing." It is not, however, only when disputes arise respecting "money matters" that Guilds claim the right to adjudicate, but their intervention is experienced in quarrels generally that occur between its members.

Another rule to prevent members going to law reads : "Among the members of our own compatriots who come here, there are those who engage in business transactions, and have current accounts, as well as in making joint speculations. It is impossible to say that disputes may not arise among them. If anything of the sort occurs, the Guild shall settle the difficulty in the manner most advantageous to all. Justice shall be observed, and the facts of the case brought to light, and the matter be decided according to what is right. No concealment must be employed, that justice may be manifested."

"BOYCOTTING."

"It is agreed that, after a member of the Guild has been expelled, or a local firm has been expelled by its members, all intercourse with such parties shall be suspended. Any member discovered to have had dealings with them, either from sympathy or friendship, shall be fined one hundred taels."

Few Guilds have articles that expressly provide for "boycotting" persons other than their members, yet the proscription of all offenders is employed to the fullest extent possible, and vast is their power when earnestly exercised.

RULES ON CREDIT, STORAGE OF GOODS, &c.

Descending to details, we find regulations on specific subjects.

Credit.—Each Guild has rules on sales by credit, which is peculiar to itself. Here is an example: "It is agreed that, in selling goods, the times of payment shall be, in the case of cereals and the like, forty days after delivery; in beancake, fifty; and miscellaneous commodities, fifty days; infraction of this rule subjects the seller and purchasers alike each to the fine of the expense of a theatrical performance, and two tables of liquors and viands;" entertainments that entail an expense of about \$25 to each delinquent.

Storage.—"It is decided that the seller of goods shall warehouse them for seventy days, free of charge, but if they are not removed by the seventy-first day they shall be charged a month's storage; if not removed at the end of that period, they become chargeable for two months' storage the first day after, and so on. Contravention of this rule subjects seller and purchaser alike each to a fine equal to twice the regular amount of storage; the fines to be paid into the treasury of the Guild."

Weights and Measures.—Provision is made by each Chamber of Commerce for standard steelyards and measures. "It is agreed that the Guild shall keep a standard set of weights and measures, which shall be adopted by all members, that there be no light issues and heavy receipts. Should it become known that a member is using scales at variance with the standard set, he shall be heavily fined." Unfortunately there is no common standard, most Guilds and traders having their own.

Tare.—Rules fixing the tare of articles occupy a large space in printed Guild regulations, every common article being subject to certain deductions.

Fire Loss.—Some Guilds maintain fire-engines, and require their members to aid in extinguishing fires. The rules of the Ningpo Shantung Guild make the seller of goods in storage sufferers for their loss by fire for five days after the sale; and when destroyed later, the purchaser makes good the loss. In cases of destruction in civil strife, it is agreed that purchaser and seller shall be equal losers.

Closing and Opening of a Year.—"It is agreed that no business shall be transacted before the middle of the first month of the year; that goods sold in the tenth month shall be paid for by the middle of the twelfth; those sold in the eleventh be paid for in

the second month of the year following; that goods sold in the first month shall be regarded as if sold at the beginning of the second; and that from the first of the second month, the forty, fifty, or sixty days' credit allowed to certain commodities respectively shall commence. It is provided also that goods sold in the twelfth month shall be taken by the purchaser, or be liable to charge for storage.

Police.—Compatriot Guilds are to some extent made responsible for the behaviour of their members; hence one of the decrees: "That inasmuch as Customs duties and octrois for war expenses (*li-kin*) are levied for the good of the State, it behoves all members to come forth with alacrity and pay them. The consequence of attempts at evasion or fraud on the Revenue involving fines by the authorities must be borne by the individual implicated, who must clear himself of all trouble as best he can, as the Chamber will not concern itself in such affairs." The same Guild undertakes to assist in the recovery of stolen property. "Any member concealing a robbery or retaining stolen property, in order to exact a heavy ransom, shall be fined ten times the value of the goods, and if he fail to pay the fine he shall be expelled from the Chamber." Rewards are offered by the Guild for the capture of thieves.

Fictitious Selling and Buying.—The concluding regulation of the Ningpo Northern Chamber of Commerce is noteworthy. "It is agreed that, fictitious buying and selling being illegal, this Chamber entirely interdicts that to its members. If violations of that law come to our knowledge, we will transmit to the authorities the offender's name; assuredly no favouritism will be shown." A most wholesome rule, and very creditable to the merchants by whom it was enacted.

This offence is not specified in the Statutes and Criminal Code (大清律例 把持行市 1883), but that grand monument of Chinese legislation provides against "monopolising markets"—a law that is exceeding broad, so comprehensive and distensible as to include penalties against mercantile transactions, generally, that are inimical to the public weal. Under it, a gang of coolies who combine to abuse their monopoly of the portage of a particular landing may be punished; while it takes due

cognisance of speculators who corner markets and manipulate finance.

In a recent work devoted to *causes célèbres* (刑案匯覽卷十道光甲午), two cases are reported of Imperial intervention in this class of offences, which seems to have attracted attention then for the first time, being apparently new.

In 1823 a Censor memorialised Tao Kuang respecting fictitious traffic in bread-stuffs, representing that certain merchants, availing themselves of a drought that was affecting the food supply, in a portion of the metropolitan province—Chihli—had established syndicates for fictitiously buying and selling cereals, none of the crafty merchants themselves possessing a grain of any cereal, affixing their signatures to paper that represented nothing; by which grain fluctuated in price, and was kept from market, greatly to the detriment of purchasers of food for their own consumption. On the Censor's motion, His Majesty took up the subject, and ordered Chi-shen (who subsequently negotiated the Treaty of Peace with Elliot, 1841) to thoroughly inquire into and severely deal with the evil. At the same time the Governor-General and provincial authorities generally were commanded to issue prohibitory proclamations against the practice.

Three years later, the same Censor represented Manchuria as suffering in its food supply from the same cause, unscrupulous merchants establishing firms to conduct fictitious trade in grain, and enhancing its price; whereon the Emperor directed its suppression and renewed interdictions against it in all marts of the Empire. Unhappily, the sons of Mammon generally disregarded these salutary prohibitions, to which reference is made in the Rules of the Ningpo Chamber, and that form of gambling is very rife, and as facile and safe as lying.

Charity.—Compatriot Guilds (*Landmannschaften*) are not professedly benevolent institutions, but in one form of doing good they all take part—the coffinage of the dead, and interment. They either send cadavers back to their native place, or establish cemeteries for fellow-townsmen where they have been domiciled. In some cases widows and orphans are provided for, and the destitute sent back to their homes.

To many the foregoing will afford sufficient information on the subject; but others probably will be interested in further details at some length. I submit, therefore, the salient features of several of the principal Guilds of Wenchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

WENCHOW DRUGGISTS' GUILD.

Preamble.—From days of yore to the present, all occupations have commenced their organisations by establishing regulations, to be subject to modifications by time and circumstances. Accordingly, we of the drug trade, in the reign of Hsien Fêng (having previously been divided into two Guilds), united, and formed a compact body, without reconciling old and new rules, and, therefore, for the past ten years, irregularities have occurred, necessitating their codification. Consequently, we assembled, and agreed on the new rules here subjoined. Henceforth they are to be conformed to in their entirety, their violation, when discovered, will entail the penalty of two plays, and liquor and viands for over twenty persons. This notice is given to caution against infringements of the following laws:—

“It is agreed that all accounts shall be settled at each of the three terms of the year.

“It is agreed that deductions of five per cent. be allowed for cash payments, but not on credit transactions.

“It is agreed that when a member is in debt to another, and transfers his dealings to a third party, the Guild shall bring the three members together, and that he shall not be allowed to trade with the latter until he liquidates his debt to the former.

“It is agreed that a member who allows a customer a higher rate for dollars than their market value for the day shall be mulcted.

“It is agreed that a druggist newly commencing business shall pay an initiation fee to the treasurer of the God of Medicine Temple; if failing to pay up the due amount in full, the member who transacts trade with him shall be fined to the full extent of the deficiency.”

FUKIEN GUILDS AT NINGPO.

Chief among the Guilds at Ningpo, and the oldest, is that of the Fukienese. It resembles a Chamber of Commerce in certain

of its functions. Its constitution, *mutatis mutandis*, is like that of the Canton Guild at Foochow already named. While the Fokienese merchants are united in a general Guild, they are divided into as many sub-associations as there are districts represented by them, each having a separate code. The following synopsis of those of the Amoy, Ch'nan-chow, Foochow, and Hsing-hua, throw light on the nature of those organisations.

AMOY-FUKIEN SUB-GUILD OF NINGPO.

Preamble.—It is said that well-conducted commerce yields three-fold profits, and that the promise of a man of his word is worth a thousand taels. We of the trade, who have come from Amoy by sea, a long distance, have for many years harmoniously conducted business at Ningpo, but after the Taiping Rebellion our rules of trade were neglected. Now, however, peace having been re-established, it behoves us to improve those regulations for the promotion of sound trade; it is important to have proper methods of a permanent character, and expressed in few words, that they may be perfectly comprehended. Commerce has its laws founded on reason, which conduce to concord; and the subjoined have been agreed upon by us.

General Regulations.—All dealings shall be in dollars. Promises to pay are to be from ten, twenty, or thirty days (according to commodities particularised). Five days after sale, goods to be taken delivery of from godowns; if not taken by that time, risks of fire and robbery to be borne by the purchaser.

FUKIEN SUB-GUILD OF NINGPO.

Preamble.—From the coasts of Fukien the most distant regions may be reached; and, inland, its salt, fish, oranges, pumeloes, hair, feathers, horns and skins, in days of yore, were conveyed to the Han river. For the past two hundred years Fokienese merchants have had a good understanding with customers. During the Taiping Rebellion our trade suffered and our hongts were destroyed. On the restoration of peace trade revived, and called for renewal and improvement of former regulations, to secure the confidence of those with whom we deal, that all may like to trade with us.

Regulations.—Dollars are the recognised currency of the trade. Sixty days is the limit of payment for purchases of paper of Fukien manufacture, and thirty days for other commodities. Promissory notes not to be post or ante dated. Other details respecting packages, together with other rules resembling those of the Fukien merchants, are given.

HSING-HUA SUB-GUILD OF NINGPO.

Preamble.—We have heard that in commercial transactions the principles of gain-getting are uniform and constant, and (to employ a classic phrase) including transport, from places of abundance to places of scarcity, and to change places of abode. We came from Fukien to Ningpo for purposes of trade. At the commencement we established regulations for its control, but during the Taiping Rebellion they fell into desuetude; when peace returned and commerce recommenced, the following improved regulations were enacted (at a meeting during a theatrical performance in honour of the Queen of Heaven), which we solemnly agreed to follow.

The regulations are substantially the same as those of the other Fukien Guilds, and the same enactments for infringements of the laws.

AMOY SUB-GUILD AT NINGPO.

Preamble.—In prosperous ports, profits are trebled, but to that end, truthfulness and sincerity are indispensable. We have settled for many years at Ningpo, having come by sea from Amoy, and have had continuous amicable relations with Ningpoese buyers and sellers, but we find it necessary to revise our regulations and formulate new ones, those formerly in existence having fallen into desuetude during the Rebellion. The return of peace and restoration of trade have led us to agree upon the following as complete and inviolable bye-laws, in order that none may be deceived, thus securing permanent concord between sellers and buyers.

Summary of Bye-laws.—Purchases and sales to be made in dollars. Promissory notes to be dated the day of sale. For bread-stuffs, to run ten days; woods and rattan, thirty days;

sugar and miscellaneous goods, twenty days. Five days after sale, the articles are to be removed from godowns; after that period, for loss by fire or damage the seller not to be responsible. For goods purchased on board vessels, when they are once put on board cargo-boats, the seller is no longer responsible. The date of promissory notes is to be that of the day of sale, and is not to be altered; they are not to state the day when the money becomes due (that being fixed by the above-named rules, varying according to commodity). It is not necessary to give in the note the name of the godown from which the goods are taken; but when taken from a junk, her name is to be written.

Purchasers are to bring their own steelyards to the godown. The weighing is to be in the presence of the parties concerned. When goods leave godowns or vessels, no corrections in weight are admissible, nor allowance made for breakages or leakages of enclosures of merchandise. No allowance for dried fruits that become damaged after the day of sale. Goods not taken delivery of five days after sale are subject to charge for storage. Three kinds of steelyards are recognised, and the commodities for the weighing of which one or other of these instruments is used are specifically named; each article to be weighed by the steelyard that has been fixed by custom.

CH'UAN-CHOW SUB-GUILD OF NINGPO.

Preamble.—It is said that the ways of trade should be equitable and that dealers and customers should be governed by good faith and probity. In establishing commercial regulations, justice should be of a durable character in matters of selling and buying. New and old regulations should be adapted to changed conditions. We came thither a long way by sea, and if we do not stand well here for straightforwardness, we can acquire no wealth; and as the former excellent rules have come to be disregarded, we assembled for improving and supplementing our rules, that there may be no defects. We all hereby agree to select an auspicious day to give a performance in honour of the Queen of Heaven, formally to adopt the rules agreed on, pledging ourselves to punish all who transgress these rules subjoined.

General Regulations.—These relate to the size of crates for different sorts of sugars, etc. One rule limits the period of credit to twenty days, and declares the goods forfeited to the Guild in case of contravention of the law being discovered. Goods not removed five days after sale to be forfeited to the Guild. Abatements that may be made in the prices of sugar are fixed, and penalties are provided for reducing such abatements. Twice a month all steelyards employed by members are to be brought to the manager for the month, for testing and verification.

SHANTUNG GUILD OF NINGPO.

In the halcyon days of protection and monopolies, the Northern Guild (usually called Shantung Guild) was one of the most important mercantile bodies in China. Its individual members owned about 140 large junks, expressly adapted for northern navigation, but unfitted for southern voyages. Ningpo was their port of departure, to which they returned,—making the round trip from two to four times a year; transshipping northern staples into southern vessels, and receiving from those the products of the South. It was a highly remunerative trade, but antipodal merchants and mariners swooped down on the China seas, clutched its traffic, and the glory of maritime Guilds vanished, with their monopoly, for ever. Commodities were transferred to foreign bottoms; the stately junks were taken to pieces and made into small vessels, to carry to non-treaty ports, which, foreign vessels being unable to reach, Chinamen were allowed to retain for their own use. This is a sombre view, but the case affords a brighter aspect; the removal of restrictions on trade increased the gains of producers, lightened charges to consumers, and contributed to the enrichment of the Imperial exchequer. To these advantages is to be added the stimulus which foreign competition imparted to native merchants, who gallantly fight fire with fire; themselves now employing steamers, keeping down freights, and making things in general sufficiently lively, and all for the common weal. The last struggle of this Guild to maintain its supremacy was shown in its procuring insertion in the Regulations of Trade appended to the Tientsin Treaty, a special clause prohibiting the export of pulse and

beancake from Tungchow and Newchwang under the British flag. [That clause has been since rescinded.] But as regards importing those articles into Ningpo, their monopoly is still preserved. Seven years ago the Guild issued the following regulations.

Preamble.—We learn that Shun, B.C. 2255, made uniform the measures of length and capacity, and corrected the steelyards; and that, in the early Chou period, measures of capacity were provided and engraved with descriptive characters; that gem-meous weights were made, market hours were fixed, and credit allowed for ten days. Thus it appears that arrangements were made of old for even and fair business transactions—as we now desire them to be.

At the present time the Empire is prosperous, the sea is no longer infested by pirates, and vessels, like clouds, ply from north to south and from south to north. Unless a man's simple promise is worth a thousand catties of gold he will nowhere be trusted. Goods must be transported to the advantage of all concerned. These are axioms.

Times and circumstances change, and old rules required to be adapted to new conditions; to be equitable and conformable to men's feelings, they should be as even as the balance, as uniform as the waveless ocean, and observed with a punctuality as sure as the unerring tides, in order that confidence may be maintained. To that end we agree to the following rules :—

Credit.—All purchases and sales to be in dollars. Payment for grain, forty days after purchase; oil and beancake, fifty days, commodities sold in bundles, sixty days, from the date of the bill of sale. Infringements of this rule to entail on each, seller and purchaser as well, the expense of a theatrical performance and banquet.

Storage.—Formerly, over half a year sometimes transpired before purchased goods were removed from storage. Hereafter, at the expiration of seventy days, storage is to be charged. [Here follow details for non-compliance with which the Guild inflicts heavy fines. Ten days is the limit allowed for removal of goods from junk board. Goods consumed by fire in godowns

five days after sale are not to be paid for by the purchaser; after that date the seller is no longer responsible.]

Goods sold in the tenth month to be paid for on the 25th of the twelfth month; purchased in the eleventh month, to be paid for on the 15th of the second month of the new year. Purchases when made in the twelfth month are to be reckoned as if made on the 1st of the second month. Goods purchased in the tenth and eleventh months to be taken possession of before the close of the year.

Weighing.—The ordinary sixteen-taels-to-catty steelyard is the standard to be employed by every firm connected with the Guild; weighing to be in the presence of all concerned; no discussion to be allowed afterwards. Short weights, as of fresh red dates, due to cargo-broaching, to be made good by the vessel; allowances for tare and net according to old rules. Details follow respecting all the commodities dealt in; penalties for irregularities and frauds.

Fictitious Buying and Selling forbidden to members of the Chamber; offenders to be reported to the magistrate for punishment. Violations of other rules to be mulcted by the Chamber.

Separate sheets are issued relating to portorage and the like. Charges for hampers, bales, boxes, &c., for each commodity, and an additional allowance made as a gratuity to prevent pilfering.

SHANGHAI TEA GUILD.

Ordinarily, Guild regulations are printed on red placards and pasted on the walls of mercantile and manufacturing establishments; but the rules of the Shanghai Tea Guild are too numerous for a placard, being thirty-one in number; they are issued in pamphlet form. As foreigners take much interest in the commodity in which this Guild deals, I submit a *précis* of their *brochure*, published in 1871.

The preface states that formerly dealers in tea and silk were united in a common Guild, but their hall, having been occupied by French troops during the Taiping Rebellion, fell into decay, and was presented to a benevolent institution. Subsequently, the silkmen formed a Guild of their own; and gradually every

occupation became organised in like manner [implying that, in the earlier period of foreign trade at Shanghai, Guilds were few in number and generally insignificant].

Tea-dealers also found it necessary to establish a Guild, which was the more important in that "commerce with foreigners required to be conducted with good faith and rectitude, and also dealings with country growers, manipulators, and sellers of tea should be equitable; and seeing that, latterly, men's dispositions have grown perverse, and trade thereby rendered more difficult, it is obvious that without such an institution the accumulated abuses of the trade could not be eradicated, nor correct regulations established; neither could needful reforms be effected." This is given by the Tea Guild as its *raison d'être*. It was established in 1871-2, and is composed of proprietors of tea storehouses or godowns, who act as the agents for tea producers or proprietors.

Administration.—A committee of twelve is elected annually, each member serving for one month. Members elected to serve on the committee may not decline; the duty is obligatory. When an emergency occurs, the acting member of the committee for the time being summonses several or all his colleagues for deliberation, who are required to be punctual and to transact the business equitably. Any who arrive after a decision has been arrived at shall not be allowed to move a reversal, but shall be mulcted to the cost of a banquet for over a score of members.

A permanent executive officer represents the Guild at the Yaméns, and conducts its correspondence. He is a literary character, and conversant with public affairs.

An accountant is employed to receive dues from members. Directions are given touching the mode of keeping books and records, which are to be open at all times for inspection.

Two firms act as treasurers, who are to select safe banks for depositing the Guild funds.

A special regulation provides for the appointment of a foreign lawyer, whom the committee may consult when there is need for protecting the members' interests, and who is employed, "not from a desire to litigate but that when foreign merchants disregard mercantile laws, craftily interpreting it to suit

themselves, they may be frustrated." In such cases the manager for the month must repair with several colleagues to the foreign firm to discuss the subject. "In all probability, a myriad to one, it will be satisfactorily adjusted; but failing in that, and the Guild member suffering injury, the case is to be committed to our legal adviser."

Revenue.—Members are assessed *pro rata* on their sales. For every large box of black tea sold they are to pay to the accountant eight tael cents; less for smaller boxes; and for green tea six tael cents. The subscription to be paid in advance on the arrival of the tea at Shanghai—based on the sales of the previous year. Should the current year's sales fall short of last year's, the excess of subscription to be refunded. On the first Sunday of each month members are to send to the Guild accounts of sales for the past month, with a corresponding sum as subscription. If under-statements are discovered, the delinquent is mulcted fifteen times the amount due by rule.

One hundred dollars are to be paid into the Guild treasury by the owner of every new godown, who also shall stand treat for a banquet for forty or fifty members.

Storage.—No charge to be made by members of the Guild for storage until the expiry of ten days, after which the charge shall be one mace a box of black tea; green tea to be charged according to old rules, whether for a short or long period; but if it extends into the new year, the charge is to be doubled. Any secret, private arrangement to abate godown charges shall entail the infliction of a fine.

Insurance.—Tea brought up from the country by dealers, on which money has been advanced, is to be insured by them against fire; they are not to begrudge that item of expense; but insurance is optional when there are no claims against the tea.

Advances to the Country Owners.—When sub-agents are despatched into the tea districts with money to advance to tea-producers, they must act for one firm only. If this rule is contravened, the tea purchased is to be given on its arrival at Shanghai to the firm by which arrangement was first made; and the other firm's money is to be returned. If on the arrival of teas further advances are required, the storage firms will carefully ascertain the quantity of tea offered, and not advance

in excess of its value; if more than that is needed, the country tea-trader must provide it himself: his tea will be kept for him two months, and then sold, without waiting for a rise in the market.

General Rules.—The firm in whose godowns tea is stored are to have the sale of the article, but its sale may be committed to another tea-storing firm on liquidating all claims against it.

Commissions, etc.—The charge for duties paid, storage, interest on money advanced, and commission, shall be four per cent.; three per cent. if money has not been advanced.

Erstwhile, frauds in the tea trade were unknown, but of late years tea-producers frequently employ secret marks to indicate different qualities of the herb, and deceive purchasers by false samples, which when it comes to be weighed is discovered—causing contentions, which foreign merchants avail of to depreciate the whole lot, demanding abatements in price, all which is subversive of equitable mercantile ways. We now write to the hill tea districts, requiring uniformity in the quality of the staple, and conformity with samples.

When the tea is brought to Shanghai for storage, boxes shall be opened indiscriminately. If perchance the article does not correspond with the muster, Chinese and foreign merchants shall be called to examine the whole lot—the contents of all the boxes to be turned out for public inspection. If the examination shows the tea not to correspond with the sample, those present may decide what should be done in the matter. If tea-tasters unjustly depreciate a chop, the case shall be submitted to arbitration to make equity manifest.

"Boycotting."—Pending litigation with a foreign firm, members of the Guild shall transact no business with the derelict house; intercourse is not to be resumed until the case is adjudicated. Should any member secretly violate this rule, and it comes to the knowledge of the Guild, the offender shall be condignly punished.

Porterage on tea purchased by foreigners and conveyed for them to steamers is to be paid by them. Recently, however, they have demanded that the expense of such porterage be paid by native merchants. In cases of that kind complaint is to be made to the manager of the Guild at the time, who shall

remonstrate with the foreign merchant. If the offender persists in the demand, he shall be tabooed. Should any secretly consent to the charge, punishment shall be duly inflicted.

Regulations.—An unopened box of tea, taken to the foreign dealer as a muster, and if not weighed by him, its weight must be taken as given by the teaman when delivered, who is not to be required to make good any deficiency. A box already opened must be weighed on the spot, and its weight recorded. If the muster is returned, it must be again weighed—a catty or two missing is of no account; but if more, it must be paid for. An unopened muster box is to be opened on the spot and its weight recorded; and if the bargain is not completed, the muster must be again weighed; and if more than a couple of catties of tea are missing, it must be paid for.

For binding tea boxes with rattan [which is done by the foreign purchaser] eight taels per 100 boxes is to be allowed him—albeit the cost is only five and a half taels. When more than that amount is demanded for rattaning, appeal is to be made to the acting tea Guild manager for the month and others to remonstrate with the foreign firm, in order that there may be uniformity. Any tea-dealer giving more shall be dealt with by the Guild.

Duties on teas brought to Shanghai from Hupeh and Hunan shall be paid at Hankow by agents of storage firms, and charged at the then value of sycee. Insurance, portorage, and freight from the tea districts to Shanghai, and river insurance, shall also be paid by storage firms. Heretofore no charge was made for interest on advances for such expenses, but now money being scarce (and losses accruing from loans), there shall be a charge at the rate of fifty tael cents per diem for a thousand taels=18 per centum.

Teamen arriving at Shanghai in need of advances from the godowns to be accommodated when the value of their stock is ascertained; but no money shall be advanced beyond the value of their stock; or if more is given to them, they shall repay it; failing to do so, their tea shall be sold at the expiration of two months. It shall be sold by the Guild after communicating with the mandarin. If money be still due on the tea, judicial proceedings shall be instituted to enforce the claim.

Should the tea bring more than the amount of claims against it, the balance is to be paid to its owner. Storage hongts must be cautious and not advance more than the tea is likely to fetch.

The storage hong should be allowed to purchase the tea that it receives on storage, unless the teaman can get a higher price elsewhere, when he is to inform the custodian of his tea, who shall allow him to take it away, on payment of charges. If the offerer of a higher price fails to fulfil his promise, he shall be punished by the Guild.

Porterage of black tea from the godown is to be defrayed by the godown hong; if it is charged to the teaman, he may inform the Guild manager for the current month, and the Guild shall decide on the punishment to be inflicted.

Insurance.—Tea stored in Shanghai on which advances have been made must be insured against loss by fire. Teamen must not begrudge the expense. If no money has been advanced, the teaman may do as he likes as regards insurance.

The Guild-hall being for the transaction of public questions, it shall not be used for travelling officials as a temporary hotel, nor for mercantile guests; nor shall women be allowed to lodge there, in order to illustrate the important rules of decorum.

Semestral meetings shall be held for reconsidering the rules of the association, and for the worship of Kuanti (God of War), the first to be held on his birthday, 13th of the fifth moon, the other, 13th of ninth moon.

SILK GUILD.

The rules of the Silk Guild vary so much from time to time, according to exigencies of trade, that it has ceased to have them printed, and no member can be prevailed on to furnish a copy, or to state what they are. Two examples have been recently furnished of their fluctuating legislation. It was suddenly decreed that instead of silk being paid for by the purchaser on the day immediately following the departure of the mail, the account was to be settled as soon as the commodity was weighed; a rule that was observed for a few months only, when it was disregarded, and finally duly abrogated. Again, an order went forth that muster bales of silk should be weighed separately, and the

bulk weighed to the half-pound only, disregarding fractions; and a prohibition was enacted against tenders of sale on firm offer to consuming markets in Europe and America by wire.

BANKING.

I devote considerable space to the regulations of banking institutions, for the use of those who are studying the intricacies of Chinese finance.

NINGPO BANKERS' GUILD.

A few years ago the constitution of the Guild underwent a change for the better, which is undiscoverable in its present rules. It was until recently the practice of bankers of that city to hold sessions twice a day in a thoroughfare that may be denominated the "Wall Street" of Ningpo, for the purpose of speculating in the market value of dollars as quoted in the next despatches from Soochow, or from Shanghai when that port took the place of the former as money-mart. To a stranger the spectacle presented the appearance of a crowd of excited madmen escaped from confinement. For more than an hour every forenoon, and for the same time every afternoon, they thronged the street, so as to render it almost impassable; all the time vociferating, so that the din was deafening, and business had to be conducted by dactylonomy,—indicating by fingers fractions of sums for which dollars were offered for sale, or sums which buyers were willing to give—*e.g.*, \$10 would be offered for sale by outstretched digits at 1,130 coppers; if accepted, bull and bear retired and made a record of the transaction, and on the arrival of intelligence from the money-market, if the dollar varied in value a copper from the figure fixed upon, one paid the other 10,000 coppers. Sellers and buyers were generally brokers, having, for constituents, bankers, money-changers, merchants, traders, scholars—all classes, in fine, were so fascinated by this form of gambling as to plunge wildly into a vortex of speculation. More dollars than the city contained would be sold and purchased in a few hours. Occasionally a check would be imposed on the maniacs. When insolvency and suicide followed a disastrous speculation, a magisterial proclamation would be

fulminated, interdicting "fictitious dealing in dollars," and for a time a Sabbath stillness would pervade 'change; but soon official vision would be blurred by a process known to all mankind. "Wall Street" again became as lively as ever.

I once took Sir Rutherford Alcock to witness the spectacle of bidding on the prospective value of dollars; he pronounced it one of the most striking scenes he had ever witnessed. Ultimately the evil effected its own cure. When native speculators at Shanghai had floated various giant stock companies, and the gambling in shares became rife, Ningpo became more than ever infatuated by the dollar-jobbing mania; and when the crash took place at Shanghai, great defalcations were discovered at Ningpo, involving chiefly young clerks and bankers' sons. Ruin was brought upon many, and suicides by opium or drowning followed to an unprecedented extent. These disasters moved the money-dealing community to suppress fictitious dollar-dealing, by forbidding the practice to its members; but a class of brokers had come into existence which did not recognise the Guild. Sham dollar-selling had become a profession in itself, and was employed by the gambling public generally. Bankers petitioned the magistrate for a proclamation against the brokers, who had organised a Guild of their own, and which threatened disobedience and resistance; they were only placated by receiving aid from the authorities until they found other occupations. Thus a custom that had existed long anterior to the first appearance of dollars, about 1726, ceased at once; before that date the value of silver ingots in coppers was a subject of speculation from an unknown period.

Now all meetings are restricted to the Guild-hall, on the walls of which are the following regulations.

Preamble.—In examining the chapter on "Affluence through Trade" in Sz'-ma-chien (the so-called Herodotus of China, *circa* B.C. 163-85), we find his thoughts on "the increase of goods" [in a biographical sketch of Kuan Chung (about B.C. 645), among the most illustrious statesmen of Chinese history, who was originally a merchant]; and in the *Analects* we find a weighty remark of Confucius, who says: "There is a great course for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many, and the consumers be few. Let there be activity in the

production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be ample." Consequently, those at hand will be gratified, and others assemble from a distance, and amicable mercantile intercourse becomes protracted, as a natural result.

Our profession of money-dealing originated on the establishment of the nine Bureaux of the Treasury Department of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122). But the division into five degrees of weights dates from the Han era. It is of urgent importance that those who *have* should be able to exchange with those who *want*, and that small coppers should be exchanged for large ones—for convenience of the people on the one hand, and for Government finances and taxes on the other; in fine, our occupation is the pivot of commerce.

Then follows an account of the vicissitudes of the Guild during the Taiping Rebellion; of the "Happy restoration of peace through the combined military operations of Chinese and foreigners; the revival of trade; the encouraging prospects of the future," and a devout wish for continued peace and prosperity, through accumulations of goods and double profits. Next, reference is made to their abandonment henceforth of paper money, and to the decision to restrict all transactions to ingots and dollars, owing to the changed condition of business affairs [of their accord, bankers then made an end of free-banking, which had led to many evils, though the chief reason for the change was the transfer of the money centre from Soochow to Shanghai, which being now so near in point of time, rendered paper money unnecessary], and at a meeting convened for the purpose they agreed to conform to Shanghai usages in monetary transactions generally. The regulations then adopted are to be binding on all, without prevarication, all agreeing to circumspection from first to last; to be equitable and diligent in the right mode of acquiring wealth. "Let all the gentlemen composing the Guild co-operate in promoting the business of the port by correct and sincere endeavour."

The first rule is creditable to the Ningpo bankers: it reads "Amicable intercourse with foreigners has long subsisted, and it is incumbent that in commercial transactions we should embody the liberal feelings of the Emperor, and not fail to act in accordance with his intentions."

Summary of thirteen rules then follow.

Administration.—A treasurer and a managing committee of twelve to be elected annually. The treasurer at the close of every month debits each member with an equal share of current expenses. Managers serve each one month by turns. Early every morning a manager must be present at the Guild [which then becomes a clearing-house; each member bringing or sending his books, the bankers exchanging each others' drafts and settling the differences]. Nothing under \$50 to be noted; all irregularities mulctable. An initiation fee of \$10. Sums accruing from such fees are placed at interest.

Currency.—Dollars and ingots (Mexican and Carolus dollars) to be taken at their respective values [Carolus, being heavier, at a premium] in copper or ingots. Eight descriptions of dollars not to be accepted—"light weight," "indistinct," "oily-like," "dull sound," "three-starred," "heads upside down," "coarse-edged," "thin-edged," and "yellow-tinged." Ingots of $45\frac{1}{2}$ taels to pass current for fifty; but when further short of the standard weight, the deficiency to be made good [of course fifty-tael ingots disappeared from Ningpo, or when used were at a proportionate premium]. Ingot and dollar deposits and payments to be made between noon and 2 p.m.

Interest.—Interest on accounts of \$500 and upward to be paid at the ruling rate of the day. No one shall be pressed to lend money.

Sundry Rules.—Promissory notes deposited by the promisor are to be made good by him in the event of bankruptcy of the promiser. The seals of members to be stamped in the duplicate books of regulations, minutes kept by the treasurer and the managing board.

SHANGHAI BANKERS' GUILDS.

A satisfactory account of the Shanghai Bankers' Guilds would include a survey of all the intricacies of Chinese banking, on which my information is scant, and, besides, I lack the financial capacity to make the best of the documents before me, which consist mainly of numerous sheets of printed regulations.

As usual in Guild promulgations, there is a classic preamble, which in this instance represents that "inquiry discloses that ways of commercial wealth have been transmitted by sages" [allusion is here made to Tzū Kung, one of the most famous disciples of Confucius, who acquired a fortune by trade before he devoted himself to learning]. "The 'carrying of cloth to exchange it for silk' [a phrase from the Book of Poetry compiled by Confucius] has been conducted from age to age without intermission, and Imperial statutory laws have regulated money matters, which have been conducive to profits, and repressive of abuses."

The bankers could add little to the above of an archaic character. No Chinese antiquarian that I wot of affords information on the early history of banking; although changing, depositing, and loaning money was, doubtless, almost co-eval with money coining. At an early period we find Emperors lending money to their lieges on interest. According to the Chou-li—"Polity of the Chou Dynasty,"—and commentary, a "Money Bureau" was established under the control of four officers, to whom imposts on commodities were paid, and who loaned money to the people from whom labour was exacted as interest on the loans, the amount borrowed to be returned at the end of the year. This unique department also purchased unsaleable goods, storing them until they could be disposed of at the same price at which they were bought; and lending sacrificial utensils for ancestral worship for the period of ten days, and funeral paraphernalia—mourning habiliments—for a month, without charge, paying over to the Emperor at the close of each year its surplus funds. Wu-ti, B.C. 179-141, committed to two officers the function of lending money on interest.

Two other instances occur in Chinese history of Imperial money-lending. The usurper Wang Wang (A.D. 9-14) lent the smallest sums of money to his subjects, at 3 per cent. per mensem. He was a merchant as well as banker, purchasing commodities when they were cheap and selling when prices rose. In this he claimed to be conforming to ancient precedent.

The other case of Imperial banking was in A.D. 1068-85, when the reigning Emperor lent semi-annually to his subjects, sums of ten thousand cash, charging two thousand interest for

the half-year. His usurious Majesty also lent grain, but at higher interest. Money lending to the State has never been in vogue; certain not infeasible reforms must precede such an exhibition of confidence.

Then there is the name of a famous banker of the former Han era (B.C. 32), Ku Yung, who received money from the affluent to lend to the impecunious, he receiving a commission for his agency. It is not likely he was the first of that vocation; but it was then, probably, modern, coming into existence with the extinction of feudalism.

Returning now to Shanghai bankers, we find their Guild has been divided for convenience into a northern—the principal bank, the Yang-king-pang Creek forming the dividing line. Besides their common hall, each has a *Kung-so*—exchange, or clearing house; that of the northern is situated in the Ningpo Road.

The Guild seems to date no further back than the reign of Tao-kuang, and subsequent to the opening of Shanghai to foreign commerce. In that and the following reign regulations for conducting business were adopted; but the increase of bankers, whose hearts were not like those of the founders, and commerce becoming depressed, those excellent rules fell into disuse, and thus at the present time, out of every ten bankers, eight have succumbed [this refers to the recent rise and fall of joint-stock companies, on shares of which advances were made, involving banks in their ruin].

In view of the stagnation of business they felt it incumbent to meet and confer on the re-establishment of good rules—just as trees, to be made to thrive, require their roots to be made firm. They met, and agreed on the rules that were adopted in the reign of Tao-kuang and Hsien-fêng. These, fourteen in number, with improvements, I summarise as follows:—

Charges for Cashing Notes.—"It is agreed that no deceit shall be practised in recording receipts and issues of Shanghai current silver. Dealers in piece goods, Canton, Fukien, Szechuan, and Hankow commodities, and opium, and also Kiangsi traders and merchants generally, whose cheques are presented by foreign firms, shall be debited with a charge of half a tael for every thousand cashed."

[This is a new regulation ; the reason assigned for its enactment is that those are demands for specie to be paid at sight. Some expense is liable to be incurred in getting ingots, particularly when trade is depressed ; also because there is loss on odd sums.]

For the same reasons a charge is made of three mace for a thousand taels on notes cashed for Ningpo, Shaoshing, Hangchow, and Soochow. The same charge is made against the issue of cheques to Kiahsing, Wuchow, Fukien, and Yangtze ports, and to Shantung and Chihli as well.

Interest.—A new rule suppresses a most usurious practice that had arisen among Shanghai banks,—to wit, charging ten dollars for ten days' loan of a thousand dollars. A small interest is allowed on deposits that are unemployed by the bank, and when money is in demand, the amount of interest payable, and the amount to be charged to borrowers, is to be declared by all the banks on the fifth day of each month [determined at a Guild meeting]. At the close of each month an account is to be rendered to depositors. On the 15th, the rate of interest for Shanghai shall be declared [that of the 5th being for other ports].

On money advanced on tea and silk, interest is chargeable at the rate of half-a-*tael* per diem ; accounts to be presented at the close of each month. In transactions between banks of exchange, the Guild banks' interest is chargeable by each, two mace for a thousand taels.

[These banks of exchange are the agencies of the great bankers of Shansi, who remit funds to all parts of the Empire, and are in nowise connected with the Shanghai Bankers' Guild.]

Miscellaneous.—Deposits not made by 4 p.m. are to be reckoned from the day following. [Per contra bills are not cashed until near that hour ; if demanded in the morning, a slight discount must be paid.] In paying Customs dues there is a specified charge for a hundred taels. Packages or boxes containing ingots are to be opened and the silver taken to the Guild Assay Office for examination. [Assaying is sufficiently simple, consisting in gently holding the sycee to be tested in one hand, and grasping firmly the ingot with which to strike the other ; the ring of the metal struck determining its quality].

Notes of Fnkien sugar dealers are subject to a discount because of the inferiority of the ingots of that province. Notes having on their face "Payable by either Northern or Southern Branch of the Guild" are not to be received.

Regulations of the Northern Branch of Shanghai Bankers' Guild.

Dollars.—In paying out new dollars, the issuer must imprint them with his seal [washing out the previous imprint], otherwise they shall not be current. Disregard of this rule entails a penalty. According to former rule, ten kinds of dollars are uncurrentable—to wit, the light, dull-coloured, flowery-spotted, dull-sounding, copper-alloyed, edges unusual, three stars, circles (?) on the reverse, head upside down, yellowish hue, white—to which is now added, such as have unusually fine edges.

Sycee.—Bills from or to foreign banks (and merchants generally) that accompany boxes of ingots are not to be altered; they are to indicate the number, weight, value in dollars, the premium or discount, all in capitals, not in running hand; also the date, the bank by which issued, and seal, in order to prevent irregularities. New bills must be out—descriptive of the ingots; when any are taken out of the lot, the old one to be cancelled.

The bills accompanying sycee that are issued by the hands of the Guild are for outsiders only, and not for Guild banks inter-circulation [those of the Northern branch are at a premium, compared with the southern]. When payments from foreign banks to Guild banks are in ingots, a descriptive bill is to accompany them, having first the seal of the foreign bank; that when found deficient, they may be returned. When the amount of ingots to be paid by a foreign bank exceeds fifty [as a rule there are fifty to a box], the balance is to be paid in notes. When a Guild bank has to pay a foreign bank less than fifty, it must make out a descriptive bill, and seal it. When inferior sycee is paid by a foreign bank, it is to be returned the next day by noon (or if Sunday intervene, on Monday).

Miscellaneous.—Cheques for less denomination than ten dollars are non-receivable. Guild banks having notes to be cashed at foreign banks shall present them before 3 p.m., except on Saturdays, when they shall present them by 11 o'clock a.m.

When a foreign bank pays to a Guild bank a round sum in ingots, the latter shall make out a bill for the balance.

Regulations of the Southern Branch of Shanghai Bankers' Guild.

Interest.—Loans of ingots are to be charged at the rate of seven mace per diem for a thousand dollars; the smaller charge for dollars is in conformity with orders from the mandarinat. For all cheques cashed the sender is to be charged as under the old rules,—from three to five mace, for every thousand taels.

Against Speculating.—In buying and selling dollars and ingots, all settlements must be made on the day of the transaction,—that thereby there shall be no empty buying and selling. [This rule also is conformable to magisterial mandate: until its fulmination, not long since, the exchange of the northern branch of Shanghai banks exhibited the same maddening scenes as those which occurred among Ningpo bankers, as already described.]

Clearing House.—Each money-dealer must send his books to the exchange twice a-day, to square accounts, under the supervision of the manager for the month.

When orders are made payable in old dollars, old dollars are to be furnished; but when the kind of dollars are not specified, payment may be made in those in ordinary use by the bank.

These rules, supplementary to the old ones, conduce to the promotion of business. We unite in establishing them, and they should be loyally observed; their infringement shall be inquired into, and summarily punished.

Besides the above regulations, the general, as well as those by the two branches of banking Guilds, there are old ones, written and unwritten, that govern banking, but these suffice to disclose the nature of the Guilds.

In no other occupation is such liberty enjoyed. Nearly all others are compelled to be associated in those combinations, while more than half the Shanghai bankers act independently of the two Guilds of that port. There are belonging to those Guilds only 55 members, while the non-member bankers number 75, who, however, conform to Guild regulations. Besides these 130 banks, whose business is mainly local, there are 18 Shensi and Peking banks of exchange; and, finally, there are 150 money-changing shops, wholly engaged in changing coppers for dollars.

GUILDS AND FOREIGN MERCHANTS.

In the history of foreign intercourse with China, the co-hong Guild of Canton stands prominent, as enjoying a monopoly in trade, as collectors of duties,* and as the sole medium of communication with foreigners, mercantile and official. Established in 1720, it continued until by the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, it was abolished. Its spirit, however, animated so many that monopolies called for further measures of repression. In 1847 it was stipulated that foreigners are to be admitted to trade with any and all subjects of China, without distinction; they shall not be subject to any new limitations, nor impeded in business by monopolies or other injurious restrictions. Eleven years later the French treaty provided: "No privileged commercial society shall henceforward be established in China, and the same shall apply to an organised coalition, having for its end the exercise of a monopoly on trade—the Chinese authorities to dissolve such associations, and to prevent the existence of any by prohibitions, so as to remove all that may stand in the way of free competition."

Considering that those attempts to suppress long-established institutions were forced on the Chinese, and considering also that many foreigners have systematically evaded their own treaty obligations, monopolies have been kept tolerably well in hand. Still, as Consul Giles remarks: Several collisions have occurred that at the time attracted considerable attention, but which are now well-nigh forgotten. Some of these are here recorded, as further illustrative of the making of those patent engines of Chinese commerce.

For more than a fortnight the export and import trade of Swatow suffered a total cessation in consequence of resistance to an attempt by native merchants forcibly to abrogate a Customs rule, which required cargo-boats to bring goods to the Customs jetty for examination; frustrated in that, the Guild (not in its official capacity, but anonymously, the act being illegal) addressed a circular to all the ports, stating that, after a fixed date, Swatow merchants must cease to receive or ship merchandise or to

* Custom houses were first established by the Sung dynasty (reign not given), A.D. 960-1126.

charter sailing vessels or steamers. After the period named, two vessels that arrived had to have their cargo stored in their agent's godowns, the consignees not daring to apply for it from fear of "boycotting." Above 2,000 coolies were thrown out of employment. Thirty-five steamers suffered heavily from the suspension of trade. Emboldened by successes in "boycotting" merchants, the Guild felt strong enough to heard and defy the authorities, for which the guilty were so condignly punished, as to be deterrent of future enterprises of that description.

In 1883 a long-pending dispute between tea Guilds and foreign tea merchants at Hankow came to a crisis—the former complaining of variable and false weights used by the latter, an abuse which they proposed to rectify by appointing an approved foreigner, to whom they were themselves to pay a liberal salary, who should act as umpire in all disputes anent tea-weighing. Foreign tea dealers objected, not being willing to have an outsider on their premises when that operation is going on; and they convened a meeting at which it was decided to cease buying tea until it could be procured as under former usage. On that the native teamen "tabooed" the foreign firm, which, when it entered the market, found no teamen were allowed to send tea to a dissident merchant. Tea-trading was totally suspended. Complaint was made to the Taotai, who declined to interfere, on the ground that it was a matter entirely between native and foreign tea merchants. "Boycotting," however, soon set the wheels of commerce in motion. Had both parties been able to resort to that agency, the quarrel would have been protracted and damaging to all concerned; but in that, foreigners were impatient. The resolution which held them together was like a ligature of sand; they caved in, while every member of the Guild stood firm. Some, it was believed, were rather shaky; but, fortified by threats, they neither budged nor flinched. Perfidy on their part would have exposed them to fearful persecution, while the financier's disloyalty merely subjected him to ostracism. In both cases the intent and spirit of the sanction was the same.

The victory gained by the Guild was turned to no mischievous account. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Shanghai Chamber

of Commerce, a member frankly remarked on the correspondence that had taken place between the Chamber and the agent of the Tea Guild that "he thought it casts a very great reflection upon a large portion of the community and a reflection which they deserved."

An imbroglio at Ningpo is now taxing the acumen and tact of men in authority. Merchants at that port complain of "boycotting" by Guilds or syndicates. No member of a Guild is allowed to transact business with a foreigner without its assent, which is tantamount to a total prohibition, the penalty being "boycotting"—interdiction of all business dealings with the proscribed, a prohibition that extends to native traders generally, though not Guild members. It is contended that this is a violation of the intent and spirit of the Treaties; at the same time Consul Cooper shows it would be difficult to suppress the evil: "For, apart from the extreme unreadiness of any sufferer to give evidence against them, their establishment is in accordance with Chinese usage, and is, moreover, a convenience to the provincial government, and even a source of profit."

The complication at Ningpo is due to the farming out of war octrois (or *likin*) to Guilds, and to the monopolies thus created—these are the foreign shirrings, foreign and Cantonese, coal and iron, tin and zinc, and opium Guilds,—that farming was brought about by foreigners themselves.

To save merchants the inconvenience of paying octrois at numerous inland stations, it was provided by the Treaty of 1858 that transit dues on articles purchased inland and transferred to a port, or conveyed from a port to an inland market, might be commuted by payment of a single charge—a satisfactory arrangement; but on the imposition of the war tax foreign merchants claimed to have it classed with transit dues, and the advantage which passes gave foreigners over Chinese caused native merchants to engage foreign merchants to personate them, procuring passes in the foreigner's name, an evasion that led to the extension of the privilege to the natives, and next to the establishment by them of special Guilds, which arranged with the authorities for the commuting all the inland imports on their particular goods. In this manner the monopoly complained of had its origin—farming the inland revenue.

Opium was the first commodity fixed upon to monopolise; the transactions of monopolists during the last decade at Ningpo are illustrative of what was done or attempted elsewhere. The Opium Guild determined to monopolise the country trade in the drug, and disallowed foreign merchants to sell to any but themselves; the combination notifying foreign dealers that infringements of the interdiction would cause all dealings with the disobedient to cease. In this manner country dealers were obliged to pay much more for opium than the market price. At the same port a man from Swatow attempted to engage in the opium trade, but the Opium Guild, composed of Fukienese, issued orders that no person should have dealings with him; and even foreign merchants were obliged to obey the behest, and the Guild stifled competition.

Despotism seems to be as ancient as the institutions themselves, in East as in West; it is inherent, the natural cause of such combinations; without unanimity, they are comparatively impotent, and to secure that end they resort to despotic measures. They are monopolies also, yet being amenable to law, and as we have seen, to reason, their utility, it must be conceded, is more obvious than their mischievousness.

Consul Giles remarks: "Foreign merchants regard them with a certain amount of awe, for they are often made to feel keenly enough the influence which these institutions exert over every branch of trade." As against political usurpation of one or many, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, so with regard to monopolies, which always aim to encroach, the only remedy is watchfulness. True, but when foreign merchants come to understand those institutions better they will discover that but for them the course of true commerce would not run as smoothly as it now does: these Chambers of Commerce or temples of Themis, in which the goddess is not blindfolded, but has her visual organs in full play—these temples are courts in which equity and common sense are usually in the ascendant. A single illustration must suffice to adduce out of many that present themselves. Very recently a merchant found in a certain transaction that a broker with whom he was conducting business had the "whip-hand." In the dispute, justice was on the side of the foreigner, while technically the native enjoyed an

advantage. It was open to the merchant to bring the case before the Mixed Court—a course that would have been simply ridiculous,—but he proposed to submit the case for arbitration to the Guild to which the broker belonged; to avert the drastic proceedings which that proposition would entail, the broker instantly came to terms. It is not always a fearful menace for one foreigner who has been injured by another foreigner to institute legal proceedings against the derelict. It is too well known that, owing to the glorious uncertainty of our jurisprudence, offenders often escape with impunity; whereas in Guild tribunals ethical are of more weight than technical considerations; and they are not to be regarded in the counting-room as mischievous bogies.

PART II.—TRADES UNIONS.

The second class of Guilds, denominated *Kung-so*—"public halls"—is generally composed of retail traders and artisans, and are of yet more recent origin than the mercantile associations, few of them being a century old. Early germs from which they arose are discernible, but as they now exist, they are modelled on the *Wei-kuan*. It is remarkable that, although subject for many generations to the same environment, shop-keeping and mechanic classes should not sooner have formed organisations to avert the mischiefs of competitions for mutual aid against the cheapening practices of society, and against official interference. With regard to mechanics, the Unions are generally composed of masters and workmen, united as against society. In some trades where workmen are numerous, journeymen have their own organisations, but generally, when they have occasion to combine against employers (of which instances are rare), they meet in some temple, commence a strike, peacefully accomplish their object, and disband. Every Union has its regulations printed on red paper, sometimes beautifully gilt, which are posted in stores or workshops. A familiar saw says "Human occupations are 360 in number." Only those callings, however, that are common are found associated in societies. They present so much uniformity that translation from a few will suffice to show their general features.

NINGPO FISHMONGERS' UNION.

This is regarded as among the most wealthy associations in the country. Its reserved fund is estimated at \$700,000, which is lent to banks and pawnbrokers at half of one per cent interest, that charge being marvellously low, for greater safety. Their regulations read :

Preamble.—We have heard that, in trade and mercantile transactions generally, sincerity and good faith are of prime importance, in order that neither seller nor purchaser should incur loss. Our Union desires that transactions should be satisfactory to both parties. We have long been engaged in fish-mongering, and the rules originally formed having become partially obsolete, we now remodel them to meet changes, hoping that, both dealers and purchasers being upright, these regulations will ever after be conformed to.

Regulations.—First.—It is agreed that boatmen conveying fish from fishing stations, who place sand in the bottom of hampers, fraudulently increasing the weight, shall be mulcted to pay for a theatrical performance.

Second.—It is agreed that we keep standard steelyards, and inflict the same fine on any of the Union who keep fraudulent instruments.

Then follow other rules relative to allowance to be made for weight of hampers of various sorts, and different kinds of fish, and one requiring information to be sent to the office of the Guild on arrival of a boat, and a manifest of the cargo, which if on inspection is found to be correct, receives the Guild's seal, and the fish may then be purchased by the members. And lastly, the tariff of charges is exacted from the fish-carrying boats. Ultimately, those charges are paid by the fishmongers, which they find a convenient mode of collecting the tax they impose on themselves for the common treasury. No member of the Guild would presume to purchase a cargo of fish that had not been duly passed by the Guild. A deposit of \$3,000 is made by every fish-dealer into the Guild treasury, as a guarantee of conformity to its laws—repayable on withdrawing from the association.

WENCHOW BLACKSMITHS' UNION.

This is of the class that comprehends both masters and journeymen. A meeting was recently convened for the purpose of increasing the price of their manufactures, consequent on the reduced value of dollars, and to establish a new tariff. It is curious to observe how Nevada's plethora of silver has deranged industry to the ends of the earth. The blacksmiths, like all who have a statement to make, introduce it with a preamble, setting forth reasons for action. They say—

"The metallurgic art existed in high antiquity [prehistoric]; in the Chou era vases and tripods [for religious use] were cast, as we learn from the Book of Odes; thus our manufacture has been followed for thousands of years, and traffic in its products has suffered no interruption to the present day. But recently, we who are engaged in casting pots and kettles and in forging iron utensils have discovered that, owing partly to depreciation of dollars, and partly to increase of public work, our bye-laws, for protection, require to be more definitely defined [the 'public work' refers to a *corvée*, which in a mitigated form has come down from feudal times, exacting from artificers and labourers service at less than the current wages]. We therefore convened a meeting at the Palladium Temple, and during the theatrical entertainment and feasting, we agreed on a new tariff of wages for work and price for our manufactured wares. [Trades Unions, which, as in the case of blacksmiths and iron-founders, are too poor to own a hall, meet in the City Temple for deliberations, on which occasions a Thespian entertainment is provided in honour of the tutelary god, and a feast for the members, who, while enjoying the play and viands, discuss and decide questions relative to the interests of the craft.] Any infraction of the rules hereunto appended will be punished by inflicting a fine of a theatrical performance and three tables of liquor and viands."

Forty-four articles are enumerated; the price, the value of the iron and of the labour bestowed on each article being separately stated.

WENCHOW CARPENTERS' UNION.

Another instance of resistance to the *corvée* system is furnished by the following manifests lately posted up in carpenters' shops:

“Important Notification: Revision of Rules.—Our trade is represented before the mandarinat by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognised by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yaméns are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred coppers per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred cash. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinat have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred coppers in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them.” This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.

WENCHOW COPPER WIRE-DRAWERS' UNION.

This consists of journeymen, who, feeling the pressure of the times, made a demand on their employers to abandon the practice of deducting ten per cent. from their wages (in this place a common abuse), and for an increase of pay. Their preamble sets forth their inability to maintain their families through inadequate compensation for their labour; and adding that their toil requires an extraordinary amount of physical exertion; therefore they had met before the gods, whom they had honoured by a play, and had come to the conclusion to make demands hereto affixed. These were an increase of pay, pay to the full amount, and their work to be weighed by steelyards of a certain standard. All these terms were agreed to, and are to be seen posted up in every copper-wire shop. Attached are the usual penalties.

WENCHOW SILK-WEAVERS' UNION.

The rules adopted in 1842 having fallen into disuse, they were revised in 1876, and printed, and enforced.

"It is agreed that members of the association shall work carefully and with their best skill, and pay for silk that has been damaged by bungling." Then follows a scale of wages for piecework, the various articles of manufacture being enumerated; being an advance on former rates.

Journeymen.—It is agreed that a hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another—penalty for transgressing, a theatrical performance and a feast for over ten. Pilfering silk from employers—to be expelled the trade; the purchaser to be fined a play and a feast for over ten. No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master; but when all debts are paid he is at liberty to enter the service of another; but an employer who clandestinely engages a hand from another shop shall be fined, as above.

At the beginning of a new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements in other manufactories, provided their debts are all paid to former masters. If they persist in leaving without a settlement, the Trade Union shall pay his indebtedness, and no shop shall be allowed to employ him. In the case of journeymen who are dismissed from a shop while in debt to their master, the new employer shall make deductions from their wages until the debt is liquidated. No workman shall enter into business on his own account, nor into partnership until their debts are paid.

At the commencement of a year masters shall advance to journeymen [from two to four months] wages [the wages vary from \$4 to \$8 per mensem]. Nothing further is payable until that advance has been worked off.

Dyeing.—[Silk-weaving and silk-dyeing constitute a single trade. General dyers are not entrusted by silk-weavers with thread-silk for dyeing]. Weaving is to be taught first, and then dyeing. A theatrical performance is the penalty for disregard of this rule. No shop shall have more than one apprentice at dyeing at the same time.

Masters.—A workman who enters into manufacturing, and taking as partner a man out of the trade, shall make the contract for five years, during which period the partnership shall not be dissolved. A play and banquet is the penalty of contravening:

this law. At the expiration of five years, the parties may follow their own inclinations in the matter.

When a new shop is opened, the proprietor shall subscribe 3,000 cash for temple purposes.

Manufacturers shall have but one member of their family learning the art at one time.

A shop of three looms may have two apprentices—not more.

No workman shall secretly avail of the assistance at work of anyone not in the trade, nor privately teach any the art.

Quarrels among members are to be settled by arbitration. In a small matter, the one in fault is to be fined in candles [for use in the temple worship], and for graver offences the fines shall be a concert [vocal and instrumental music, by five boys, before the gods]; but feasts shall not be imposed as a fine in quarrels. [Fining an offender for quarrelling to the expense of a banquet is not always conducive to harmony, as this Union discovered.]

The present advanced rate of pay shall suffer no abatement; any workmen accepting less shall be punished.

Silk-weavers' Apprentices.—An apprentice must begin by standing treat—giving a feast to workmen of the establishment. Two years are to be spent in learning to weave, and three years service as a weaver are to be rendered to the master—five years completing his apprenticeship. Employers violating in this respect to be fined. When out of his time the apprentice shall serve his late master for two years as a journeyman, when he is at liberty to work elsewhere. A manufacturer who endeavours to get him away shall be fined a play, and the late apprentice compelled to fulfil the year's contract. If, however, his old master does not want to retain him, or if he wishes to manufacture on his own account, he is free to go. An apprentice wishing to discontinue learning the trade may leave, but he shall not be permitted to resume it.

Apprentices are required to be respectful to journeymen. At the close of his time an apprentice shall subscribe 1,500 coppers to the Union for temple expenses.

WENCHOW MILLERS.

Flour mills at Wenchow are worked by hand. The millers of Wenchow state in their preamble that former regulations

having fallen into confusion, each miller charging what he thought fit—thus bringing on damaging competition—they had now come to an agreement for the better governing of the craft. Sixteen mill proprietors constitute the Union, which is under the control of a committee of four, changed every year so as to bring, in rotation, each member into office. It is the duty of the committee to confer at the close of each month with the trade, and to fix the price of flour for the month ensuing. Any member who sells flour at less than the price agreed upon to be fined the cost of a play and a feast. No member is allowed to sell flour on credit to any person who is in debt to another member; that is, customers are not allowed to run up accounts with several establishments. No member to grind wheat except what he has himself purchased—not to grind another man's grain. The Millers' Union steelyards to be the standard for measuring. No abatement to be made in prices in favour of pastry-men and others who are large consumers of flour. Usual penalties for infractions. Assessments for the expenses of the Union, and other minor matters follow, concluding with the injunction—"Let not observance of these rules be a mere spurt at the outset and dawdling afterwards!"

WENCHOW POSTAL COMPANIES.

Imperial posts exist exclusively for conveying official despatches. The private correspondence of the country is carried by postal firms. These combine for the protection of their common interests, and for maintaining a uniform tariff. At Wenchow, above a dozen firms engaged in conveying letters agreed on a tariff with this preamble: "Our undertaking of sending letters containing dollars, or notes, admits no delay or error in delivery; besides, we are required to make all losses good, and while the responsibility is great, the recompense is small. Moreover, the rules that existed among us prior to the commencement of steam communication became obsolete, and as the business increased, offices were multiplied, all which render necessary the adoption of new rules and tariff on the basis of postal offices at Ningpo and Shanghai." To give some of the charges: 70 coppers to Ningpo; Shanghai and Canton, 100; Peking and Hankow, 200. Where much of the route is by

land, the charge is higher; for example, when water communication with Peking ceases, postage is double. Accepting less postage than the Union has agreed upon subjects the offender to a fine of a play, feast, and a lot of candles for illuminating idol shrines.

WENCHOW BARBERS' UNION.

The humblest of the Guilds (players excepted) is the barbers', which I here name, in that the association of this most needful class of artisans illustrates the utility of organisation and combination as an elevating agency; their Union having improved them socially by infusing into their body a degree of self-respect to which erst they had been strangers. On combining they discovered that they had wrongs to be redressed and rights to be vindicated, which in itself was salutary. Custom, as strong as the statutes of the Empire, interdicted their attendance at the literary examinations. It was regarded as sublimely audacious in barbers to demand such a privilege; its absurdity strained the risible faculty of the polite, appalled the learned, and agitated society generally. Local magistrates of every grade exclaimed "*non possumus*;" they boldly carried their appeal to the provincial capital. Yamên after yamên was closed to their admittance. Happily, the Governor was liberally minded, and penned a despatch in which he showed that barbers were not included among players, lictors, etc., who, with their descendants to the third generation, are not allowed to attend the examinations. Having thus manfully disenthralled themselves, they erected a hall for plays and religious worship, in which they placed a mural inscription that in modest language narrated their grand achievement. Subsequently, the Union decided on a measure which was still further designed to advance the status of their profession. Shampooing, an operation that consists in pom-melling the spine between the shoulders of customers who have been shaved and who pay an additional fee for the prescription, they voted to be a menial act unbecoming tonsorial dignity. Like Trades Unions in China generally, and like too many similar bodies in the West, this association, not content with having offered successful resistance to injustice, proceeded to arbitrary acts of oppression towards its members: one who violated

a rule of the Union that forbids ear-cleaning during the last six days of the year [those being days when every man has his head polled, and there is no time to be devoted to ears], and another who shampooed a customer were mobbed by their fellow-shavers, and their tools, furniture, and paraphernalia thrown out-doors, street arabs coming into immediate possession of the articles ejected.

GENERAL REMARKS ON TRADES UNIONS.

Hours of Labour; Holidays.—Unions whose craftsmen are paid by the amount of work performed are not allowed to labour beyond certain specified hours. Weaving, for example, is not allowed after nine o'clock at night. There are no laws respecting the hours of labour of those who work by the day; custom adjusts that. Carpenters work eleven hours in summer and nine in winter; masons half an hour longer. Chinese artisans are a reasonable class of men, and never think of demanding a uniform wages for inferior and superior mechanics; and employers being amenable to reason, laws do not favour aggression on the part of the wage-paying class; consequently there are few collisions between capital and labour.

Perhaps Wenchow tailors may be taken as an illustration; an average workman will receive \$5 per mensem and his food, a wage that enables him to maintain a family with the necessities of life.

It is the unhappy lot of the Chinese proletariat to toil in a sabbathless land, in which the holidays that are allotted to him are poor compensation; the last five days of the year, the first ten days of the new year, and four others interspersed through the year are his only exemptions from labour; yet is he not only contented but cheerful.

Apprentices.—Many of the Unions rigidly restrict the number of apprentices of the master. Some, as goldbeaters at Wenchow, allow none but sons and nephews of workmen or masters to leave the trade. The unutterable meanness that moves pseudo-civilised men in the West to debar women from occupations for which they are competent is, as might be expected, rampant in China. Rules of certain Unions (e.g., silk weavers) expressly forbid their members teaching or employing women; needle-

makers make exceptions in favour of the wives and daughters of members of that craft, who are allowed to acquire the difficult art of drilling needle-eyes, the instrument employed being identical with the ingenious "pump-drill" used by North American Indians; but should either ever marry out of the Union, employment would be withheld. Apprentices serve in some trades for three and in others for five years. At times, a premium is demanded; in all, food and lodging are alone provided, clothes being found by parents. No master can employ an apprentice who has not served out his full time. Before becoming a journeyman he must stand treat for a theatrical performance. In some trades fees are required for the general purposes of the Union from apprentices commencing and concluding their period of service.

General Penalties.—A play, three tables of viands, and liquor.

A Wênchow capitalist who sets up a gold-beating establishment may take a son or nephew as apprentice. Tin-foil beaters have similar rules, and so rigid are the rules that infractions are unknown.

Rules for Preserving the Honour of Unions.—In some Unions restrictions are imposed on its members by the Union respecting the quality of the work to be turned out. The Kittysols Union* states in its regulations that the trade had suffered depression from deterioration of paper umbrellas that had been put upon the market, and their export having consequently fallen off, it was agreed that kittysols should henceforth be of an uniform quality and fixed price. Dealers now who put on the market defective articles are mulcted to the same extent as if guilty of disposing of wares at less than the established tariff of the trade. It appears from bye-laws of the Pewterers Association that their trade suffered from a like cause, and new rules were adopted, to which all are compelled to conform. Any pewterer who alloys a tin article with lead is amerced by the trade as surely as if he

* Umbrella-makers in China do not assign the origin of their craft, as do their Western *confrères*, to the last century; but (somewhat vaguely) to high antiquity. An archæologist of the eleventh century A.D. says umbrellas were in use during the period of the Three Dynasties (they date from the twenty-third century B.C.). Umbrellas were then of silk, and came into use after canopies. Silk umbrellas gave way in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. to those made of paper—the kittysols now in use.

sold articles for less than his fellow-craftsmen. In this attempt to elevate the character of their calling they are public benefactors.

Very excellent are the regulations of the Dyers Trade Union, whose preamble declares that "Business requires for its proper administration that there should be equitable rules and good faith in their observance; and that owing to the fluctuating price in indigo, it is to the interest of all concerned that charges for dyeing should be fixed twice a year; that during the semestral period the tariff should undergo no change whatever. It is also provided by that craft that accounts shall be settled at each of the three periods into which the year is divided; which means, not only that master-dyers shall owe no man, but that all moneys due him shall be collected—long accounts being inimical to the common interests of the craft.

Strikes.—Strikes are infrequent, and not illegal. There does not appear to have been a time in industrial history when labourers might not lawfully continue to raise wages and regulate the hours of work; and no harm has resulted from that liberty; for the code, in interdicting "monopolising markets," is calculated to prevent abuses of that liberty; but a strike for increase of wages on the part of workmen in the public service is severely dealt with, as mutinous. Several cases of that description occurred on the Grand Canal in 1826-39; boatmen of junks that were conveying Imperial rice having been beaten and banished for clamorously demanding higher pay (刑案匯覽 *Hsing-an-hui-lan*). Resistance to *corvée* may be classed among strikes. I once witnessed resistance on the part of a cooper to an unjust demand. I saw the poor fellow at the gate of a magistrate's yamén, just after he had with a cleaver, held in his right hand, severed his left at the wrist, rather than perform the half-gratuitous labour that was required of him.

A strike of journeymen for increase of wages rarely fails to be successful, for if it goes so far as to endanger public tranquility, magistrates interpose, and the strikers being too numerous to be flogged and too poor to pay for the mulcting operation, hands are laid on the masters, who can always be had when fleecing is feasible; and they, to avoid such result of a strike, wisely

surrender; a state of things, however, of which workmen take no unfair advantage.

Sectionalism.—Clannishness is a Chinese characteristic, which renders sectionalism a common fault. Many occupations form Unions, membership of which is restricted to fellow-townsmen. Fish-hook making at Wênchow is restricted to men of that trade who belong to Fukien, and no Wênchowese is allowed to acquire the art. Needle-makers' rules allow only Taichow and Kiangsu needle-makers to work at Wênchow (those workmen excelling in the craft). Tallow-chandlers and tin-foil beaters are remarkable for sectional jealousy. Those craftsmen will not work with men of their trade who happen to belong to another prefecture; as it is, though labouring in different establishments, they indulge in frequent and fierce feuds. At Wênchow, gold-beating is monopolised by artisans of that craft from Ningpo; their Trade Union forbids instruction in gold-beating to Wênchowese. Should an employer transgress that rule, it is decreed that journeymen shall meet to enforce the penalty which their law inflicts on such offenders. The mercantile Guild at Wênchow excludes forever those from a region in their prefecture, because when it was instituted eighty years ago men from that place declined to take part in its organisation.

"Boycotting."—None of the bye-laws of trades that have been published, nor those of Chambers of Commerce, expressly provide for "boycotting" others than members of their own combination, yet in practice it is carried out thoroughly to the extent of their ability; nor is membership always obligatory, and is often treated as a privilege; yet in point of fact no one in their line of business can with impunity refuse to act with them. Recently a merchant at Hankow invested in drugs to sell at his private residence, but the associated druggists caused him to be summoned to the magistrate, and to pay \$500 for a license, and to join the Guild. Non-compliance with the rules entails utter and irremediable ruin.

TRADE UNION TRUCULENCY.

As regards handicraft associations, their Unions are most exacting and arbitrary; no recalcitrant members can escape punishment, nor can any obtain employment who are not in

good standing for fidelity to the craft. Ordinarily, mild measures are resorted to; the offending member is waited on and invited to repair to a tea-house. Resistance would be useless. He goes, and is there under arrest, surrounded by successive relays of fellow-craftsmen, until he pays the amount for which he is mulcted, or until friends or employers advance money to satisfy the demand. It is rare indeed that such measures fail, and occasions seldom exist for inflicting cruelties like those of which Western mechanics have been guilty.

Although an exceptionally mild people, there are no limits when their blood is up. In all the empire there is perhaps no population so docile, so law-abiding, as that of Soochow—the Athens of China; nevertheless, that city was not long ago the scene of a ferocious and ghastly proceeding on the part of the Gold-beaters' Union. A recent writer gives the narrative, which differs but little from the account current at the time in Shanghai. A novel which gives a fictitious account of the traitor Yo Fi having been bitten to death by an indignant populace has given rise to the belief in Chêkiang that persons conspiring, and conjointly, in putting a man to death, escape punishment because the crime of murder cannot be brought home to any one of the perpetrators,—and at this time (1872) prevailed the more, from the fact that men then living could tell of a magistrate in the northern part of Kiangsu who suffered that awful death for withholding food in a famine, and it was believed (erroneously no doubt) that none of the conspirators were executed.

Gold-leaf was needed to an unusual amount for the Emperor. One of the craft represented to the magistrate that if he were allowed to take a number of apprentices the work would be greatly expedited, and having obtained permission, he proceeded to engage a great many apprentices. The "scoundrel," as our author styles him, violated in a flagrant manner a law of the trade which disallowed an employer to take more than one apprentice at a time. His conduct infuriated the craft, and the word passed round "Biting to death is not a capital offence." One hundred and twenty-three of them rushed on the miserable man, each taking a bite. Death soon relieved the victim of fiendish rancour. To make sure that none shirked

duty on that occasion, no one was allowed to quit the shop whose bloody lips and gums did not attest to his fidelity. The murderer who took the first bite was discovered and beheaded.*

Trades Unions are essentially anti-free-trade institutions. To some free-trade means utter extinction, and naturally they are impatient to avert that result, succeeding only in driving the industry elsewhere,—*e.g.*, combinations of associated labour at Canton are causing the transfer of mechanic arts to Hongkong, illustrations of which are furnished by the papers of that colony. Native merchants imported from Birmingham a quantity of thin sheet-brass for manufacturers of brass utensils at Fatshan, throwing out of employment a class of coppersmiths whose business consisted in hammering out the sheets heretofore imported in a thick form; but the trade struck to a man, would have none of the unclean thing, and to prevent a riot among the rowdiest class of the rowdiest city in the empire, the offending metal was returned to Hongkong. Further, a Chinese from America the other day imported thence some powerful sewing machines for sewing the felt soles of Chinese shoes to the uppers, but the native sons of St. Crispin destroyed the machines, preferring to go on as their fathers did, while the enterprising Chinaman returned to Hongkong a poorer and sadder man. Again, some years ago a progressive Chinaman set up a steam-power cotton mill, only to be made useless by the very simple plan of the growers refusing to send in a pound of cotton. Filatures from France, effecting not only a wonderful saving in time and money but improving the quantity and quality of the output of silk, succeeded at Canton for a while, and were introduced latterly by Chinese capitalists into the silk-rearing districts, only to be destroyed and wrecked by the country-folk.

GUILD PENALTIES.

It will be observed that Guilds of every class have for sanctions against infringement of their rules fines to be paid by bearing the expense of Thespian entertainments and banquets; as this is a peculiar characteristic of China's social life, it merits

* The Magistrate of Ching-pu, near Shanghai, had his ears bitten off, bit by bit, in 1852, by enraged villagers because of his extortions in the matter of land-tax.

a word of explanation. Confucius refers to an ancient custom which compelled archers who missed the target to take wine; and we learn that on the conclusion of hostilities between two contending states, a feast was provided by the loser for the diplomatic representatives of the winner, on the occasion of the conclusion of treaties of peace. Convivialities of the table, or mat rather (for it was only in times comparatively recent that Chinamen "sat with legs hanging down," that is, used tables and chairs), have always been employed by them as means for accomplishing public ends. In the feasts annually given by the mandarinates for meritorious aged men, the sage recognised the ceremony as affording a lesson in government by illustrating deference due to seniority; and it taught the duty of subordination to rank.

It is not unlikely that the blending of conviviality and punishment was a device of men of yore. This ingenious mode of mitigating sanctions, rendering them conducive to urbanity and harmony, is certainly no modern invention. Not only are festival penalties inflicted on derelict and refractory members of Guilds and Trades Unions, but on offenders generally. When quarrels arise, umpires intervene or are called in, who condemn the aggressor to go to the expense of a play and a dinner; the feast taking place in a gallery affording a view of the stage and play (the guests being the arbitrators, the two litigants, and select friends), while the court is free to the public. Although those compulsory entertainments and feast involve a certain degree of discredit to the host, yet he has the satisfaction as host of being treated with decorous politeness, a thing so dear to this ceremonious people. Philosophers cannot but admire this form of social jurisprudence, which is more likely to be commended than generally imitated by Westerners.

CO-OPERATIVE LOAN CLUBS

Or ready-money associations, although not comprehended in the term Guild, merit a paragraph to illustrate yet further the "clubbable" character of the Chinese. Every Chinaman, almost every Chinawoman, belongs to or has belonged to one or more associations, exclusive of the secret societies by which the empire is honeycombed, yet there are no mutual aid societies for sickness.

Charity finds expression by certain benevolent services of compatriot Guilds, and by eleemosynary societies, but for temporary loans to the impecunious there are associations of a description entirely unique. A man in immediate need, say of \$50, induces nine friends to unite with him in forming a ready-money club, each subscribing \$5, which with his own share meet his necessity. He has the use of the common fund for one month, when the members meet and decide, commonly by throwing dice, who next comes into possession of the money. In that manner each member in turn has the use of the fund, when it is either returned or the arrangement renewed. The sum subscribed varies in amount from less than half-a-dollar to hundreds; and the periods of use of the money vary from less than a month to a year or more. Sometimes interest is paid in the following manner: the first of \$50 receives but \$49, each member deducting a dime for interest; the borrower for the second month receives \$49.10, and so on to the last. Failure of payment from any cause is sure to be made good by the borrower's family. Great varieties exist in the constitution and working of these clubs. M. Simon gives details respecting seven money clubs.

REFLECTIONS.

I have been unable to discover that trade unionism in China has been on the whole inimical to the public weal, while its utility is obvious from several aspects.

I.—Combinations of employers against society, by fixing a uniform value on the products of manual labour, neutralise the tendency which unrestricted competition has to reduce the proletariat to abject dependence. Necessity is not laid on masters to extort a maximum of wages, while combinations of workmen check the sordidity of masters. It is probable that what society might profit by unrestricted competition, it would lose by impoverishment and degradation of its humblest members, who sometimes are the fittest to survive in the struggle for existence.

II.—Obvious moral advantages accrue from the affiliation of workmen for the promotion of legal objects. Self-respect and self-restraint are cultivated, which is shown by the result of a combination of Wenchow barbers. Nor is the establishment of an unalterable scale of wages for numerous articles for sale in

shops, which generally justifies what is often inscribed on signboards—"Only one price,"—a trifling result of combination, saving as it does much mean cheapening on one side of the counter, and brazen mendacity on the other.

III.—We have seen certain trades mutually binding each other under penalties to turn out faultless work; the result is that all the commodities found in shops of those particular wares are always of standard quality and uniform price.

IV.—We have seen also that these institutions are prone to resort to tyrannous proceedings, and are capable of committing atrocious crimes; but where the administrators of the law are honest and intrepid, those evils are measurably restrained—public opinion also exercising wholesome restraints, both as regards workmen and employers.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing survey of Chinese mercantile and industrial life, the most notable feature observable is their capacity for combining, which is one of the chief characteristics of civilised men. To them organisation and combined action is facile because of their inherent reverence for authority and law-abiding instincts. Their docility is not that of a broken-spirited, emasculated people, but results from habits of self-control, and from being left to self-government in local, communal, or municipal matters; and as regards the State, they learn self-reliance. Were a colony of the poorest and least cultured of these people placed by themselves on an island, they would as soon organise themselves into a body politic as men of the same station in life who had been tutored in rational democracy.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

What has been said above relates to a limited portion of the toiling multitude,—to those who are competent to organise for the common protection. It will not be considered wholly irrelevant to the subject under discussion if I add a few paragraphs respecting the masses who form the substratum of the proletariat,—the field-hands, into whose minds the thought of combination never penetrates.

The subject well merits a separate treatise, instead of a page or two, for its elucidation. It has been proposed to the British Parliament to institute inquiries in every civilised country to obtain information respecting wages, for purposes of comparison. The following facts respecting this part of China are consequently in order. But first I must remark that, without a uniform standard of comparison, statistical tables of compensation for labour can be of little practical use; such a labour-gauge I suggest for general adoption.

Let a scale be graduated by years from eighteen upward for indicating the age which a field-labourer must attain when by his own labour he can purchase enough of the soil that he cultivates to afford him a maintenance; and then the number of years farther required to acquire as much additional land as shall support him as a married man. Let it be considered that a short period in which that condition is attainable denotes prosperity, and a protracted period a condition of the State which is adverse to its best interests. Gauged in this manner, it will be found that China occupies no mean position among civilised states.

Six parts of the rice region of Wênchow are owned by non-cultivators, and four parts are tilled by owners of the soil. Tenant farmers pay landlords one half of the rice crop,—one acre yielding over 19 piculs, giving to each about \$21, the owner paying the land-tax, \$1.80—every other expense being paid by the farmer, to whom, however, the intervening crops all belong, which are worth \$15; consequently his share of the product of the farm is \$39. The proprietor, after deducting expenses, receives something less than five per cent. interest on his investment. Coming now to the field-hand whom the farmer hires, we arrive at the substratum of labour. The average wages of an able-bodied young man is \$12 per annum, food, straw shoes, and free shaving. Deducting \$4 for his clothing, he saves \$8 annually—or may do so. Ten years' savings will enable him to buy one-third of an acre of land (value per acre \$150), and necessary implements, by which he can attain by his own labour a subsistence. In twenty years he can become possessor of two-thirds of an acre and one-third of a buffalo, and with six years more saving he may purchase a wife, with

whose assistance he can maintain himself on his own land, in his own hut, and rear children. Thus, in twenty-six years from zero, a Chinese farm-labourer may obtain what to him is a competence. Ascertain now the number of years in which the same result might be accomplished in all lands, and we shall have, approximately, their relative wage rate. This labour-gauge cannot, of course, embrace the important factors of decency and comfort in living, nor the death-rate, which, with other matters, pertain to a full consideration of the subject. The relations between agricultural labourers and between landlord and tenant give rise to no ill-will; all are satisfied by arrangements developed in long bygone ages. Few are so poor as not to be able to become possessors of soil. So minutely is land frequently divided, holdings being as small at times as a sixth of an acre, or less—owned, it may be, by a widow, or a coolie, and let out to the cultivator of adjacent fields for half the yield of rice.

AGRARIANISM.

Having referred to the size of farms, I may be allowed to digress further, and add a few remarks respecting attempts that have been made to prevent the accumulation of land by capitalists. A modern writer cites a passage from the *Analects*, in which Confucius says: "In equal [allotments of land, such as existed in ages not long antecedent to his own] there were no poor,"—a construction which I am told is sustained by certain commentators. That there were in those early days restrictions on the transfer of land which prevented it from being wholly monopolised by the wealthy there is no want of evidence.

"Since the Han and Yang eras, the subject of limited and equal possession of land has been under consideration." On referring to the early Han history, we find the instance to which he probably refers. Ai Ti, B.C. 6, in accordance with the counsels of his ministers, K'ung Kuang and Shi Tan, issued an edict limiting the amount of land to an individual to 50 acres, and allowing three years for the sub-divisions to be effected. After that period, the land of any whose average exceeded that amount was to be escheated, and the offender punished. Land thereon became cheap, but before the period expired those ministers were displaced by Tung Hsien (the Emperor's catamite) and another creature of the same stamp, who reversed the plan of

their predecessors, and that endeavour to prevent monopoly in land was frustrated.

Again an attempt of the same nature was made; this time by the usurper Wang Wang, A.D. 9-22, who, as a part of his policy to restore the customs of the early Chow and preceding dynasties, enacted that the limit of land which an individual might hold to be something less than 17 acres, the excess to be divided among his clan or neighbours, without compensation, and that limited amount of land not to be alienable or to be transmitted to heirs.

Death was the penalty which was affixed to violations of the edict. Three years later the attempt to prevent pauperism and to promote contentment had to be abandoned; offenders against the law had become so numerous that the sanction could not be enforced, and people were again allowed to buy and sell and bequeath land without restrictions as before. Land-laws which were adapted to an early stage of civilisation were not conducive to promote the common weal at the comparatively advanced stage which society had then attained.

An emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, Hsiao Wen Ti, A.D. 471-79, was moved to compassionate the condition of his subjects whom violent and wealthy men had dispossessed of their land, which he proceeded to restore to them, allotting to every man about 7 acres of arable soil, and the same amount to each woman, imposing only certain salutary conditions,—to wit, within three years each allotment should be found to have 1,900 mulberry, 100 jujube, and 60 elm trees, when those portions of the lands which contained trees were to become entirely the property of the cultivator, while the treeless rice-fields were to revert at the cultivator's death to the State, and punishments were inflicted on idle and dissipated cultivators. There seems to have been good grounds for dispossessing landlords of territory on that occasion, and it is likely that for several years uniformity of the acreage of farms was maintained.

I have no work of the Tang period to search for verification of our author's statement that the subject was considered at that era.

Subsequently, however, an account is given in the General History of an endeavour that was made in that direction, which was attended with disastrous results. It was the work of Wang An-shih, an erudite scholar, an accomplished writer, whose poetry is still admired, and who was the originator of the

style of composition which, ~~was~~ ^{was} at the literary examinations; who, moreover, was a man of suave address, of winning manners and persuasive eloquence; upright and benevolent withal, but lacking one endowment—in which, unfortunately for his own fame and the welfare of the State, he vainly supposed himself to possess in an eminent degree—statesmanship; yet he aspired to the premiership. Confiding in the rectitude of his motives, he was opinionated, and would brook no interference. Plenary power was accorded to him by Chi Tsung, A.D. 1068-86, for carrying out his schemes for regenerating political society, the chief of which was to advance government money to farmers at two per cent. interest, with the design of stimulating agriculture and increasing the revenue. The Treasury was emptied for that purpose, but the channel through which the money was to be conveyed to ploughmen absorbed it all on the passage,—that is to say, the officials stole it, which, with other abuses connected with the measure, caused distress to men of means and impoverishment of the people.

Under the next reign a capable and practicable minister came into power, who reversed the revolutionary plans of Wang. From that time to the subversion of the dynasty by the Mongols the country had scant repose.*

Agrarianism was not a part of Wang's plan, but the renationalisation of land still had advocates, one of whom, Chi Shun-tao, premier of Li Tsung, in 1260, an avaricious, unprincipled minister, aimed to enrich the Emperor and himself by despoiling landowners.

It was decreed that all officers who possessed more than 17 acres of land should sell the excess to the Emperor. Six departments in Chékiang and Kiangsu alone yielded about 600,000 acres, which, however, was not all derived from the mandarinates, but officers everywhere compelled private landowners to submit to the spoliation. The measure met with so much resistance that in the next reign the unpopular minister was shelved, and natural laws ceased to suffer legal infringement.

On his succession to the throne in 1736, Chien Lung was memorialised in relation to the renationalisation of land

* Wang's enrolment of all the people as militia was also a failure, but some of its provisions still exist. In the early part of his career this reformer was Magistrate of Ningpo, where a temple to his worship, erected by farmers, is still maintained. For further information, *vide* MAYERS' "Manual," p. 245.

Example: 徐 *Hsü* is called 雙八徐 *Shuang-jên Hsü*, indicating the radical on the left which is colloquially styled the "double man."

4. The shape of the character is described.

Example: 山 *Shan* is called 筆架山 *Pi-chia Shan* or the *Shan* which resembles a pen-rack.

I add here some examples of each of these classes, together with the homophones from which the analysed surnames require to be distinguished. The list is by no means complete and is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

Class.	Surnames.	Homophones.	Popular Names.
1	張 Chang	章	弓長張 Kung-chang Chang.
1	章 "	張	立早章 Li-ts'ao Chang.
1	趙 Chao	肖趙	Tson-hsiao Chao.
1	計 Chi	言十計	Yen-shih Chi.
1	賈 Chia	西貝賈	Hsi-pei Chia.
1	錢 Ch'ien	金戈錢	Chin-kê Ch'ien.
1	朱 Chu	未朱	Wei-p'ieh Chu.
1	諸 "	言者諸	Yen-chê Chu.
1	何 Ho	人可何	Jên-k'ê Ho.
1	胡 Hu	古月胡	Ku-yüeh Hu.
1	謝 Hsieh	言身寸謝	Yen-shên-ts'un Hsieh
1	許 Hsü	言午許	Yen-wu-Hsü. ⁽¹⁾
1	桂 Kuei	木土桂	Mu-tu-tu Kuei.
1	龔 Kung	龍共龔	Lung-kung Kung.
1	李 Li	木子李	Mu-tzu Li.
1	劉 Liu	卯金刀劉	Mao-chin-tao Liu.
1	倪 Ni	人兒倪	Jên-êrh Ni.
1	潘 P'an	番水潘	Fan-shui P'an.
1	申 Shên	言甚謚	Yen-shên Shên.
1	施 Shih	方人也施	Fang-jên-yeh Shih.
1	譚 T'an	言西早譚	Yen-hsi-ts'ao T'an.
1	魏 Wei	委鬼魏	Wei-kuei Wei.
1	武 Wu	止戈武	Chih-kê Wu.
2	陳 Ch'ên	耳東陳	Erh-tung Ch'ên.
2	鄭 Chêng	奠耳鄭	Tien-êrh Chêng.
2	鄧 Chiang	正政	Mei-jên Chiang.
2	周 Chou	江舟	用口周 Yung-k'ou Chou. ⁽²⁾

Remarks :—(1) Has no exact homophone. (2) See also under Class 3.

Class.	Surnames.	Homophones.	Popular Names.
2	全 Ch'üan	泉	Jên-wang Ch'üan.
2	馮 Fêng	豐	Erh-ma Fêng.
2	郭 Kuo	國	Hsiang-êrh Kuo.
2	羅 Lo	一	Ssü-wei Lo. ⁽³⁾
2	呂 Lü	族	Shuang-k'ou Lü.
2	孫 Sun	一	Tzû-sü Sun. ⁽⁴⁾
2	曹 Ts'ao	漕	Ch'ü-jih Ts'ao.
2	鄒 Tsou	聊	Ch'ü êrh Tsou.
2	吳 Wu	吾	K'ou-t'ien Wu.
2	楊 Yang	羊	Ma-yi Yang.
2	余 Yü	俞 虞	Jên-wei Yü
2	俞 "	余 虞	Jên-tsê Yü.
3	程 Ch'êng	成	Ho-mu Ch'êng. ⁽⁵⁾
3	江 Chiang	姜	San-tien-shui Chiang
3	周 Chou	舟	Ch'üan-chi Chou. ⁽⁶⁾
3	周 Ch'ü	吉	Shuang-mu Ch'ü.
3	莊 Chuang	頭	Ts'ao-t'ou Chuang. ⁽⁷⁾
3	花 Hua	頭	Ts'ao-t'ou Hua.
3	黃 Huang	頭	Ts'ao-t'ou Huang.
3	徐 Hsü	雙	Shuang-jên Hsü. ⁽⁸⁾
3	凌 Ling	兩	Liang-tien-shui Ling
3	盧 Lu	點	Hu-t'ou Lu. ⁽⁹⁾
3	王 Wang	虎	San-hua Wang. ⁽¹⁰⁾
3	虞 Yü	畫	Hu-t'ou Yü.
4	成 Ch'êng	虎	Ch'iao-chiao Ch'êng. ⁽¹¹⁾
4	山 Shan	蹠	Pi-chia Shan. ⁽¹²⁾

Remarks:—(3) Has no exact homophone. (4) Has no homophone. (5) The radical 禾 is popularly called 禾木禾. "the ho which resembles the character 木." (6) See also under Class 2. (7) Has no homophone. (8) 雙人 is the popular name of the radical. (9) Has no exact homophone. (10) Has no homophone. (11) 蹠脚 = One foot lifted. (12) 筆架 = Pen-rack.

THE COLLOQUIAL ANALYSIS OF CHINESE SURNAMES. To the four chief methods of distinguishing a surname in the colloquial language as specified by G. M. H. P. I wish to add a fifth, which is the common way of describing an ordinary character when liable not to be caught by the ear owing

to its not being heard with other sounds that may explain it. My surname is *Hsia* 夏, "summer," and when asked for my name, since I am not strong in tones, I usually anticipate all doubt as to the possible relationship with my namesakes 段 and 瑕, by adding *hsia-t'ien Hsia* (夏天). I am told that I might just as well say *ch'un-hsia-ch'iu-tung Hsia*, the "spring-summer, etc. Summer," or *hsia-shang-chou*, the "Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasty Hsia."

夏

THE YUE-TI OR MASSAGETAE. This interesting race of people are referred to by Prof. S. Beal in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April 1884. He says they were the same with the Vrijjis, the people of Vaisali, who were a Scythian race and who are described in the Parinibbana Sutta. One branch of the Yue-ti had gone into India, while another penetrated eastward to Tangut. The centre of the race would be the region of the Massagetae to the east of the Jaxartes. He reverts therefore to the old theory of Rémusat and Klaproth that the Yue-ti were Getae. The objection made by Vivien de St. Martin that several centuries earlier Herodotus spoke of the Massagetae is not valid, because the nation had several branches, and Herodotus when he spoke had in view one of the western branches. Prof. Beal rightly says the old sound of 月 was Get. Their old home was not, he says, in Tangut. They were strangers there and differed in language, manners, and dress from the Chinese and the Turks.

J. EDKINS.

THE EPHTHALITES. These people are mentioned by later Greek writers. They are in Chinese 挹怛 characters which were formerly pronounced *ep tar* (*tat*). Ma-twan-lin says they had their capital on the south of the Olu river 烏濟 river which we must suppose to be the Oxus.* Their customs were the same as those of Tuhara, now called Kunduz, on the upper Oxus. It was in the end of the sixth century that the Ephthalites sent an embassy to China. Beal calls them Turks, but Ma-twan-lin is not sure what race they belonged to. Some think, he says, that they are akin to 車師 Ku-shi and 高車 Ko-ku. If so they must be Turks, for these states were among the Turkish principalities. Another account places them in connection with Kang-ku 康居 in Russian

* Vivien de St. Martin, *Buddhist Pilgrims*, vol ii, p. 283: Vakshab or Vakshu, the Oxus.

Turkestan. In that case they may be Indo-European, and as Ma-twan-lin himself thinks, a branch of the Yue-ti. This Chinese author says in his account of Khoten that to the west from 高昌 Kan-chang the various nations had deep eyes and high noses. He divides the Turkish and Indo-European (deep eyes and high noses) races at Khoten. West of that point the Indo-European race prevails. It embraces, for instance, Persia, India, Badakshan, the Tajiks and some others at present. The Turkish races have conquered the Tajiks, and now in the Russian conquest we see the Indo-European race again asserting its superiority to the Turkish. There seems to be no solid reason why we should not regard both the Yue-ti and the Ephthalites as Indo-European. The Ephthalities were akin to the Sacai 塞, which favours the supposition. It was not till the Hinng-na Turks grew very powerful in the third century B.C. that the Indo-Europeans (the Yue-ti) were driven away to the west. From that time the Turks encroached more and more victoriously on the Indo-European area. Hence a confusion occurs. The races become mixed and it is difficult to distinguish them securely. Ma-twan-lin says the Ephthalites did not speak like the Nu-nu and the Ko-ku 高車, both of Turkish descent. Their language was peculiar, as if in fact it might be Indo-European.

J. EDKINS.

AREAS OF RACES. A thousand years ago, the Indo-European race spread over Russian Turkestan and held a part of Chinese Turkestan. The most of Chinese Turkestan was distinctly Turkish.

Two thousand years ago through the neighbourhood of the Messagetae, a little beyond the north western frontier of China, the eastern extension of the Indo-European race was nearer to China than at present. The Turks have vigorously pressed to the south and south-west, but excepting that the Yue-ti were driven westward and the Turkish provinces made more thoroughly Turkish, the Indo-European area remained the seat of Indo-European languages. The Turkish is an imported language in Russian Turkestan as in Turkey, and the Indo-European languages remain in Turkey (with the Semitic), in Persia, and in Russian Turkestan as the colloquial speech of the subject peoples.

There has been a tendency in ethnological researches in Asia to refer too many races to the Ural Altai stock, and too few to the Indo-European, and the old pronunciation of Chinese characters has been greatly overlooked. Asiatic ethnology requires to be overhauled carefully in all its accepted data with reference to these two things. Girard de Rialle, in his *Mémoire sur l'Asie*

Centrale identifies the 挹怛 Eptar with the Iatii of Pliny and the *Iaraoi* of Ptolemy on the ground of resemblance in sound. The restoration of the lost final *p* in the first syllable and *r* for *t* in the second, reduces his hypothesis to "waste paper" as the Chinese say.

Genghis Khan's conquests led to the displacement of the boundaries of the languages spoken in Tartary. Mongol was and is spoken from the Amur to Hami. Before his time this area was chiefly Turkish. The Turkish soldiers of his armies went westward. The Mongol soldiers occupied eastward lands. The boundary of races is easily moved in countries which are given up to pasture for roving flocks and herds.

The Manchu conquests have not extended the area of Manchu speech. Manchu has given place to Mongol and Chinese and is destined to extinction. The frontier of its area has gone back visibly from lack of population to maintain it. This is because they have not attended to agriculture though possessing countries well adapted to farming.

J. EDKINS.

THE CHINESE FOR THE BAR OF A RIVER. In spite of Dr. Edkins' admiration for the bold imagery of the term 鐵板沙, as used in the *Peking Gazette*, and his dictum that this is a much better expression for "bar" than any heretofore in use, I am afraid we shall have for the present to stick to the humble unimaginative phrase 攔江沙 *Lan-chiang-sha*. 鐵板沙 *T'ieh-pan-sha* may in some future age become by metonymy a good rendering for "bar." Just now it is not a general term meaning "bar," but the proper name of a shoal near Ch'ung-ming Island in the mouth of the Yangtze, and has not yet attained the apotheosis it doubtless deserves.

G. M. H. P.

呢 *Ni* Has any derivation been found for this word, which is obviously non-Chinese in origin when used in the above sense? Williams hazards no suggestion in his Syllabic Dictionary.

The two combinations in which this word is most frequently met on shop-signs, viz., 哆羅呢 *To-lo-ni* and 哈喇呢 *Ka-la-ni* (observe that 哈 is here read *Ka* not *Ha*) stand for broadcloth, which has a certain gloss, and coarser dark-coloured material respectively. It seems from this that we should look to Manchu or Mongol for the origin of 呢, for *toro* in the former (probably

in both) signifies *bright*, and *Kara* means *black* from the Amoor to the Danube.

G. M. H. P.

呢 *Ni*
BROADCLOTH.

Though I am not able to trace the sound *ni* (呢) to its exact foreign source, I venture to offer the following remarks in reply to G. M. H. P.'s Query.

The name *To-lo-ni* [哆囉呢] has been the subject of enquiry eight years ago. Mayers, in his notes on "Cotton in China" [*Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 95] refers it by way of conjecture to an expression *tou-lo* [兜羅] which, he says, "was used as late as the 17th century to designate the cotton fabrics imported at Canton from Malacca, and which is perpetuated at present, it would seem, in the characters 哆囉 *to-lo*, as for instance in *to-lo-ni*, now signifying broad-cloths."* Mayers' conjecture proves a happy one, inasmuch as mediæval Chinese authors hand down the same explanation. The author of the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, speaking of the articles of trade found in Atjeh on the north coast of Sumatra (ch. 4, p. 10) explains the term *tou-lo-mien* [兜羅綿] by the scholion: "a texture also made of down [毛毳]; in length they measure up to 6 or 7 ch'ang; now they are called *to-lo-nien* [哆囉呢];" and Chao Ju-kua, an author of the 13th century, says in the second part of his work under the head of *Chi-pei* [吉貝], i.e., the Cotton Plant: "The Cotton tree [吉貝樹] is a kind of small mulberry; its flower is a kind of *hibiscus* [芙蓉 *fu-jung*]; the flake is rather more than half an inch in length; it is soft like the down of geese, and has several tens of seeds. The southern people collect these soft flakes, remove the seeds by means of iron sticks and rollers, after which they shake the flake with their hands, and will then reel it without trouble. It is woven into cloth of which the most durable and thickest quality is called *tou-lo-mien* [兜羅綿]; the second quality being called *fan-pu* [番布, i.e., foreign cloth], the third, *mu-mien* [木綿], and a still lower quality, *chi-pu* [吉布]. It is sometimes dyed with various colours and illuminated with foreign patterns. It is from five to six ch'ih [=about 6 to 7 feet] broad."

It appears from Ch'ao Ju-kua's work that, during the thirteenth century of our era, a period when oriental trade generally, and with it the trade in piece goods, had assumed large dimensions, the cotton industry based on the cultivation of the *chi-pei*

* Both the expressions *tou-lo* and *to-lo* may be referred to Sanscrit *tūlo*, "cotton," which name has been connected with that of the island of *Tylos*, in the Persian Gulf, one of the best known localities for the cultivation of tree cotton during antiquity.

(吉貝 = Sanscrit *Karpāsa*) plant, from which the texture called *tou-lo-mien*, or *tou-lo-nien*, was made, was practiced in Annam and Cochin China, Borneo, Java, India (especially in countries on the coast of Malabar, Gujerat, and Bengal) and certain parts of the Arab dominions of the time. From all I conclude from a perusal of that author's statements, the Arabs carried the cottons produced in these countries, not only to China, but to all their own colonies, including their settlements in Zanzibar and Berbera. The name *Tou-lo-mien* or its Arab equivalent, as representing the best quality, must have been known in all the oriental ports frequented by Arab ships, and in the face of its being mentioned so frequently in our Sung author, as it is of common occurrence in its later shape *tou-lo-nien* with the Ming authors, we may be permitted to assume that it represented the foremost of foreign piece goods imported into China by sea. Apart from the scholion quoted from the *T'ung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, which simply suggests that at the time both a cotton and a woollen texture was covered by that name, I am not able to show at what time and under what circumstances it came to be applied to woollen goods, and whether there is any connection between the *mien* (綿) of the Sung author, or the *nien* (嚕) of Ming authors, and the modern *ni* (呢), which occurs now in the names of the following woollen textures:

To-lo-ni (哆囉呢) also called *Ta-ni* (大呢) = Broad Cloth, Spanish Stripes;

Hsiao-ni (小呢) = Cassimeres, Flannels;

Fa-lan-ni (啡蘭呢) = Flannel;

Ka-la-ni (哈喇呢) } = Russian Cloth.
or *O-ni* (俄呢) }

Possibly *nien* or *ni*ⁿ (嚕) was similar in sound to *ni* (呢) in some of the southern dialects, through which the name was imported.

In this connection I wish to mention what I consider the probable derivation of the term *pi-ki* (啤噠, or *pi-ki-jung*, 啤噠絨) the Chinese word for "Long Ells." The Canton sound of these two characters is *pat-ki*. I have availed myself of another opportunity to prove, by a large collection of examples contained in Sanscrit, Arabic and other names, the rule by which characters in the *ju-shêng* and with a *t* in the southern dialects are preferred to all others in rendering foreign syllables ending in *r*. This rule would allow us to read *par-ki*, or, since the first character is not aspirated, *bark*i or *bark*, for Cantonese *pat-ki*. This I compare to Arab *baraq*, or Persian *barah* (= *agnus et aries*), from which the names for certain kinds of camlets, as they are and have been in use in numerous countries, are derived, and of

which Dr. Schrader in his late work (*Linguistisch-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Waarenkunde*, vol. i, Jena, 1886, p. 215) mentions Arab *barracân*, Spanish *barragan*, French *barracan*, and others, to which several Slavic words are added as quoted by Miklosich. The German *Barchent*, which is derived from the same root, is a useful example in showing how, in its migration from language to language, the name of a texture may come to mean a cotton stuff in one language, while all the related terms in other languages have preserved the original category of a woollen manufacture. Making allowance for such changes in the meaning, the frequency of which it is hardly necessary to prove to the linguistic student, it may be understood, how the *to-lo-nien*, or cotton cloth, of the thirteenth century may now appear as *to-lo-ni* with the meaning of a woollen texture.

F. HIRTH.

ANALYSIS OF BRICK FROM THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.* A small portion of the brick was chipped off, and after being cleansed from all extraneous matter adhering to the outside was reduced to powder. A small portion only was soluble in acid (Hydrochloric Acid) and its analysis may be represented as follows:—

Dried at 230° Fh. Moisture.

Portion soluble in acid 8.22	{ Carbonate of Iron	4.06
	{ Carbonate of Lime	3.20
	{ Carbonate of Magnesia	0.96
Portion insoluble in acid 91.51.	{ Alumina	7.60
	{ Oxide of Iron	5.85
	{ Lime	2.52
	{ Magnesia	0.99
	{ Silica	74.55

99.73

* By J. S. Brazier, F.C.S., Professor of Chemistry, Aberdeen University.

LITERARY NOTES.

REVIEW.—*Buddha: his life, his doctrine, his order (Gemeinde)* by
Dr. HERMANN OLDENBERG, translated by WM. HOEY, M.A.,
D. Lit., London, 1882.

This book is of great interest for the student of Buddhism. The author writes as one who belongs to the school of Neander. As Professor in the University of Berlin he would naturally imbibe the spirit of that eminent Christian historian. Probably he was a pupil, for he takes pleasure in pointing out analogies between Buddhism and Christianity, and he sympathizes with all earnest minded pioneers in the regions of religious thought to whatever school they may be attached.

Dr. Oldenberg begins with a careful picture of religious thought in India before Buddhism. There was a time of natural worship and sacrifices, with religious hymns, out of this sprang an age of questionings. To what God are these sacrifices made? What is his name? This introduced the study of unity, the special work of philosophy, for there is a philosophy in the later Vedas. The favourite form it took was the teaching of the Atman, the soul, the breath. The breath became the Ego and the Universe, Pantheism was very early reached by Hindoo thinkers, but early Hindooism had the idea of a creator Prajapati and also that of a first principle called Brahma. With them Brahma, the principle, preceded Brahma the God, and this was the form religious philosophy took in India before Buddhism.

Dr. Oldenberg points out that it is necessary to place in the Hindoo development of philosophy a special period in which Brahma figures as a God with a paradise as his residence. This period was before the age of Buddhism and after the Vedic age. When Buddha teaches, the great God Brahma comes from heaven as a disciple to listen to the wisdom of this sage. With this period of Brahma, the God, coincides that of the fully developed metempsychosis of the Hindoos. This is at the base of Buddha's teaching. His doctrine of universal sorrow cannot be stated, but in the language of the popular metempsychosis of the time.

Dr. Oldenberg is also of opinion that Buddhism has borrowed from Brahmanism much of its dogma and much of its spirit. This is true in regard to the universality of sorrow. Buddhism pities the universe and so did Brahmanism. The author points out how in this respect Christianity differs because Christ in

the gospels always pities the individual. Buddhist metaphysics was founded as the incipient metaphysics of the later Vedas when the Hindoos began to ask about the all, the unity breathing ten thousand varying forms, the one being who sustains this universe, and how can I enter into identity with that mysterious unity?

It seems quite plain that if the Atman, the breathing primal element of life, is at the same time Ego and the ultimate principle of the Universe, that the transition to Buddhist teaching from this sort of dogma would not be a difficult one. This is no disparagement to Buddha's originality, nor does it render him less admirable. He was a true man of his race. He was a thinker, but he knew only the teaching of his age and country. He believed that metaphysical knowledge could turn back the high tide of human sorrow. This was a great mistake, but he sincerely believed it and so did many other Hindoos before and after him. His success as founder of his religion was occasioned more by his sympathy than by his logic, but his disciples touched with the tenderness of his heart became adherents to his mistaken philosophy and believed him invincible in the battle field of argument.

There is a fascination in the subject of this book and the author has treated it in a fascinating manner. But there is one thing here to be said specially which is that this book opens up to the Chinese student a curious field of speculation. The factors of early Tanist thought are in several respects the factors of the later Vedic thought. The Atman, being "breath," may be very well contrasted with the Tanist 氣, the pervading breath of the universe and the source from which all things have sprung. It existed before change began in the beginning of the Universe. This is the teaching of Lie-tsi. Lautsi approves the act of the wise in giving peculiar attention to their breath that is to the outgoings of feeling that they may be mild. Chwang-tsi says of Lautsi that "he taught light to have been produced from darkness, actual things were formed from invisible substance. The soul sprang from the underlying principle (*tau*)* of nature." They all use the term creator and this corresponds exactly to the Sanscrit word Prajapati. They employ too the term 帝 for God, never using 上帝. This seems to correspond to the Brahma of the Vedas. The fable in Lie-tsi of the floating islands in the Eastern Ocean borne on the

* The *Tau* of Lau-tsi is the *ti* of the Sung philosophy. In the Brahmana system it is the atman and is not in that system well separated from "breath." Lau-tsi's word for atman is *tau*. Lie-tsi's word is *c'hi*. Lautsi's word for Brahma is 帝. In Chwang-tsi the universal underlying unity is 大一.

back of great sea monsters is intensely Hindoo, but a little more modern looking. Both Lie-tsi and Chwang-tsi believed in an undeveloped metempsychosis like that of the later Vedas. Chwang-tsi says 已化而生又化而死, "a change and we are born; another and we die." You may be by transformation (造化) changed to be the liver of some rat or the foreleg of an insect. Your left arm may become a cock and you will begin to crow the hour in the night. (See Balfour's *Chwang-tsi*, p. 79-80). All this agrees far better with later Vedic philosophy than with Buddhism which scents the idea of a creator and which has the full pledged metempsychosis. So also the paradises of the Devas with Brahma and Indra Shakra. These are completely realized in Buddhism, but in Chwang-tsi and Lie-tsi what we meet with is that mode of talk which fits the Vedic niche better than the Buddhist.

To find therefore the Hindoo system corresponding most closely with the Taoist ancient system we must study the Brahmana philosophy and there we can get it very nearly developed in the same form. There are two points which are different. The Taoists have a Trinity and the legends of the islands of the immortals are too developed and too definite in Lie-tsi to suit this approximation. Here then we look to those contemporaneous influences which are connected with the spread of Babylonian thought in India. It was the Babylonians that gave to India and China a Trinity and set the philosophers of these two countries dreaming about the islands of the immortals in the distant eastern sea. But how were the factors of Hindoo thought in the age when the Brahmanas were written to become known? There were travelling diviners, astrologers and doctors who went from place to place, men like the magician of whom Lie-tsi speaks who professed great powers and gained access to princes by their personal influence.* None of the Asiatic races were without this class. They lived by their knowledge and learned new languages as they travelled. Their

* The South of China was occupied very much by Tibetan, Birmese and East Himalaic races. Travelling diviners and merchants would bring portions of Hindoo thought in dribbles to the Chinese in the Ch'u country and thus the three great Taoist philosophers would receive them. The pre-buddhist philosophy of India slowly spread to the east and at last touched the Chinese area about B. C. 600 or earlier. Chinese philosophers who knew south China would then be in a position to derive suggestions from an Indian source in this way. Thus for instance the Chinese learned to view the character 亥 as containing the numbers 二 two, 六 six, 六 six, 六 six written from left to right and interpreted it (in Legge's *Tso-chwen*) as expressing the number 26,660 days (v. page 556), a piece of arithmetical writing which is almost purely cuneiform. This was in the year B. C. 542 and may be called Babylonian.

implements were such as the paint brush, the counting slips of bamboo, and the magician's wand tipped with hair. Then there were always travelling merchants who brought back information from the countries they visited. Races too were always in movement if their habits were not agricultural. Further the Indian ocean was traversed for two thousand years before Christ by Dhows 舟 from the Straits of Babelmandeb and the Persian Gulf. It was by the influences of these and other kinds that the early Taoists became acquainted with the elements of Hindoo thought which are embedded in the later Vedas.*

JOSEPH EDKINS.

* Whatever comes of Mr. Giles' theory it should be remembered that he represents Lau-tsi as having lived in the sixth century B.C., and that his philosophy has been preserved in fragments by the early Taoist writers. Hence Mr. Giles' view does not disagree with the promulgation of Taoism in the sixth century B.C. by the founder. Nor are we obliged by his theory (supposing he were able to prove it) to regard the doctrines of the Tau-te-king as belonging to the Han dynasty.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROF. LEGGE TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL.

Oxford, 20th October, 1886.

DEAR SIR,—In Nos. 1 and 2 of your Journal of the present year I see that Mr. Giles, in his "Critical Notes on some Translations from the Chinese by Mr. Parker," has taken the opportunity to turn aside and launch a "feeble doubt" (*imbelle telum*) against myself for my "misrendering" of a passage in the Tso-chwan, under the 4th year of duke Hsüan. As I am right in my translation, and Mr. Giles is wrong in his and in his remarks on what he calls my error, I beg to be allowed to offer the following observations on the passage in an early number of your Journal.

The text of Confucius is to this effect:—In summer, in the 6th month, on (the day) Yih-yü, duke (Wän's) son, Kwei-shäng of Chäng, murdered his ruler I (夏. 六月. 乙酉. 鄭公子歸生弑其君夷). To this notice Tso-shih appends a narrative to show how the event was brought about, for which I must refer your readers to the 5th volume of my Chinese Classics, pt. i, p. 296, and then subjoins some critical remarks (of his own apparently) to explain the style of the notice. Those remarks proceed on what I have called in my *Prolegomena*, pp. 5, 6, the "Praise and censure theory," that finds in individual characters (or their omission) the "righteous decisions" which Confucius claimed that he had made in compiling his Ch'un Ch'ü. One of the canons of the theory is, that when the name of a ruler is subjoined to the account of his murder in the notice, there is thereby given a censure of him as having been a bad or worthless ruler (無道, one who did not follow the right way of ruling); and if the name of the slayer is also given, that is a condemnation of him as the perpetrator of a criminal act. The 稱君 in Tso-shih's criticism, as quoted by Mr. Giles, does not mean, as Mr. Giles says, "when the murdered individual is mentioned as prince," it means "when the ruler is named, or mentioned by his name." The point of the criticism lies not in the designation *chün* (君) or ruler, but in the use of the ruler's name in the notice, the concluding character of it I (夷).

Mr. Giles says that I have "cautiously and wisely" inserted a mark of interrogation ("?",) after my translation; but the (?) did not intimate any doubt of the correctness of my translation, but that I questioned the justice of the canon, on his admission of which (if he did not himself originate it) Tso-shih based his critical remark. The praise and censure theory is rejected generally by the best and most recent commentators on the Ch'un Ch'ü. The whole of Tso-shih's own criticism, so far as it bears on the point in dispute, is: "In cases of the murder of a ruler, where he is mentioned by name, it indicates that he was a worthless (or bad) ruler, and the mention of the minister by name indicates his guilt." The name of the minister was Kwei-shäng, as given in the notice, but he is not called "minister" in it, and this is sufficient to determine the question of correctness as between Mr. Giles' translation and my own.

I am tempted to offer a criticism on what Mr. Giles says is "the idea" of the passage; but I do not write to censure him, but to justify myself; and will leave the whole contention to the judgment of those who have really studied the Ch'un Ch'ü and Tso's supplement to it.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES LEGGE.

THE MARQUIS D'H. ST. DENYS TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL.

Paris, le 12 décembre 1886.

MONSIEUR,—J'ai publié l'année dernière trois nouvelles inédites, traduites du chinois, dont la première, *Les alchimistes*, a pour titre en chinois

誇 妙 術 丹 客 提 金

Littéralement: *En vantant leurs admirables recettes, les alchimistes enlèvent l'or.*

De son côté, M. Schlegel a traduit et publié en 1877, une autre nouvelle intitulée

賣 油 郎 獨 占 花 魁

Le vendeur d'huile qui seul possède la Reine de beauté. Or, dans le No. de votre *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, issued at Shanghai, May 1886, à la page 289, on lit la curieuse mention que voici:

Trois nouvelles chinoises traduites pour la première fois, par le Marquis d'Hervey St. Denys, Paris. These are from the 今古奇觀—1°. *Mai-yu-lang-tu-chan-hua-kuei* (賣油郎獨占花魁) already translated by G. Schlegel, Leyden, 1877.

Le rédacteur de vos *Notices of new books and literary notes* suppose donc que 賣油郎 signifie indistinctement en chinois vendeurs d'huile ou alchimistes, de telle sorte que M. Schlegel et moi nous ayons pu donner au public la même nouvelle sous ces deux noms différents ? ? ?

Ajoutons que, pour achever la confusion, on attribue plus loin le titre chinois de ma seconde nouvelle à la troisième, et vice versa.

Permettez moi, Monsieur, de vous exprimer mon grand étonnement de raconter de pareilles notices bibliographiques, sur des ouvrages relatifs à la littérature chinoise, dans le *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, et agréez, je vous prie, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués,

MARQUIS D'HERVEY ST. DENYS,
de l'Institut de France.

In reference to the above letter, the following explanation has been tendered by the writer of the notice referred to:—

SUUM CUIQUE.—Our attention has been drawn by Professor D'Hervey-Saint-Denys to a slight error which we have committed in advertising his new book *Trois nouvelles chinoises* (see *Journal*, Vol. xx, p. 289). To say the truth, we had not at that time seen the book itself, and Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* led us to believe that the Chinese title of the novel entitled *Les alchimistes* was 賣油郎獨占花魁. Finding from Cordier's *Bibliotheca* that it had already been translated by Mr. Schlegel, we mentioned this in our brief notice (see Cordier's *Bibliotheca*, col. 812 and 818). Now it appears that the Chinese title of *Les alchimistes* is 誇妙術丹客提金, and that this novel had never been translated in any language. The blame should rest more on M. Cordier's shoulders than on our own.

M. RONDOT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Paris, le 1^{er} février 1887.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,—J'ai l'honneur de vous prier de présenter en mon nom à la Société le 2^e volume de mon livre sur les Soies.

Une partie de ce volume est consacrée aux vers à soie sauvages, et plusieurs espèces chinoises sont l'objet de chapitres spéciaux.

Je souhaite que les faits que je signale attirent l'attention sur les vers à soie sauvages de la Chine, plus nombreux qu'on ne le pense et très intéressants au point de vue scientifique et au point de vue technique.

Les vers à soie sauvages du mûrier, très abondants en Chine, devraient être recherchés, car il ne paraît pas douteux qu'il y en a plusieurs espèces, et nous n'en connaissons encore que deux.

* * * * *

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée,

NATALIS RONDOT,
Chambre de Commerce, Lyon.

PROCEEDINGS.

Meeting of the 30th November, 1886.

This Meeting was held in the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai; the President (Dr. F. HIRTH) in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of 26th May last having been already published in the Society's "Journal" were taken as read.

The Chairman announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected ordinary members of the Society:—Count A. von Butler and Messrs. W. S. Emens, Ph. Lieder, J. M. Holst, Carl Flothow, Hugo Flothow, W. Ebbs, A. Ellert, H. von Rücker, C. E. Müller, W. Melchers, Th. Meyer, E. Hey, T. Latham, J. F. von Gundlach, E. Byrne, and F. Borchardt.

In introducing Mr. Herbert J. Allen's paper, the Chairman stated that its title—"Is Confucius a Myth?"—was of an essentially sceptical character. In deciding to have the paper inserted in the Society's Proceedings, the Council was chiefly guided by the principle that, whatever its own opinions on any special problem of Chinese literature or history might be, it would be fair to any of our working members to place their opinions on record, leaving it to those who hold a different opinion to reply with counter-arguments. Scepticism was often the best means to produce criticism; and although it did not seem likely that many would embrace the views expressed in the paper, it might be hoped that it would give rise to a discussion tending to strengthen the arguments on one or other side of the question.

Mr. Allen's paper was then read by the Ven. Archdeacon Moule. (*The paper forms Article IX of this volume; see pp. 193-98.*)

A discussion followed, and the substance of the arguments advanced by the several speakers is given below:—

The Rev. Ernst Faber said that he would view the subject from three different standpoints, namely, the historical facts, Chinese literature, and the relation between Confucianism and Buddhism. As regards (1) the *Historical Facts*, Confucius established a School of Philosophy. Many of his pupils became distinguished as officials, others as teachers—with numbers of scholars at their feet. He is acknowledged, even in his own time, as the greatest among all Chinese teachers. The Five Classics of which he is the compiler were not intended to be religious canons, as Holy Scriptures, but text-books for his school of advanced scholars.

They are as such unsurpassed. His grave seems better authenticated than any other grave of antiquity. Around there live his descendants, and their family register is kept in uninterrupted order. His grandson Tzū-ssü gained a great name, even if he were not the author of the "Due Mean." K'ung Fu (Mayers, 322), who died B.C. 210, is another connecting link between the Master's own time and the Han scholars. The honours to his memory began immediately after the sage's death, when Duke Ai of Lu ordered a temple to be built and quarterly worship offered. Imperial worship began during the Han dynasty, and increased gradually to its present magnificence. The persecution directed by Ts'in Shih-hwang against the followers of Confucius and against his text-books proves that both were felt as great powers at the time, about 220 B.C. In reference to (2) *Chinese Literature*, Ssü-ma Ch'ien's history is a good authority, but not the only one. There are a number of works still extant older than his; for example, Tso Ch'uen, Mencius, Suen Tsz, Lü Pu Wei, etc. Most of these ancient works were known to Ssü-ma Ch'ien and used by him. Chang Tzū and other writers of the Taoist school are paradoxical in their sayings and intend to throw ridicule on Confucius. They have to be used with caution. But even they acknowledge Confucius as a great teacher and as the compiler of the Five Classics. The Lun-yü, Analects or Discourses, the first of the Four Books, cannot be a forgery. Its contents belong undoubtedly to the time prior to the great Ts'in revolution. Two different copies of the work were discovered long before K'ung An-kuo's. His old text only decided in favour of one of the two texts already known. Many parallels can be found between the Lun-yü and Tso Ch'uen, Mencius, Li Ki, and other ancient works. No question of criticism about the authenticity or integrity or credibility or right explanation of any ancient Chinese document can affect in the least the historical personality of Confucius. Historical China, from the 6th century B.C. down to our day, rests on the historical Confucius. Concerning (3) *The Relation between Confucianism and Buddhism*, it may be urged that the four prohibitions of Confucianists being somewhat similar to the four Buddhist obstructions is no argument in the face of numberless points of dissimilarity. Two may suffice here. To the Confucianist this world is *summum bonum*, to the Buddhist it is *summum malum*. The highest aim of Confucianists is to ameliorate this world till lasting perfection is attained, whilst the Buddhists aim at its reduction into nothingness. The Buddhist use of the word "*Lun*" to translate "*Sāstra*" proves as little that it is borrowed from Buddhism as our own use of the word "*King*" for "*Bible*" proves that "*King*" has been introduced from the West. The Buddhists have a "Doctrine of the Mean;" so have the Greeks and other nations.

The Confucian Great Learning, however, differs from the Buddhist Mahāyāna as much as a Chinese mandarin differs from a Buddhist monk. The legends about Confucius are avowedly of a later origin (Ts'in dynasty, see Shê-i-chi, Syst. Dig., p. 12, No. 25). They may be from Buddhist or from common Asiatic sources, but are rejected by all earnest Confucianists. Chinese Buddhism does not assign the same year of birth, 551 B.C., to Buddha and Confucius, but to the former the year 1025 B.C. Confucius was named K'iu from the shape of his head, a high, somewhat hill-shaped forehead. The mark of a Buddha is "a coiffure of flesh" (see Dr. Eitel's handbook *Uchnicha*). The very slight modification of the name of Confucius' father by which it is made very like the name of Shâkyamuni's father is as ingenious as every other statement of this remarkable paper.

The Ven. Archdeacon Moule, at the risk of being considered captious or hypercritical, ventured to take exception to the very wording of the subject for discussion. Surely a *person* cannot be called a *myth*. The word *μῦθος* is, he apprehended, applied strictly first of all to any utterance true or false; and secondly, and more popularly, to a legend, or professed work of fiction. Confucius may be the subject of fictitious stories, and the story about Confucius may be a myth, and so he himself be esteemed a "mythical personage," but hardly a myth. The speaker was aware that the word was used in this sense loosely; but if he mistook not, the argument of the paper before them partook somewhat of the loose character worn by its title. One is struck at once by the extreme improbability of the theory that Confucius is a mythical personage. That theory was far more incredible than the story of the harps, lutes, bells, and musical stones which let loose their objurgations and protestations when the walls of Confucius' house were disturbed. That myths and legends cluster round the person and history of the sage may readily be admitted; but that that person itself is the creation of myth—a mere shadowy fancy conjured up by scholars of the Han dynasty—was most improbable. The improbability seemed to be two-fold. (1) It was extremely unlikely that the leading scholars of that date could arrange anything like a consensus for this lie—commanding unquestioning assent at the time and for the future. (2) It was contrary to experience that the creation of fancy should be so sober, and so prosaic, as, for the most part, was the story of the life and works and death of Confucius. There appeared to be some confusion in Mr. Allen's dates, or, rather, confusion in the deductions from those dates. His main thesis was that the scholars of the Han dynasty (dating from B.C. 206 to A.D. 23 for the Former, and from A.D. 25-190 for the Later Han), jealous of the growing power of Buddhism, invented a rival Chinese sage, Confucius. Now if Buddhism

entered China during the first century of the Christian era, *e.g.* about A.D. 75, we are met by the fact, mentioned by Mr. Allen, that Confucius had been canonised as "the illustrious Duke Ni, lord of completed praise," at least seventy years before (A.D. 1); so that a new creation of fancy was impossible if we accepted the later date for the advent of Buddhism. But if we admit, as Mr. Allen assumes to be the case, and as Dr. Eitel asserts to be the case, that Buddhist missionaries peregrinated throughout China as early as B.C. 260, we are met by a fact at least as certain as this fact of the presence of Buddhism, namely, that from B.C. 250 to A.D. 62. Buddhism was a comparative failure in China; that it set itself, but to no great purpose, to oppose Confucianism, already in existence apparently, and allied itself to Taoism and popular superstitions. It was hardly formidable enough, therefore, during the Former Han dynasty to have suggested the necessity for a purely native sage in opposition to Buddha. The few points of resemblance, mentioned by Mr. Allen, as observable between Buddhism and Confucianism, are as nothing compared with its differences. Taoism undoubtedly copied largely from Buddhism, but this hardly necessitates the belief that Lao-tzū is a "myth." Modern ritualistic Taoism may be indeed the result of an endeavour to graft Buddhist doctrine and forms of worship on to the philosophy of the original Taoist creed; but surely it is a shock to history and reason alike to speak of Confucianism as a link intended to combine Buddhism with the more ancient faith of the country. It was unnecessary here to enter on the question which has been raised—and with at least as formidable an array of proofs as Mr. Allen has adduced to prove his theory—as to the mythical character of Buddha himself. But it might be added with reference to Mr. Allen's suggested Confucian copy of Buddhism in the alleged synchronising of the dates of the births of the two sages in B.C. 551, that *Chinese* accounts place the date of Buddha much further back, *viz.*, from B.C. 949-688; whilst the Buddhists of Ceylon have fixed the year B.C. 543 for the birth of Shākyamuni Gaṇtama Buddha.

The Rev. Dr. Williamson said that when he first heard the announcement of the subject then under discussion he thought that the Council had resolved to give them not a field night but a pastime night. And he would not have objected to it, for *dulce est desipere in loco*; although it might have been doubted whether the platform of the Asiatic Society was a fit place to call in question an article of our historic faith so universally and on such strong grounds believed among us. After hearing the paper read his perplexity was increased. He could not make out whether Mr. Allen was in earnest or not. He could not see how a scholar like Mr. Allen, acquainted with the Chinese

language and literature, could seriously write such a paper as this; and if not in earnest, he thought the writer, by analysing names of persons and places, as others had done before him, could have given them a far more amusing paper. However, "the highest art is to conceal art;" and so Mr. Allen has proved himself an adept in this matter. Reverting to the question before them he said (1) that Confucius had a place in the archives of China as a statesman and politician independent altogether of his writings; and (2) that he was the main instrument of creating a period of literary activity in China unsurpassed in the world until recent times. These points had been well enforced by previous speakers, and he would only remark that they might, on more plausible grounds, question the existence of Socrates or even Luther. Both these men marked an era. Political and literary circles for centuries after them rung with discussions for or against their theories; so with Confucius. Take away the personality of Confucius from China, and what can you make of its literature or history? The chief reason for him speaking was to give a testimony of a different character to the others. He had visited the birthplace and the scene of Confucius' labours three times; seen the temple erected on the site of his dwelling-place, the well out of which he drank, etc.; conversed with his lineal representative; and mingled with his numerous descendants, many tens of thousands. But all this might have been the outcome of some gigantic deceit on the part of some cunning man or men. He had also visited the family graveyard, seen the many thousands of graves, and counted them generation after generation, going back through dynasty after dynasty one by one to Confucius himself—almost, if not altogether, a perfect register in mound and marble of that illustrious family; and he had never felt the reality of antiquity so impressively as he stood gazing at that God's acre. All the past generations stood before him as if present—far outstripping the catacombs! This graveyard, however, might have been also some gigantic deception. It is quite within the limits of possibility that a certain number of clever men might have built these graves and graven the earlier of these stones. It cannot therefore, he admitted, be logically proven from this or anything else that Confucius ever lived. Alas! for Logic, showing them there is something higher than logic to which we would do well to give heed.

Mr. I. H. Ting regarded the actual existence of Confucius and the genuineness of the classics as beyond doubt. To have fabricated the narrative of his life would have been a work of considerable difficulty, seeing that there existed no model by which to frame it. Its simplicity alone was a strong recommendation in its favour. By the whole nation, from the Emperor

downwards, was Confucius honoured, and had there been the slightest doubt in the minds of the scholars of the time that the classics were fictitious, jealousy of the honours conferred would eventually have asserted its power and disturbed this singular unanimity. While no record exists to show that the ancients believed Confucius to be a mythical personage, many circumstances serve to prove that from the earliest times he was honoured as a great sage. Mencius in his works mentions Confucius as a sage superior to all others. When we consider that little over a century elapsed between the times of Confucius and Mencius, it may be assumed that Mencius was acquainted with those who had personal knowledge of Confucius. The historian Ssü-ma Ch'ien mentions that he himself went to the kingdom of Lu, visited the temple of Confucius, and saw the chariot used by the sage, as well as other relics. Though we have no positive evidence that "The Great Learning" and "The Doctrine of the Mean" were written by the grandson of Confucius, yet the absence of a rival claim is a distinct presumption in favour of their reputed author.

The Rev. W. Muirhead, being unable to attend the meeting, sent in the following criticism:—The idea of regarding Confucius as a myth, and that mainly on the ground of his worship not being observed till long after his time, and the books called by his name being also an after-production, while they were recovered and interpreted in a very legendary and hypothetical way, seemed at first sight strange and startling. It is true the idea has been reasoned out in the paper before us in a highly specious form, and arguments have been adduced and statements made which in the view of some might render the supposition not an improbable one. We note, in passing, the idea might be made to apply to other things and names whose existence and reality in former days have all along been undoubted, yet in virtue of the large amount of legendary matter on the page of history, and the apparent want of strong, indisputable proof in their behalf, they are regarded in a sceptical light, notwithstanding, it may be, the grave importance attached to them in every point of view. Indeed, the most unquestioned events of ancient and modern times, with the persons who have figured most largely in connexion with them, admit of being called into account, as if they had never occurred or existed, showing that the most extraordinary things can be advanced in support of an idea, that anything, in short, can be said of anything, either intentionally or otherwise, with reason or without reason, either to defend a theorem or to show the absurdity of the defence. We allude, *e.g.*, to the argument of the late Archbishop Whately, who, in opposition to the unbelievers of the evangelical narrative, wrote a pamphlet to demonstrate that no such person as

Napoleon I. ever existed; and we are bold to say that the work forms an admirable illustration of the line taken by the sceptics of the present day, in denial of the facts contained in the narrative referred to. We are inclined to regard the idea before us, as to Confucius being a myth, much in the same light. The ground of the supposition is that the Chinese classics bearing his name, not as their author, but as containing his sayings, did not appear till long after the alleged period of his death, and were discovered in a most problematical way, subsequent to their conflagration by the first Chinese emperor. Their interpretation, too, seems to have been then accomplished in an unsatisfactory and uncertain form, and so it is conceived no reliance can be placed on the books as connected with the sage, or as evincing that he ever lived. In other words, is he not really a myth? Is he not to be looked on as one of those remarkable individuals who have appeared in legendary history, and who, though they have never existed, or if they have existed, have attributed to them sayings and doings with which they had little or no connexion. Our thesis is in direct contradiction to this idea, and we maintain the idea that the circumstances which are said to have occurred after the burning of the classics do not invalidate the idea of the sage's personal existence or the genuineness of his teachings as recorded there. We take our stand at the period in question and admit the destruction of the books by the order of the Chinese emperor, together with the manner, as far as necessary, in which the remaining copies are reported to have been found and interpreted. What then?

1. At that time the books were allowed to have been in existence. It was no new idea that then dawned upon the scholars of that day. The destruction that had taken place was of recent occurrence, and it was a matter of deep and universal regret that it had occurred. If any reliance is to be placed on history at all, this point appears as conspicuous and trustworthy as the conflagration itself, and these scholars were men of erudite and stalwart minds, who felt they had lost a most valued treasure, which had made them in that respect what they, and the nation at large, really were. Whatever change had been brought about in the matter of the written language, or difficulty had intervened in consequence, which will be referred to in the sequel, we have no ground for supposing the fact of the Confucian classics was either called in question, or was an unknown thing, when the time of the *renaissance* came about. It was anticipated. It was longed for. It was hailed as an event of the greatest interest, following one that was universally denounced.

2. The discovery was an occurrence that actually took place, and in no very incredible manner. The most active efforts were put forth for its accomplishment, and in view both of the

recovery of the destruction, and the short-lived character of it, we need not wonder at the success of the means employed. That the books were found in out-of-the-way places is nothing remarkable. We can easily imagine similar cases, and, more, can refer to them as matters of positive history. Most valuable works have been found in most unexpected quarters, even when copies could have been more easily multiplied and more readily got hold of. Persecution has again and again taken place in different parts of the world, and both men and things were supposed to have been stamped out, but after the intervention of long years, centuries indeed, they have been met with and flourished abundantly. We need not go far to illustrate this. And as to the books being found in an unknown character, which few could understand, and which were explained in an unsatisfactory manner, the same remark we have just made fully applies, so far as it may be reasonable to go. The case of the Jews in China may be referred to, who had lost the power of reading Hebrew for seventy years before they came in contact with us, though they had both their sacred books and the remembrance of what they contained. Alike the knowledge of their books as having been in existence, and the memory of their contents on the part of those acquainted with them in early days, help to substantiate the reality of their author and of his teachings as contained in them.

3. The character of the Confucian books, in the matter of history and of moral or political instruction, verifies the claim we now make, and which has been allowed all the ages through. It is alleged in the paper before us that the *rédacteur* of the books is allowed, from the necessity of the case, to have interpolated more or less of the whole, and to have practically written the work *de novo*. We might confidently appeal to the entire aspect of the work in opposition to this idea, and to the facts that then occurred. Every effort was made not to rehabilitate the classics, but to discover them either in writing, or by the memories of aged scholars, and both were made out to be successful, without any contradiction having been tendered against them, except in a few unimportant particulars. The whole character and bearing of the books were out of the line of invention or violent interpolation, and we repeat, the men engaged in the work of redaction or discovery were not inclined to accept anything that came to hand, in *lieu* of what they actually wanted. There could not but be in the constitution of society, in the civilization of the country, in the scholarship of the upper classes, abundant evidence in support of what had been handed down from earlier times, which the temporary destruction that had recently taken place could not annihilate. The gravity of truthfulness characterising the Chinese classica

preclude in our view the idea altogether of the existence and standing of Confucius being merely a myth. Whatever legendary matter has been attached to his birth or any part of his life, it is readily acknowledged to be such by his devoted followers, and stands apart both from the character and teachings of the man.

4. There are various historical parallels which tend to sustain our views of the Confucian classics and the reality of their great subject. Shall we allude to an event detailed in 2 Kings, 22nd chapter? Owing to the troublous times of Manasseh, the King of Israel, the book of the law that had been handed down from the time of Moses, and deposited in the ark, was evidently unknown for 60 or 70 years, and its discovery excited the greatest astonishment. Again, Ezra on his return from Babylon, where the captivity obtained for 70 years, gathered the people together, and read and explained the same book of the law, which was written in a language different from what the hearers had been accustomed to. The Sybilline oracles and numbers of other works might here be referred to as similar in no small degree to the classics of China, and it would only have been a surprise if they had passed through no such strange experience as they actually did, without impairing their claims as the genuine product of their professed authors, or materially involving the corruption of their contents. The history of our own Scriptures might well be adduced in illustration of our view.

5. The intelligence and scholarship bestowed on the redaction or *renaissance* of the Chinese classics may be added in support of their genuineness and authenticity. No less at that time than now can we regard the Chinese as an ignorant and easily befooled class of people, especially in their literary department. Every possible care was taken of the work they had on hand. It was too precious and important in their view to be done slovenly, and the study and attention they have given to the correctness of these classics ever since is only an indication of what was done at a time when it was specially required. The record of their action in the matter, not only by Imperial authority, but as the expression of their intense regard for the work, compelled them to do all they possibly could to secure the veritable thing. That difficulties came in the way is true, and that there were mistakes either in the rendering or the interpretation of the original, as is the case with the present commentary, is not to be wondered at, yet the character of the book as it now stands, and the reputation of the men engaged in the re-forming of the work, amply sustain the idea that, as a whole, it has been handed down to us as it first appeared.

6. There is an utter dissimilarity in the construction of the book to the Buddhist and Taoist literature that has come to us

from early times. The charge has been made that it is indebted in some respect to this source, either in its import or in its authorship. We regard this as without a title of evidence. Allow that the authorised commentator Chu-hi has written much in this line of things, and, it may be, interpolated his views to a certain extent, but this does not apply either to the original text or to the spirit and sentiments of the entire book. There is a complete dissonance between the one and the other in this matter, and the idea hitherto expressed we believe to be true, that these two latter systems are largely indebted to and modified by Confucianism, and not *vice versa*. The course of things in China all these past ages confirms our opinion that this is the case, and whether the scholars of China have been favourable to Buddhism and Taoism or not, there has ever been an acknowledged difference between them and their professed faith, excepting perhaps that all are agreed in the inculcation of virtue.

7. The whole order of things in the State religion of China and its civil institutions, with the character of its people, the history of its literature, the story of its numismatics, etc., will go to sustain our view of the genuineness and veracity of the Chinese classics and the real existence of their ancient sage. These particulars form too large a theme to dwell upon here, but the one conclusion to which they lead in our view is simply this: that there is an unquestionable continuity in the Chinese records as transmitted from the earliest times, and as detailed in the writings which bear the name of Confucius, either in the way of personal composition, or redaction or instruction to his disciples. Nay more, the *renaissance* that took place after the burning of the books by Ts'in Hwang Ti did not seriously interrupt the line of things that previously existed, and that we can account for the name and influence of the Chinese sage by the fact of his having really lived and been honoured and revered by his followers as he actually was. The delay of his worship, the lateness with which he was introduced into the Chinese ritual, and the manner in which this was done, together with the amazing power connected with him all through the Christian era, can easily be accounted for, and there are many parallels to it in Chinese and other histories. In a native point of view he deserves the honour everywhere conferred upon him. There has been none like him in their usual song and universal acclaim. That course of things is passing by, but it will not be by regarding him as a myth, to which teachings of such high excellence are not generally ascribed, but by acknowledging their true value, and making such use of them, even with the name they bear, in the interests of Christianity, and the advancement of science, as shall tend to the enlightenment and well-being of this great nation.

Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, being also unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting, submitted the following remarks:— Napoleon Bonaparte died in 1821; in the same year a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, afterwards to be known as Archbishop Whateley, published a pamphlet in which he proved logically, by reasonings analogous to those employed by critics of the authenticity of the New Testament, that Napoleon had never really existed. If this feat could be successfully achieved relative to an individual just dead and still living in the minds of men, there can be no possible difficulty in disproving the existence of any historical personage, and still less in treating as a myth a pre-historic character whose birth dates back twenty-four centuries. It might well be possible to arrange the traditional facts about Confucius in such a form as to prove, *logically*, that there never was such a sage; the result would be an amusing *jeu d'esprit*, and the more cogent the arguments were, the more amusing, from its cleverness, the jest would be. But Mr. Allen has evidently no intention of being funny; his communication is as grave as could be desired. Being compelled, therefore, to take this paper seriously, I consider the thread of argument used too slender to support the weighty conclusion. It is not enough to hint that the K'ung family may have conceived a gigantic literary fraud for the purpose of glorifying their house: conjectures are not proof; to insinuate that the story told about the recovery of the lost books is improbable: there is nothing impossible in it, save the weird sounds of music, no doubt the invention of a later age; to compare certain recommendations ascribed to Confucius with the commandments of Buddhism and Taoism; for we find them nearly all in the Christian Scriptures, yet no one yet has been bold enough to identify Buddha and Lao-tzū with Christ; and the name of Confucius' father, which is alleged to bear so close a resemblance to Buddha's supposed progenitor, is not quite so like it as Cicero is like Sisera. It is still uncertain whether the Tao-tê Ching is to succumb to the attack of our late President, and Taoists all over the Empire are possibly in a state of unpleasant suspense. But Confucianists may take heart; the founder of their religion, in spite of the present paper, is in no immediate danger of being proved as fabulous as his own Chi-lin.

The Chairman said that though the discussion on the paper had been of a one-sided character, they had been fortunate in hearing the opinions of recognised authorities on the subject, and these would doubtless be read with interest when published in the Society's Proceedings.

With a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. W. Bright, the meeting terminated.

Meeting of the 16th December, 1886.

This Meeting was held in the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, Dr. R. A. JAMIESON (Vice-President) presiding, and about 50 members and friends being present.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that the first business was to confirm the minutes of the meeting of the 30th November, which having already appeared in the newspapers would be taken as read. Since the last meeting four new members had been elected, namely:—Messrs. H. T. Wade, P. E. O'Brien-Batler, T. D. Burrows, and Dr. J. H. Focke. The next business was the reading of a paper by Dr. D. J. Macgowan on "Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions." The Chairman having paid a high tribute to the work which Dr. Macgowan had already done in increasing the acquaintance of Europeans with the literature, history, and customs of the Chinese, said that the writer of the paper had for many years been closely associated with the Chinese, and had made unusually good use of his opportunities. The subject was one which he need hardly say was of the greatest interest to commercial people as well as to officials, to whom all sorts of questions were likely to arise. After remarking that the mercantile community would be better able to judge of the merits of the paper than he, the Chairman said that in all their relations with the Chinese whenever political questions arose they were always confronted with that shadowy body known as the *literati*, while in matters of commerce they were confronted by the less shadowy guilds, which were a great embarrassment to foreign merchants in their efforts to push trade in China.

Dr. Macgowan then read extracts from his paper on "Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions." (*The paper is printed in extenso on pp. 133-192, forming Article VIII of this volume.*)

The Chairman said they had heard Dr. Macgowan's very interesting and exhaustive account of guilds and their administration in China, and now he should be glad if anyone could throw any additional light on the subject.

The Rev. Ernst Faber considered that there was nothing left for argument, as almost everything in the paper was a statement of fact. He strongly recommended Dr. Macgowan's contribution to all writers on Chinese subjects. Methodical investigation is one of the surest means to arrive at the truth in connexion with any subject. Dr. Macgowan's method does not consist in describing impressions and advancing new theories, but in a painstaking collection of facts in all their details from various sources. This is no easy task, as not books nor antiquarian articles, all of which can be bought in shops, are required

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but phenomena of real life. Very few foreigners will succeed in getting reliable and somewhat exhaustive information from the Chinese on subjects which concern their material interest. The guilds which had been described were characteristic of Chinese life. But they do not stand isolated; there are other corporations of a similar nature and, perhaps, of even great importance, *i.e.*, Chinese clans, or Village Communities pure and simple, combinations of clans (or of fragments of clans) into mixed communities, and confederations of villages. The literati, or gentry, of the Chinese lose their shadowy character as elders and headmen of villages. They are naturally the leaders of the people. The guilds, without exception, employ such literati to transact any business with the mandarins; they pay large sums for such services and sometimes even for the honour of a name as patron of the corporation. The literati have, in fact, their share in every important Chinese business. How far, however, the village community, the guild-hall and the public-hall act and react on each other still remains to be explored. The reason why the Chinese succeed so well with their guilds and other associations, when Europeans often fail with theirs, is on account of the peculiar nature of the law in China. Individuals can easily find redress in the courts of law in Europe, but in China this is not the case, the individual not being recognised by law except a community becomes responsible for him. Thus it is, that where the natural community of the clan or village is found not to answer the purpose, Chinamen are forced by circumstances into communities of a more artificial nature. Without external pressure, the Chinese are as inadhensive to one another as other people animated by selfish motives generally are. Lawsuits before mandarins are moreover very expensive. The mandarins, as a rule, understand better how to relieve their clients' pockets than to help them to justice in questions of commercial law and custom. It is a common practice among the people to bring all cases of civil law before their elders or into the public hall. These have a kind of local jurisdiction, allowed by the Government, not consisting only in the power to adjust matters, but also to inflict fines, imprisonment and corporal punishment. Their testimony is, besides, commonly decisive in criminal cases before the mardarin. The decisions arrived at by the headmen of these corporations are, however, not guided by a written law, but by local custom, which differs materially in different parts of China, even in different districts of the same prefecture. This indefiniteness of Chinese custom is a source of much annoyance to the uninitiated foreigner. Some more light should also be thrown upon the nature of Chinese partnership, for we all know how difficult it is to get at the liability of partners when a Chinese company fails. The relation between

employer and workman is another subject of great importance. Apprenticeship, free labour, qualification of artizans, strikes of workmen, all influence the market, as the employer has to refund himself by an increased price on his articles, or become bankrupt. Foreign trade is also greatly influenced by female labour. This is more particularly the case with the cotton trade. Myriads of poor Chinese women have to support themselves and their children by spinning and weaving, the men being accustomed only to care for themselves, if they have not old parents who require regular attendance, but in many cases the daughter-in-law has to maintain them too by her industry. Many useful points have been suggested by Dr. Macgowan's able paper, some of which well deserve a separate and detailed treatment. We should like to see such contributions more frequently brought before the meetings of the Society.

Mr. Kingsmill said he had a serious objection to make, as to one point—that was when Dr. Macgowan got up and apologised for bringing such a paper forward. All would agree that a more interesting paper had not been read before the Society for many years. It was such papers as Dr. Macgowan's that they would like more particularly to have in the Society. Of course they didn't wish to shut out scientific matters, but the present paper was the most practical that had been brought before them for some time. With regard to the absence of a civil code in China, it was the same as in Europe from the 11th to the 15th century, when there was criminal jurisprudence but no civil law. Guilds consequently sprang up, and without them there was no redress for wrongs, and even at the present day in the city of London there were still remains of the necessity which drove sojourners from other countries to form themselves into associations to enable them to live. China was far behind other countries in the matter of civil law, and hence guilds had taken root. They knew what the community had to suffer from the celebrated Swatow Guild. It was of the greatest importance they should know a little more about these guilds than they had hitherto done, living as they did amongst them here.

The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Macgowan for his valuable paper, and referred to the instructive remarks which it had elicited from the other speakers. The vote having been carried by acclamation, a similar compliment was paid to the Chairman on the motion of Mr. Bright (the H. Secretary), and the meeting separated.

