

S. C. Pearson  
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Shanghai

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THE

ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS

IN

CHINA

IN

1891.

---

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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SHANGHAI:

PRINTED AT THE "NORTH-CHINA HERALD" OFFICE.

1892.

## III.

DR. JOHN ON THE DISSEMINATION OF  
ANTI-FOREIGN LITERATURE.

SIR,—Your issue of 29th September contains a letter from me, calling attention to the dissemination in Huangpi of one of the Hunan publications called 鬼教該死, "Death to the Devils' Religion." Our energetic Consul, Mr. Gardner, brought the case at once before the notice of the Viceroy, and the Viceroy sent a deputy to Huangpi to enquire into the matter. A search was made by the Huangpi magistrate, and the state of things was found to be pretty much as I have already described it. The managers of the six pawnshops were taken to the yamên, where they are still kept in custody. The blocks were seized, and one was sent to the Viceroy for his inspection. I am informed to-day that two of the block-cutters have been arrested, and that the third, who has gone to another city, is being searched for. On the 5th inst. I was honoured with a visit from one of the gentry of Huangpi, whose acquaintance I made some months since. He wears a blue button (purchased), and is highly respected by his neighbours. He came to see me on behalf of the managers of the pawnshops, and especially on behalf of the five shops owned by natives of Huangpi. He wanted to show me that these five are comparatively blameless, having got their supply of books from the sixth, which is owned by a native of the Anhui province. He begged that I would write to the Viceroy, and intercede on behalf of his friends. I told him that I had no influence whatever with the Viceroy, and that any interference on my part would be useless. This, however, he seemed slow to believe. I tried to point out to him the wickedness of his friends; but he would have it that they were ignorant of the contents of the book, and actually did not know what they were doing. After some further conversation he handed me a bit of paper, and asked me to read it. I did so, and found it to be a copy of the depositions of the managers of the pawnshops, taken down by the magistrate himself at his office. It is an interesting document, well worth translating. I can only give an extract. The magistrate writes that, having carefully examined the parties concerned, he presents the following reliable statements:—

Huang Sin-cheng deposed:—"I am 76 years old, and a native of Anhui province. I have been assisting at the Heu Seng pawnshop for more than twenty years. Hitherto I have been a peaceable man, contented with my lot, law-abiding, and quite free from disorderly conduct. Formerly there was in the shop an employé, named Feng Teh-tsüen, a native of Yunghien in Hunan. In the 5th month of this year, Feng went home to see his parents. In the beginning of the 6th month he returned, bringing with him copies of this book. He said it was issued by a Benevolent Hall (善堂) in Ch'angsha. I, however, paid no attention to what he said. In the middle of the 7th month, Feng Teh-tsüen was taken ill and died. When searching his baggage, I found in his box a number of blocks, and on further examination discovered them to be the blocks of this book. Besides the blocks, there were found in his box twenty or thirty copies of the book itself. Being spoken of as a good book, I willingly kept these copies, and placed them on the book-stand in my private room. I had no time, however, to read the book. About the end of the 7th month and the beginning of the 8th month, friends from the other pawnshops, at various times, visited me. I certainly did not present them with copies of the book; but they, seeing the books on the book-stand, each took a copy. This is the truth of the matter. I certainly have not been disseminating the book, or giving it away to be read. Neither is it a book cut or printed by me. I pray for mercy."

The managers of the other five shops deposed:—"We are all natives of Huangpi. Hitherto we have been peaceable men and contented with our lot. We have never been guilty of disorderly conduct, or of meddling in other people's matters. About the end of the 7th month of this year and the beginning of the 8th month, we, at various times, called at the Heu Seng pawnshop, where Huang Sin-cheng resides. Whilst sitting there, we saw on his book-stand twenty or thirty copies of a certain book. We asked Huang Sin-cheng what book it was. He told us it was a good book (善書) which the deceased Feng Teh-tsüen had brought with him from Hunan; that they were found in his box after his death; and that for convenience sake he had placed them on the stand. Seeing they were good books, we, at various times, took copies, some two copies and some three copies apiece, and brought them

home to read. It has happened that personal friends, visiting the shops, have themselves taken copies away. But surely there has been no such thing as disseminating the book by us, or giving it away to be read. Let enquiries be made, and the truth will be ascertained. This is a true declaration. We pray for mercy."

Such is the first statement sent by the Huangpi magistrate to the Viceroy. It would appear that the Viceroy is not satisfied with it, for Mr. Gardner has not received an official reply as yet, and I hear to-day that another deputy has been sent down to make further enquiries into the matter. The statement as given above, however, supplies us with three or four important facts: (1) There can be no doubt that this vile production has come from Hunan. Though written in mandarin, the style is such that no ordinary scholar could have composed it. Here we have a genuine production from the hand of an able Hunan scholar. (2) There can be no doubt that this abominable filth is issued by one of the *Benevolent Halls* of Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan, and therefore issued with the *connivance* and *sanction* of the local officials. It is a well-known fact that the book has been sent in boat-loads all over the province of Hunan, and that the boats are allowed to pass the Custom-houses free of all imposts. (3) There can be no doubt that men of influence and position do not think it beneath their dignity to disseminate this foul literature. In point of wealth and respectability the pawn-shops stand first in every Chinese city, and the managers as a rule hold official rank. The managers of the Huangpi shop are all *chüyüen*, that is to say, they are men who have purchased official rank, and, as such, are on terms of intimacy with the magistrate. These men knew perfectly well the character of this production which they are publishing and circulating, and yet they call it a *shan shu* (善書), the name popularly given to all moral and religious books whose professed aim is to exhort the people to virtue. There is nothing in their depositions to show that they saw anything in the book to be ashamed of, but the very reverse. They went about their filthy work joyfully and with a fixed purpose, believing no doubt that they were rendering great service to their country, and covering themselves with glory. (4) It is perfectly clear that not the least dependence can be placed upon official statements in matters relating to anti-foreign publications and demonstrations. What Huang

Sin-cheng says about his ignorance of the book, and the fewness of the copies distributed, is of course false; and the tale about the death of Feng Teh-tsüen is in all probability a fabrication. Not only were the books given away freely in these six pawn-shops; it is a fact that in Huang Sin-cheng's shop block cutters were employed in cutting blocks for a new edition. The whole story is concocted with the view of shielding both Feng and the managers, and yet the magistrate sends it on to the Viceroy as a thoroughly reliable statement of fact. This, however, is no rare thing in China. Greater men than the Huangpi magistrate do not hesitate to turn their hands to this sort of work whenever it answers their purpose. In Huangpi there are seven pawn-shops in all, all of which, with one exception, are actively engaged in disseminating this book. This is the fact. Compare the official statement as given above with the fact, and you will have some idea of the value to be attached to official veracity. I may add that the seventh shop is owned by a Mohammedan, and that this will probably account for his having nothing to do with the distribution of the book.

The author of *Defensio Populi* (that carefully timed and officially inspired production) tells us that the Chinese Christians belong to "the outcasts of Chinese society," and that "the best of the nation" stand aloof. Well, at Huangpi you see a little bevy of China's *élite*, busily engaged in their delectable work. *Ex uno disce omnes*. The missionary needs not regret that his lot is cast among "the outcasts of Chinese society," if the Huangpi magistrate and *chüyüen* are a fair specimen of "the best of the nation."

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 15th October.

IV.

DR. JOHN ON THE HUNAN MANIFESTO.

SIR,—I enclose a translation of a remarkable manifesto by the people of Hunan. It is entitled 齊心拌命, "With one heart we offer up our lives," and *professes* to be an agreement entered into by all Hunan. The document speaks for itself, but I may as well call attention to one or two points of importance.

(1) There is not a line in this document to indicate that the people of Hunan are in a state of rebellion. There can be no doubt as to the intense hatred of the foreigner which inspired its every sentence, but there is not a word in it which does not evince the utmost loyalty to the Great Pure Dynasty.

(2) The document bears no date, but it is doubtless a recent production, and is intended to meet the demands of the present exigency. The Powers are supposed to be bent upon opening Hunan, and the Hunanese assure the Emperor that they are prepared to fight, not only for Hunan, but for the Empire. They are quite confident that they can raise both the men and the money which may be required to attack and utterly destroy the foreign enemy.

(3) The old policy of burning foreign premises is to be given up, because it does not pay. Foreign houses cannot be burnt without risk to the houses of the people. They are valuable property, and ought to be confiscated for the benefit of the revenue! And above all there is something in incendiarism which the Hunan man feels to be somewhat trying to his compassionate heart!! It is satisfactory to know that our property is *now* safe. It is so decreed by the Hunanese.

(4) It would be interesting to know who it is that directs these movements. The order one day is—"Murder and burn." The next day the order is—"Enough. There is to be no more massacre and no more incendiarism." A mob can execute orders; but a mob does not plan and control. How can we get behind the mob and catch the real criminal?

(5) In the Hunan publications, the worship of Jesus is represented as the worship of licentiousness. Our Lord is represented as a hog crucified, and surrounded by male and female worshippers, some on their knees, and some indulging in licentious merriment. The term 天主教, "The Religion of the Lord of Heaven," is generally written 天豬叫, "The Squeak of the Celestial Hog," and the term 洋人, "Ocean Men," (foreigners), is often written 羊人, "Goat Men." Hence the expression pig-goat-devils in the document, applied sometimes to foreigners generally, sometimes to missionaries in particular, and sometimes to the native Christians. Converts are also called sons and grand-sons of the

devils and the pig-goat-devils, that is, of foreigners. With this explanation your readers will have no difficulty in making out the meaning of the terminology employed in this remarkable production.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 20th October.

### 齊心捍命.

AN AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY ALL HUNAN.

I.—Each clan shall investigate its own clan. Should any person, whether a scholar, an agriculturist, an artisan, or a merchant be found who does not sacrifice to the spirit of the most perfect, most holy, ancient teacher Confucius, and to the spirit tablets of his own ancestors, it is certain that he is one who has been bewitched by the spies of the goat (foreign) devils, and has entered the religion of the Hog Jesus. He is to be dragged immediately to the ancestral temple, to be severely dealt with by the clan, and to be compelled to forsake his depraved heresy and return to the right way. Should he dare disobey, the whole clan shall take the entire family of the pig-goat-devil, young and old, male and female, and drive them out of the place. Moreover the names and numbers of them shall be printed, and the list shall be sent all over the surrounding districts, prefectures, and subprefectures, so that everywhere they shall be driven out. They shall not be allowed to live within the borders of Hunan. The names of the pig-goat-devils shall be erased from the family registers.

II.—If in the whole province there shall be one clan that does not act stringently in the management of its affairs, so that from carelessness, or favouritism, or under-handed abetment, even one pig-goat-devil should be reared in it, when the neighbourhood has found it out, then, besides driving out the pig-goat-devil and his family, the clan itself shall be called the pig-goat-devil clan. If anyone has already entered into matrimonial alliance with that clan, he will not be allowed to have any further intercourse with it. Henceforth no one in the neighbourhood shall enter into matrimonial alliance with that clan; agriculturists will not be allowed to till the fields of that clan; artisans will not be allowed to enter that clan's service; traders will not be allowed to exchange goods with

that clan. Should that clan have a small pig-goat-devil, who wishes to enter the civil or military examinations, no undergraduate shall act as his guarantee, and no graduate shall report his name.

III.—In the case of travellers coming to the province as traders, doctors, fortune tellers, &c., it is difficult to secure that among them there may not be pig-goat-devils. They shall therefore be subjected everywhere throughout the province to the most rigorous search. That such persons should not carry about with them the spirit tablets of their ancestors is not to be made a cause of blame. But ought they not, on the 1st and 15th of every month, and on the three festive days of the year, sacrifice to the spirits? Ought they not, on the anniversaries of births and deaths, sacrifice to their ancestors? If it is found that they do not sacrifice on these occasions they are to be suspected. They must be asked if they worship the Hog-form of Jesus or not, if they eat the flesh of Jesus or not. If their reply is evasive and prevaricating, let all unite and drive them out. They are not to be endured.

IV.—It is reported that recently among the officials, both civil and military, there are some who, having blinded their hearts and lost all conscience, have renounced allegiance to the most holy and ancient teacher Confucius and the Emperors of the Great Pure Dynasty, and have submitted themselves to the pig-goat-devil countries, and are now aiding the pig-goat-devil religion, and constraining virtuous people to follow the goats (foreigners), change into devils, and worship the Hog. The sin and guilt of these fellows being full, they will find it difficult to escape the law of the land and the chastisement of heaven. Our whole province having sworn not to follow the goats (foreigners) and become devils, nor worship the Hog, even should any of these fellows come to Hunan, how would they *dare* constrain *us*? How *could* they constrain *us*? We all agree that we will not avail ourselves of any cry for expelling them to create disturbances. Nevertheless it will be absolutely necessary, as cases turn up, to set on foot secret inquiries, so as not to allow ourselves to be deluded by their magical arts or be tempted by promises of gain, and thus destroy the three bands of human society and bring to ruin the five cardinal virtues. If, on clear evidence, it is found that any official is a grandson of the pig-goat-devils, and that in this he is not calumniated, then public action shall be taken with regard to him. A portrait of him shall be painted, and portraits of his ancestors

for three generations shall be painted, as goat-pig-devils. A description of his office, birthplace, name and surname shall be drawn up, and sent to all the high officials of Peking and the provinces, and we will beg them to memorialise the throne, praying His Majesty will decree such a punishment as will root out the plague from Hunan.

V.—Should the pig-goat-devils (foreigners) dare to show any desire to oppress the country, and from any cause create trouble, then the moment the Emperor's command to chastise and exterminate them is received, the clan elders of the entire province will themselves lead their able-bodied men to the call for troops. As to those who shall give up their lives in gratitude to their country, the clans will unitedly provide the money for their burial and funeral rites, and for the support of their parents, widows, and children. Should any clan timidly shrink and refuse to go forward, or should any clan covetously refuse to contribute towards the repose of the ghosts of the loyal ones, then the neighbourhood shall ostracise that clan, and treat it as a pig-goat-devil clan.

VI.—Should the pig-goat-devils dare to show a special desire to contract animosity with our Hunan, and stealthily invade our boundaries, then the larger prefectures and districts shall provide 20,000 men, the medium sized 15,000 men, and the smaller ones 10,000 men. We will unitedly subscribe the troops and the cost of weapons of war; and we will ask the authorities to distribute the troops, and at once proceed to fight the foreigners.

VII.—Whether there be trouble or not, we agree that we will not allow the burning of churches and chapels; because, first, it might lead to the destruction of adjoining native houses, and, secondly, because they ought to be handed over to the authorities, to be sold for the benefit of the revenue. Besides, the burning of houses is in itself a lamentable thing.

(Translated by GRIFFITH JOHN.)

Hankow, 20th October.

V.

DR. JOHN'S DISCOVERY OF ONE OF THE  
ANTI-CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

(I.)

SIR,—A few days since, one of the literary men of this province placed in my hands a letter, of which the enclosed is a translation.

My friend assured me that it is a thoroughly reliable document. If it be so, and I have no reason to doubt it, you will agree with me that it is an exceedingly valuable document. I have been asserting from the beginning that all these publications are composed by men of position; that they are issued by the Benevolent Halls, and countenanced by the officials. Of the truth of all this, I am now sending you the proof. The name Chou Han (周漢) has been well-known to me for nearly two years. One of the most violent placards I possess bears his name. But till now I have had a lurking suspicion that it was a bogus name. The truth is out at last.

My friend Dr. Edkins, in your issue of 17th September, writes thus:—"Your contributor 'F.' represents the editor of the (經世文) *Ching-shih-wen*, as writing certain passages which on examining I find were really written by the anonymous author of *Chung-si-ki-shih*. In fact all the slanders against Christianity are anonymous or written by authors long since dead. The passages ascribed by 'F.' to the editor of the Blue Books, Ko Shih-jui, are really in the older work. This editor is a Shanghai man now living, *who would never write these slanders, or, if he did, could not put his name to them.*"\* It is always a dangerous thing in China to make sweeping statements like these. Chou Han is a scholar, holding high official rank, and one of the best known men in Hunan, and yet he is the author of some of the most vile and inflammatory of the Hunan publications. He is the reputed author of *Death to the Devils' Religion* (鬼教該死). On the cover of that book his name appears as (周孔徒) "Chou a disciple of Confucius." In a day or two I will send you a translation of one of his placards, in which he gives his name in full. In this letter to T'an (譚), the Governor of Hupeh, he lays the entire blame, if it be blame, of the publication and dissemination of this vile literature upon himself and the provincial officials. He has not been doing his work anonymously; neither is he dead. He is on terms of perfect intimacy with the highest officials. This letter to his friend T'an is written in the style in which equals write to each other.

This man is still at large, and his relative T'ang together with T'ang's companions have been, I am told, released long since. I

\* The italics in both clauses are my own.

hear that the pawn-shop men at Huangpi are to be dealt with severely. No doubt they are being squeezed pretty badly, and two or three of the principal offenders will be more or less severely punished. But they were comparatively innocent. Chou Han and his official friends are the real offenders; and yet it is certain that nothing has been done hitherto to bring them to book, and it is not likely that anything will be done.

Chou Han is truly loyal to the Great Pure Dynasty. There is not a line in this letter, nor in any of his publications, to indicate that he is not true to the existing Government. His gratitude to the ancient sages Yau, Shun, Yü, Tang, etc., etc., is simply boundless. He is prepared to sacrifice his life, in excessive gratitude, on behalf of the ancient sages and the present dynasty. Of course no one knows better than Chou himself that his life is perfectly safe, and his comfort well secured. This is only a Chinese way of putting things, which deceives no one, and amuses many.

As I shall be writing soon again on Chou Han and his deeds, I will say no more now. I should like, however, to assure Mr. Drummond that, when I wrote of "cobweb theories," he and his theory were not in my mind at all. Though I do not see things quite in the light in which he sees them, I have read all that he has written on the subject with deep interest.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 22nd October.

CHOU HAN'S LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY T'AN,  
GOVERNOR OF HUPEH.

To King-fu, venerable and respected Sir:

Multiplicity of affairs leaves me but little time for letter writing, and it is a long time since I have written to enquire after your health. I would humbly congratulate you on the ten thousand happinesses which attend your down-sitting and up-rising, and on the abundance of your virtuous deeds and meritorious achievements. With regard to the anti-heresy publications, let me state that they are, all of them, printed and disseminated by myself, in concert with the officials and gentry, both civil and military, who have the management of affairs connected with the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha. Some time ago a relative of mine,

T'angChèh-pih, styled Mung Liang, a native of Siangt'an, was going to Wuchang, and we unitedly entrusted him with a hamperfull of these publications for general distribution. After this a special messenger was sent by T'ang to Siangt'an, to inform us that he was imprisoned on account of what he had been doing, and praying that we would come to his rescue, etc., etc. This is amazing! If indeed it be wrong to attack this depraved heresy, then I am, so far as the matter of fabricating words and creating disturbances is concerned, the chief culprit. In all reason, you ought to report me to the Throne, deprive me of my official rank, and arrest me as a criminal. What has my relative T'ang to do with the matter? And even should you take off his head, and hang it up as a warning to all, how could you by so doing put a stop to the thing itself? My special object in writing now is to beg of you to consult with the Viceroy, and set at liberty my relative T'ang, and every one of his companions, who together with him are unjustly implicated; also to return to them every article of property which may have been forcibly taken away from them. I beg of you also to prepare a joint statement of facts, and to impeach me in a memorial. I will respectfully wait my punishment in the provincial capital. I will certainly not run away. If, however, your Excellencies will treat good and honest people as fish and pork, and put me aside and not examine me, then I will go at once to Peking, and cry at the gate of His Majesty's palace. I swear that I will, with my own body, requite the beneficence of Yau, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, Wu, Cheu Kung, Küng, and Meng, together with the beneficence of His Majesty the Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and all the Ancestors of the Great Pure Dynasty. I shall certainly not allow my relative T'ang and his injured companions to hand down a fragrant name to all coming ages alone. I am anxiously looking for your reply, so as to decide whether to proceed or to stop. It is for this I now write, also wishing you exalted enjoyment.

Your younger brother and fellow countryman, Chou Han, writes with compliments. Chou Han imperially honoured with the second rank, and expectant Taotai in Shensi, a native of Ninghiang, now at his own village recruiting his health.

(Translated by GRIFFITH JOHN.)

Hankow, 22nd October.

(II.)

SIR,—In the *North-China Herald* of June 19th, there is an important communication from your Wuchang correspondent. It reads thus:—"On Friday night five men were arrested with copies in their possession of one of the cartoons, representing a hog on a cross with mandarins worshipping before it. Enquiries from them led to the discovery of a box of these cartoons in a certain cloth shop in Hankow as the source from which they obtained them. The runners were sent across the river and brought back the accused; he gives the name of the original publisher, a man of Taotai rank, not living in Wuchang, who he says has been principally influential in the universal spread of this form of literature."

Ever since the arrest of these five men, we have been anxious to find out who the "man of Taotai rank" could be. On the 18th instant, one of the scholars of Hupeh called on me, and placed in my hands a copy of Chou Han's (周漢) letter to his friend T'an (譚), the Governor of this province. I have already sent you a translation of this letter, with certain notes and comments upon it. In course of conversation my literary friend made the following remarks:—"There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the letter, and it is perfectly certain that Chou Han and his official friends are the real authors of these publications, and consequently the real cause of all the riots which have occurred in this region during the past five or six months. I hear that the owners of the Huangpi pawn-shops are to be severely punished. But they are comparatively innocent, why not deal with Chou Han and the managers of the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha? Why not close the Hall and punish the real culprits, and thus put an effectual end to all this strife? There would be some difficulty, I admit, in dealing with Chou Han, for he is a man of position and influence, a friend of the Hupeh Governor, and intimately acquainted with all the high officials in Hunan; still the Government could deal with him and ought to deal with him."

So spoke my learned friend; and I felt all the time he was speaking, that he had the interest of his own country in view in every word he uttered.

Chou Han's letter to his friend T'an supplies us with the very information which we have been seeking for. It reveals to us the

fact that Chou himself is the "man of Taotai rank, who has been principally influential in the spread of this form of literature," and that T'ang Ch'ên-pih (湯臣弼) and his party are the men who were arrested on the Friday night referred to by your correspondent. Chou Han is a native of Ninghiang (甯鄉) in Hunan, and a bitter hater of foreigners and everything that is foreign. His influence is very great, and he had no difficulty in obtaining the release of his relation T'ang Ch'ên-pih and party. He himself has never been interfered with, though well known to the highest authorities as the principal author, publisher, and disseminator of the anti-foreign publications.

I want to call special attention to the time when those five men were arrested. Chou Han's letter to the Governor bears no date, but the date of the arrest we know. It took place on the night of 12th June, and Chou Han's letter, demanding the release of the party, must have reached the Governor some weeks subsequently. Now the Wuhu riot occurred on 12th May, the Nanking riot on 25th May, the Wusueh riot on 5th June, and the Ichang riot on 2nd September. Compare dates, and you will see at once that all these riots synchronise with the presence of Chou Han's emissaries in the Yangtze valley. Everywhere they found a state of mind ready for their reception, and lots of Hunan men only too glad to join them. But they themselves seem to have been the principal agents in inflaming the popular mind and raising the uproar. Will their temporary arrest account for the lull between the Wusueh and the Ichang riots? It looks very much like it?

In your issue of 22nd instant, there is a translation of a memorial submitted by H.E. the Superintendent of Trade, Liu K'un-yi, and the Governor of Kiangsu, Kang Yi, on the missionary question, in which I find the following statement:—"During the fourth moon of the present year, in consequence of the dissemination of lying rumours, the missionary premises at Wuhu were burnt down, and then followed in close succession the burning and destruction of missionary property at Tanyang, Chinkuai, Wusieh, Yanghu, Kiangyin, and Jukou. Officers were deputed to hold the investigation, and although the facts elicited showed that the rioting was more serious in some places than in others, the leading feature everywhere was the fabrication of baseless rumours by scoundrels lurking in concealment, who incited the populace to riotous proceedings, their object being to take advantage of the

occasion to commit incendiarism and pillage, and so cause a catastrophe of the gravest moment. In the various other districts of the province false rumours were subsequently widely circulated and anonymous placards made their appearance." Thus these two great officials ascribe the riots to the circulation of anonymous placards and the fabrication of baseless rumours; and this is exactly what I have maintained from the beginning. Everywhere Chou Han's placards and pamphlets have been circulated, and everywhere they have produced the same effect.

I have had no difficulty in tracing the cause of these riots to Hunan and the Hunan publications. Up to the 18th instant, however, I had found it impossible to lay my hands upon any one person in Hunan and say—*Thou art the man*. I am able to do so now, and if the evil is to be stopped, this man must be dealt with. The Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha must be closed, and Chou Han, together with the officials who have the management of the Hall, must be degraded. In my next letter I hope to be able to send you a translation of two or three of Chou Han's own publications, in order to give your readers some idea of the mental and moral condition of these who are looked up to in China as the men of light and leading. In the meantime,

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 27th October.

#### DR. JOHN ON THE HUNAN PUBLICATIONS.

##### I.

SIR,—I received a letter yesterday from one of my native friends in Hunan, accompanied by a package of the Hunan publications. The package contained, besides placards, three books, one of which is the famous 鬼教該死, *Death to the Devils' Religion*. All these publications he bought himself at a printer's shop, situated within the Little West Gate of Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan. The name of the shop is Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華).\*

\* My friend writes:—此書出在湖南省城小西門內路邊井鄧懋華刻字店親手所買。



He tells me also that these three books, *at the command of the Prefect of Ch'angsha*, are being preached everywhere, at all the theatres, by *Siu-tsai* graduates, along with the Sacred Edict.\*

On this copy of *Death to the Devils' Religion*, it is stated that the cost of the book is 60,000 cash per 10,000 copies, and that eight men have printed at their own expense and given away in charity 800,000 copies in all, or 100,000 copies each.†

In a letter received to-day from the same friend, he tells me that he has purchased from the same shop, Teng-meu-hwa, more than a hundred of the anti-foreign publications, and that he has entrusted them to a friend to be brought to me.

Some time ago I called attention to the publication and dissemination of these publications at Huangpi. I am glad to be able to say that the Viceroy took that matter up at once. I do not think we shall have any further trouble in that district or any of the surrounding districts on this score. I then called attention to Chou Han, the chief offender, and his relation to these publications. I have not heard that anything has been done in his case. I now call attention to the very firm where these publications are printed and published. Will the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan have the honesty and courage to deal with this firm? If they are truly sincere in their desire to put an end to these troubles, they will not hesitate as to the action which they should take in regard to both Chou Han and Teng-meu-hwa. I have not been seeking these facts. They have come to me from various quarters in the most unexpected manner. I have been sending them to you, not with the view of stirring up strife, but with the hope of doing something towards bringing around a better understanding and a more friendly feeling between the Chinese of all classes and ourselves. The facts are now before H.E. Chang Chih-tung. Will he act?

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 6th November.

\* I will give again his own words:—此三本書長沙府命生員在各處戲台宣講聖諭十六條並講此書。

† Herewith the names:—萬里城, 嚴防內, 官斌, 平亥, 常樂清, 師孔, 黎庶忠, 齊必戰。

## II.

SIR,—In my letter of the 6th instant, I called attention to the shop in the city of Ch'angsha in which the anti-foreign books and placards are printed and published. I also called attention to the fact that on the copy of *Death to the Devils' Religion* just received, it is stated that the cost of the book is 60,000 cash per 10,000 copies, and that eight men have printed at their own expense and given away in charity 800,000 copies in all, or 100,000 copies each. Your contemporary of the 11th instant treats the names as fictitious, and the characters composing them as forming a consecutive sentence. In this your contemporary is substantially correct, and I ought, perhaps, to have pointed this out at the time of writing. But my object was simply to call attention to the wide and free distribution of this infamous publication. I had been told that the book had been sent in boat-loads all over Hunan, and that the distribution was gratuitous. I had, however, no written evidence of the fact till this copy came to hand. Copies of several editions have reached me, but the last is the only one which bears on its cover any printed reference to the matter. Though the names are fictitious, I have every reason for believing that the statement is strictly true. It is not at all incredible that eight men should undertake the gratuitous distribution of 800,000 copies of this book. Of all the anti-foreign publications, this is to-day the most popular in Hunan. It takes the place of *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, published more than twenty years ago. *The Death Blow*, however, was written for the scholars, whilst *Death to the Devils' Religion* is written for the people. Any one who can read at all, can read this book; and we know that it has been read and is being read by millions of ordinary readers in Hunan and elsewhere. There are tens of thousands in Hunan, among the wealthy and influential, who would regard it as a most meritorious act to contribute towards the dissemination of this book.

We can quite understand why the contributors should wish to conceal their real names, and any one acquainted with the Chinese way of putting things would not be surprised to find the pseudonyms so constructed as to convey a covert meaning. Let me give the eight names again, as I find them on the cover of this copy of

鬼教該死 They are given in the following order : 萬里城 ; 嚴防內 ; 官斌 ; 平亥 ; 常樂清 ; 師孔 ; 黎庶忠 ; 齊心戰. Let us bear in mind that 萬里城 (the Great Wall of China) stands in this connection for Hunan ; that 亥 (the 12th of the Twelve Animals of the Duodenary Cycle) means pig, and stands for foreigners ; that 清 (Purity) stands for the Great Pure Dynasty, and we shall have no difficulty in guessing the meanings which these pseudonyms were intended to convey ; "The Great Wall (Hunan) strictly guards the Inner Land ; the officials, both civil and military, will subdue the pigs (foreigners) ; the Great Pure Dynasty shall ever be our delight ; Confucius shall be our teacher ; the masses of the people are loyal ; we with united heart desire to fight."

This translation (substantially the same as that given by your contemporary) hits the meaning, I think. Here you have, first, a list of anonymous subscribers :—Great Wall, 100,000 copies ; Guardian of Inner Land, 100,000 copies ; pig-subduer, 100,000 copies, etc., etc. Here you have, secondly, a declaration of the Hunan feeling, desire, and purpose in regard to the foreigner and foreign intercourse, couched in a little riddle. The riddle is intended to announce the fact (?) that Hunan is ready to fight the foreigner and drive him out. Thus are we assured once more that the Hunanese are enthusiastically loyal to the existing dynasty, and that all their wrath is centred exclusively on the Western barbarian.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 17th November.

### III.

SIR,—A native friend has just called on me with a large bundle of the Hunan publications, which he himself purchased a few weeks since at the Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華) shop in the city of Ch'angsha. Some of the books and placards were wrapped in waste sheets of the Teng-meu-hwa account books. I enclose one of these sheets for your inspection. On the edge you will find the name of the shop, Teng-meu-hwa, and the name of the situation, Low-pien-tsing (路邊井).

Some of the publications are old acquaintances of mine, and among them there are one or two whose names have become familiar to your readers. But some are quite new to me. Among the new ones is a pictorial work, consisting of thirty-two cartoons, and designated 謹遵聖諭辟邪全圖, *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict: A complete Picture Gallery*. My friend tells me that these works are spoken of in Hunan as the productions of a Taotai. The name, however, he could not give me. There can be no doubt that the Taotai is no other than Chou Han, the friend of T'an, the Governor of Hupeh. The title of one of Chou Han's well-known sheet tracts is 謹遵聖諭辟邪, a title identical with that of this pictorial work. It may be taken for granted that this, the most infamous of all the Hunan publications, is a product of this man's brain.

Anything more horribly beastly and disgusting than these painted representations it would be impossible to imagine. Here you have, depicted in brilliant colours, the licentious worship of the Crucified Hog, the extracting of the foetus, the cutting off of the nipples, the gouging of children's eyes, the emasculating of boys, the slaying of the goats (foreigners), the offering in sacrifice to ancestors of the dead Hog (Jesus) and the dead goat (foreigner), etc., etc., etc. I have not seen anything, during my long sojourn in this land, that has made me feel so sick at heart.

The reading of these books, and the sight of these pictures, are enough to cast the most earnest and enthusiastic well-wisher of China into a state of utter despair. We must never forget that they are the productions of men of education, position, and influence, and that their dissemination in Hunan is as well-known to the magistrates as it is to the people. My friend tells me that all the walls of Ch'angsha, the very capital of Hunan, are covered with these cartoons. They are taken sheet by sheet, and posted everywhere. The Emperor's Edict is there ; and the joint Proclamation of the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan is there. And yet, side by side with these Imperial and Viceregal documents, you have these unutterably vile placards. Everyone, from the Governor down to the street coolie, knows it, and, with the exception of the few Christians who may be living at Ch'angsha, everyone rejoices in it. It is this that clothes these anti-foreign

publications with so much significance to my mind. I may call further attention to this pictorial work next week. In the meantime,

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 21st November.

IV.

SIR,—In a letter just received from one of my native friends in Hunan there is one item of interesting news. My friend writes: "I feel sure that you have received my former letter, and that you have communicated the facts to the Viceroy Chang; for a despatch from the Viceroy has reached Hunan, and the Governor of Hunan has ordered the district magistrate to quickly seize, and bring to trial, the heads of the three printing establishments, Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華), Tseng-yeu-wen (曾郁文), and Ch'en-tsü-teh (陳聚德). The management of this affair (the publication and dissemination of the anti-foreign literature) is undertaken by Chou Ta-jeu (周大人), who formerly held the official rank of Taotai. This man says that he has spent more than Tls. 20,000 on the publication and dissemination of anti-foreign books, sheet-tracts, and cartoons. At present he is at the district magistrate's office defending the cause of these three printing establishments, and bearing all the expenses connected with their trial. He says that he alone is responsible, and that the affair has nothing to do with any one else."

Such is the interesting bit of news which has just reached me. Though my friend is wrong in supposing that there has been a direct communication between the Viceroy and myself, there can be no doubt that it is the discovery of Teng-meu-hwa's guilt, made by me some weeks since, that has led to the arrest of the heads of these *three* printing establishments. The names of the other two have not been unknown to me; but, the proof of their guilt being not sufficient, I thought it best not to mention them at all. It is evident, however, that their true character has been known to the local officials all along; and it is to be regretted that it was necessary that a *foreigner* should call public attention to the existence of this source of danger in Ch'angsha, ere the officials could be induced to take the least notice of it.

Personally I am thankful for the action which H.E. Chang Chih-tung has already taken in regard to these printing establishments. But is H.E. prepared to deal with Chou Ta-jeu, who is of course no other than Chou Han? Your readers have not forgotten Chou Han's letter to his friend T'an, the Governor of Hupeh—how he tells the Governor that all the anti-heresy publications are printed and disseminated by himself, in concert with the officials and gentry, both civil and military, who have the management of affairs connected with the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha—how he declares that his relative T'ang Ch'en-pih had been entrusted by himself and the managers of the Benevolent Hall with a quantity of these publications for general distribution in Hupeh—how he boasts of the fact that he is the chief culprit, defies both the Viceroy and the Governor, and demands the immediate release of his relative and all his companions.

On that occasion Chou Han did not interfere in vain. His relation was released, and, ever since, he himself has been carrying on his anti-foreign crusade with as much energy as ever. The Hunan manifesto is, no doubt, a production of his brain and pen, and so is the pictorial work to which I called attention in my letter of the 21st ult. He is now interfering on behalf of these three printing establishments, and it remains to be seen with what success. But the arrest and punishment of these three establishments is a matter of very secondary importance. The real offenders are Chou Han and his official companions, and the putting down of this evil will depend wholly and entirely on the action that will be taken in regard to them. In one of his placards Chou Han writes:—"My neighbour T'suei Wu-tze, when compiling the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, concealed his real name, and called himself 'The man most distressed in heart.' This he did in order to shun the point of the devil's spear. Not so Han." And he then gives his own name in full, together with the name of his native city. Whether he is a truly brave man, or whether he is merely presuming on his position and influence, I cannot say. In any case his name is well-known to the higher officials as the inspirer and leader of this anti-foreign movement in Hunan. If H.E. Chang is sincerely desirous of bringing this strife to a satisfactory close, he will deal at once with this man and his official associates of the Benevolent Hall. Let him secure their degradation and banishment, and the anti-foreign agitation in

Hunan will die a natural death, the missionaries will find travelling in Hunan as pleasant as they do now in Hupeh, and the Viceroy himself will have less difficulty in governing the province on the lines of his own choice. Those who are at the head of the anti-foreign movement in Hunan are the sworn enemies of all progress, and are bent on opposing the introduction of every innovation, however beneficial to the country. It is not in the interest of the foreigners only that I suggest the punishment of these men, but in the interest of the people of Hunan also. Besides, to punish the printers of these publications whilst their authors and real disseminators are allowed to go scot-free, would be atrocious. I greatly fear, however, that this is the very thing that is going to be done. But can the Viceroy bring Chou Han and his associates to book? Perhaps not, unless pressure is brought to bear upon him from Peking. It is for the representatives of the Foreign Powers in Peking to bring pressure to bear on the Central Government, and thus make it possible for the Viceroy to deal with the case.

"Let them alone and the whole thing will die down of itself." So writes a friend from Shanghai. But my friend has never been to Hunan, and knows nothing about the Hunanese at home. The policy of the past has been the policy of letting them alone, and the result has been what we have seen this year. In the interest of China, as well as in our own interest, I hope and pray that our Ministers in Peking will not let them alone, till Hunan shall cease to be the fount of the poisonous literature which has done so much mischief of late.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 8th December.

V.

SIR,—In my letter of the 8th instant, I stated that I had just received a letter from one of my native friends in Hunan, informing me that H.E. Chang, the Viceroy of Hukuang, had sent a despatch to the Governor of Hunan ordering the apprehension and punishment of the three printers, Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華), Tseng-yeu-wen (曾郁文), and Ch'en-tsü-teh (陳聚德), and that Chou Han (周漢), was in the city defending the cause of these

three printing establishments, and taking upon himself the entire responsibility in connection with the publication and dissemination of the Hunan anti-foreign literature.

Another letter has come to hand to-day from the same friend, giving me a little more information in regard to these matters. There can be no doubt as to the perfect truthfulness of my friend's statements. I know the man well, and have every confidence in his veracity. He writes:—"I presume that my former letter has come to hand. The reviling storm has subsided; the heads of the three firms, concerning whom I wrote you in my last, have got their neighbours to secure them and obtain their release. Their sureties declare that there are no blocks of the reviling publications to be found in their possession. I have been making enquiries secretly into the matter, and I find that all the blocks have been handed over to Chou *Ta-jen*. Chou's official designation is T'ieh Chung (鐵忠). He was formerly an expectant Taotai in Shensi. His temporary residence (公館) in the city of Ch'angsha is in the Tungmau lane (東茅巷). He is on the most intimate terms with all the officials, and heretofore has been protected and patronised by all the Provincial Governors. His fame is widely spread in every direction. But he greatly hates Li Hung-chang, and H.E. Chang, the Hukuang Viceroy, on account of the constant intercommunication they are having with Foreign Governments." From these two letters, it would appear that the heads of these three firms were arrested; that they were released soon after the arrest; and that they owe their release to the interference of Chou Han.

This is the second time Chou Han has triumphed. He has proved himself more than a match for the Governor of Hupeh, the Governor of Hunan, and the Governor-General of both Hupeh and Hunan. He himself has never been touched, and no one dares touch him. The blocks of the anti-foreign publications are still in his possession; and the Governor of Hunan is doubtless perfectly aware of the fact. There is a lull just now; but if this man is not dealt with, it will not last long. The evil is now fully exposed, and it does not look quite so formidable as it did at one time. There was a time when it was thought that all Hunan was up in arms against us; and it certainly did appear to be so. It looks now, however, as if the Hunan opposition has its sole origin

in Ch'angsha, the capital, and that it finds its heart and brain in Chou Han, and the Ch'angsha Benevolent Hall coterie, consisting chiefly of civil and military officials both expectant and non-expectant. The head of Hunan is Ch'angsha, and the head of Ch'angsha, so far as the anti-foreign crusade is concerned, is Chou Han, and the official clique by which he is surrounded. This simplifies matters considerably. Now that one at least of the great causes of the recent riots is laid bare, let us hope that something radical will be done to put an end to it. This Ch'angsha power to do mischief must be broken, ere peace and confidence can possibly be restored. The blocks are still intact, and in the safe custody of our arch-enemy. If nothing is done soon, the present lull will be broken up, another stream of filth will pour itself into this valley from Ch'angsha, and the bitter experiences of this year will be repeated in the next.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 28th December.

VI.

SIR,—The following is a translation of one of Chou Han's sheet tracts. It is interesting as throwing some light upon the position and character of the leader in the present anti-foreign agitation. As to T'suei Wu-tsze (崔五子), my impression is that it is a pseudonym. There can be no doubt that the author of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is or was a Hunan man, for Chou speaks of him as a neighbour of his. An effort has been made to trace the authorship to P'êng, the late famous Admiral of the Yangtze Kiang. Whether he was the author or not, there can be no doubt as to the general opinion in regard to the matter. Notwithstanding the extreme foulness of the production, the natives do not hesitate to ascribe the work to P'êng. The light recently thrown upon Chou Han and the official coterie of which he is the head, reveals a mental and moral condition among the higher classes in China which has startled not a few among us. Chou Han is a man of high official rank, a good scholar, and highly respected throughout all Hunan. And yet this man is the author and disseminator of the filthiest literature, in the shape of books, pamphlets, and pictures, that has ever disgraced even the Chinese language.

I would call attention to the fact that the anti-Christian writers find a very convenient and powerful weapon in the Sacred Edict (*Shêng-yü*). In the Hunan publications, this famous work is frequently referred to in justification of the anti-foreign agitation. The very title page of the pictorial work to which I have already called your attention, and whose author is probably no other than Chou Han, tells us exactly in what light the author regards his attack on the foreigner and the foreign religion. The title of the pictorial work is the same as that of this sheet tract, and the author's adoption of it shows that he looks upon himself as simply acting in compliance with the Imperial commands, as given in the Sacred Edict. Has the time not come when the Chinese Government should be asked by the Foreign Powers to expunge from the *Shêng-yü* its every hostile reference to Christianity, and bring it into harmony with the Imperial Edict issued this year? If Christianity is allowed to appear as a proscribed religion in the *Shêng-yü*, the recent Imperial Edict will soon become a dead letter so far as the people are concerned.

Chou Han's sheet tract, of which the following is a translation, is entitled, *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict*. It reads as follows:—"My neighbour T'suei Wu-tsze, when compiling the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, concealed his real name and called himself 'The man most distressed in heart.' This he did in order to avoid the point of the devil's spear. Not so Han! The Roman Catholic sect (literally the Heaven-doomed depraved-sect) have fabricated the name of the depraved devil Jesus, and, violating the sacred rites and breaking through the bounds of propriety, honour and worship him as the equal of Heaven. They have fabricated monstrous books, in which they vilify heaven, earth, and the three lights (sun, moon, and stars), saying that they are mere utensils and things, created by the depraved devil Jesus. They vilify the deceased parents and ancestors of men, saying that when they leave the world, they are nothing better than broken discarded utensils and things. All the sages and gods of China are insulted and reviled by them. They have the impudence to disseminate these books in every direction, deluding the simple among the people, and committing lewdness with men's wives and daughters. Their sins have reached Heaven. Both gods and men are incensed. If we do not beat the drum and attack them, how can this depraved sect and those monstrous

books be exterminated? Most hateful of all are those fellows (friendly officials) who follow the depraved devils (foreigners), and assist the devils in oppressing the people. As they seek to be at enmity with me, I swear that I will fight them to the death. I now write a distich for my funeral scroll, to be printed and handed down to all future generations. The distich reads thus: 'I, having suffered death in following the instructions of the gods, expounding the Sacred Edict, and exposing depraved religions, come boldly into the presence of all the Emperors of the Great Pure Dynasty, and the Spirits of all the Sages, Immortals, and Buddhas, and, bowing my head to the ground, style myself Chen T'ieh Han (眞鐵漢), (A Genuine Man of Iron, and may be translated, 'Han the Ironside'). But should I allow myself to be cast down by reason of unexpected calamity, or deluded by empty talk, or frightened by the bark of mad dogs (foreigners), and thus be led to abandon my principles, then shall I at my death bequeath to posterity the bad reputation of a disloyal subject, of an unfilial son, and of a foolish, cruel, cowardly fellow, utterly unworthy of being counted among the men of the Great Pure Dynasty.'

"Issued for general circulation on the 1st day of the 16th year of Kuang Hsü (January 21st, 1890) by Chou Han, styled Chen T'ieh (眞錫), a native of Hunan, Ninghiang (甯鄉) district."

Such is the tract, and such is the epitaph which this hero has prepared for his burial.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 29th December.

VII.

SIR,—It may interest some of your readers to know that I have had the pleasure of meeting a Ch'angsha man who is intimately acquainted with the famous Chou Han. Yesterday being the first of January, many of the converts called on me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations. One of those who called is a Hunan man, and he brought with him five or six of his heathen friends. As soon as I found that one of them was from Ch'angsha, I asked him if he knew Chou Han. He replied that he knew

Chou Han well, having been at one time his cook. I asked him about Chou Han's age and character. He told me that he must be between forty and fifty, and that he bore a good name as a lover of the people. My visitor seemed surprised to find that I felt any interest in Chou Han, and asked me if I knew him. I told him that I did not know him, but that I knew a great deal about him, and then showed him two or three of Chou Han's placards, and called his attention to the various names by which he delights to call himself, such as T'ieh-chung (鐵忠), T'ieh-chen (鐵眞), Chen-t'ieh (眞鐵), and Chou So-ying (周所膺). My visitor recognized them all as familiar names, and said: "Yes, that is the man." Then I showed him a placard issued by Chou Han at the beginning of this (Chinese) year, wherein he states that he was at the time just fifty years of age. My visitor remarked that he had not seen him for some years, but he thought fifty would be about the right mark.

This day last year Chou Han was busy at work, concerting plans for the destruction of the foreigners residing in this valley. His name was unknown to us then. Eight months ago, his emissaries were in this valley actively engaged in carrying out his nefarious schemes. We were told at the time that an official of Taotai rank was connected with the publication and dissemination of the anti-foreign books and placards. But we were not sure of his name, and knew nothing of his whereabouts, and of the actual part he was taking in the movement. In October his letter to the Governor of Hupeh was discovered, and ever since the whole man has been coming more and more into the light, Chou Han is no more a myth to us. Even his *quondam* cook is known to us. This is a discovery I never expected to make; but having made it I am beginning to wonder what will happen next. The thought has struck me that I may have the pleasure of seeing Chou Han himself walking into my study one of these days.

I may add that my visitor was, till yesterday morning, a perfect stranger to me, and that he had not the faintest notion that even the name of Chou Han was known to me.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 2nd January, 1892.

## DR. JOHN ON THE SACRED EDICT AND THE HUNAN PUBLICATIONS.

SIR,—In my letter of 29th December, I called attention to the fact that the anti-Christian writers find a very powerful weapon in the Sacred Edict (*Shêng-yü*), and suggested that the Foreign Powers in their attempt to suppress the cause of the recent riots should take special notice of this important fact. In the *Picture Gallery* just published at Hankow, there are two notes bearing on this subject which I should like to see reproduced in your columns. The *Gallery* is entitled *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict*. On this title we have the following note:—

“*The Sacred Edict*, so called because written by two of the canonised Emperors of the present dynasty, is a kind of paternal address from the Throne to the people, and is held in the greatest reverence by the Chinese. In 1670, the Emperor Kang Hsi published a hortatory edict in sixteen sections of seven words each. His son Yung Chêng published, in 1724, an amplification of these edicts, being sixteen lectures on the sixteen texts of his father. These lectures with the themes on which they were written constitute what is called *The Sacred Edict*. One of these chapters, or lectures, is made use of as an introduction to the book *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* with the view of giving it the highest possible sanction. Artful allusions are made to it in different parts of this book, with the design of convincing the reader that to drive out foreigners and their religion, would be but carrying out the views of the most renowned Emperors of Chinese history.” See *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, page 1. Translated from the Chinese at Têng-chow, and published at Shanghai in 1870.

“Among all the numerous writings,” says Williams in his *Middle Kingdom*, “published for the improvement and instruction of the people by their rulers, none has been so celebrated as the *Shêng-yü*, or Sacred Commands. In order that none should plead ignorance for not knowing the sacred commands, it is by law required that they be proclaimed throughout the empire, by the local officers, on the first and fifteenth day of every month, in a public hall set apart for the purpose, when the people are not only permitted, but requested, and encouraged, to attend.”

The chapter made use of as an introduction to the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is the seventh, and has for its theme:—  
“Suppress strange religions for the purpose of exalting orthodox

doctrine.” In this chapter, Christianity is classed among the strange religions which are not to be followed by the Chinese people. The following extract from this chapter will give the reader some idea of its bearing on the anti-Christian literature which has been flooding the country of late. The extract is taken almost verbatim from the translation given by the translators of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*. It reads thus:—

“With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teaching of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines, which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers who under the pretence of teaching these systems (Buddhism and Taoism) bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and what is unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved, and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations, and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such are the *Peh-lien*, the *Wen-hiang*, and similar religions. They should be a beacon of warning to you. *Such also is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of Heaven, T'ien Chu. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers were well versed in mathematics, our Government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorised doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them; for false and corrupt teachers our Government has fixed punishments.*”

The above extract will suffice to show what a powerful weapon the anti-Christian agitation finds in the *Shêng-yü*. In the Hunan publications, it is frequently referred to in justification of the anti-Christian movement. The very title page of this pictorial work

tells us in what light the author regards his attack on the foreigner and the foreign religion. He looks upon himself as simply acting in compliance with the Imperial Commands, as given in *The Sacred Edict*. Has the time not come when the Chinese Government should be asked by the Foreign Powers to expunge from the *Shêng-yü* its every hostile reference to Christianity, and to bring it into harmony with the Imperial Edict issued this year? If Christianity is allowed to continue to appear as a proscribed religion in the *Shêng-yü*, the present Imperial Edict will soon become a dead letter, so far as the people are concerned.

The second note is to be found on Cartoon XV, entitled *Hasten on the fattening of the Pigs*, and might be entitled, *Celebrate Marriages with the Slaughter of the Pigs*. The note reads thus:—"Cartoons XV-XX are of a piece, and intended to heap contempt on the foreigner and foreign religion. They are intended also as a prophecy of the fate which awaits both. The following extracts from one of the Hunan publications, called *K'ing T'ien Chu* 擎天柱, (A Pillar which bears the Sky), will help the reader in understanding these Cartoons. *K'ing T'ien Chu* contains a petition presented to the Foreign Office at Peking, by a number of the Hunan scholars, and a letter from the Governor of Hunan to the then Viceroy of Chihli. Whether the Governor's letter is genuine or not, the writer of this note cannot say: but there can be no doubt as to *K'ing T'ien Chu* being one of the best known publications in Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan. It is also one of the three anti-Christian books which the *Siu-ts'ai* graduates are preaching at the theatres in Ch'angsha, along with the *Sacred Edict*. Being circulated with the full knowledge of the Hunan officials, we are justified in taking it as genuine. Having acknowledged the receipt of a despatch from the Chihli Viceroy, communicating the orders of the Foreign Office, to the effect that the publication and circulation of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* should be suppressed, the Governor proceeds to state that the book in question is to be found in every family, and in all the monasteries and temples, throughout the entire province of Hunan. "There is not," he states, "a city, not a village, not a book shop, not a printing shop, in which the book is not to be found. The destruction of it is impossible. Besides, it has for its first chapter the seventh section of the Emperor's Sacred Instructions (*Shêng-yü*). Who among the officials of the Great

Pure Dynasty would dare burn it? Who could have the moral hardihood to burn it? When I first bought the book, just as I was beginning to read I saw that the treatise was headed with the words *Sacred Instructions* (*Shêng-yü*). I thereupon burnt incense, knelt down, and began to chant. Then I got up, sat down, and read. Having turned the leaves over and over again, and carefully examined it, I saw that its noble words and perfect reasoning were simply an expansion of the *Sacred Instructions*. It commanded my most profound respect. As soon as my official duties were over, I knelt down and chanted the *Sacred Instructions*, and then I got up, sat down, and read the book. I dared not treat it with the least disrespect." The Governor further proceeds to state that orders for the destruction of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* must have been caused by ignorance of its true nature on the part of both the Chihli Viceroy and the Foreign Office. Speaking of himself, however, he states:—"As for me, having bought and read this book, and knowing perfectly that it is a *helpful commentary on the Sacred Instructions*, were I immediately, on the receipt of your despatch, to order the officials under my jurisdiction to act according to your orders, then, what sort of a man would the officials and the people under my charge take me to be? And what sort of man would I take myself to be? To gladden the hearts of the barbarians, by feeding the flames of depraved doctrines, destroying the *Sacred Instructions*, injuring the dignity of the Empire, opposing propriety and throwing into confusion the five cardinal virtues, corrupting public morals and injuring good manners, and thus sin against the renowned doctrine (of Confucius), and hand down a stinking reputation to all future ages—this is certainly what I dare not do and cannot do, though it should cost me my life. Moreover, there are printed and circulated in Hunan, several hundred different kinds of anti-Christian books, ballads, and cartoons. The *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is not the only book. Married women, maidens, and little children three years old, all hate the Hog Jesus. When they call the pigs, they use the words *Je-su* (Jesus); eating pork they call eating the flesh of Jesus; in transacting business at the butcher shops, they all use the expressions 'selling Jesus,' 'buying Jesus.' This is attacking the depraved religion to the utmost. Though the books and the blocks of this one work should be burned, how could the depraved religion of the Celestial Hog enter Hunan?"



Some quotations have been given already from the infamous *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*. One more may be given in order to show the kind of article this is in which the Governor found so much to his taste. . . . Such is the book over which the Governor gloats, and before which he felt he must fall on his knees and burn incense. His statement regarding the attitude of the Hunan *people* with respect to Christianity, is as wide of the truth as his description of the book. It simply suited him so to represent the matter.

The passage from the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* which I have omitted is altogether too filthy for your columns. Any one who wishes to know what it is, may consult the Têng-chow translation of that vile production, or the notes in the *Picture Gallery*. My one aim in now calling attention to these two notes is to point out the important relation between the Sacred Edict and the Hunan publications. I am not speaking against the Sacred Edict as a whole, or even the seventh chapter as a whole. All I wish to call attention to is the one passage in the seventh chapter, which treats of the Christian religion. There may be a difference of opinion as to the *exact* translation of that passage; but there can be no doubt as to its main scope and intention. Neither can there be any doubt as to the meaning which the Chinese themselves attach to it. In that well-known passage, Christianity appears as a proscribed religion, and the anti-Christian writers feel perfectly justified in using it as such. It is some months since I called attention to the poison in the *Blue Books* which ought to be suppressed. I now, with equal earnestness and more earnestness, call attention to the poison in the famous *Shêng-yü*. The quantity in the latter is infinitesimal as compared with the former, but, being in the *Shêng-yü*, it is more essential and vital. The expunging of this one passage from the *Shêng-yü* would do more than anything else towards putting an end to the infamous literature which has been doing so much mischief of late.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 27th January, 1892.

“A CANDID FRIEND’S” VIEWS  
(MISSIONARY STATUS AND MISSIONARY BLUNDERS.)

I.

In the pamphlet on *Missionaries in China*, which we notice below, a monograph destined to be widely read and studied by those who do not as well as by those who do agree with its author, “A Candid Friend” writes with much force on the great mistake made by too many of the missionaries in not making the most of the good they cannot but find, if they look honestly, in the religion and morality which they come to China to supplant: what the writer says has indeed often been said before, among others by many of the leading missionaries themselves, but it is here well put again. “To say, as in deed if not in words many of them do, that there is absolutely no good in systems which have sustained so great a people through periods of time during which the mightiest empires of the earth have risen, flourished, fallen, and been resolved, into their elements is surely to do violence to obvious truth. And to assign all the good which cannot be gainsaid to the insidious devices of the Evil One is but a poor kind of monkish subterfuge, an escape for minds driven to the wall by fixed beliefs brought into open contradiction with observed facts. In turning away therefore from the native virtues of the Chinese, the missionaries seem to be surrendering the strongest vantage ground they could occupy as a base for evangelising operations.” We pointed out not long since the very grave mistake made by the Churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, in not adopting and assimilating the foundation of both religion and morality in China, ancestor worship. “What then is the attitude of Christianity,” says our author, “towards this venerable, deep-rooted moral force? Do the missionaries seek to attach it to their service? On the contrary, they refuse to tolerate it on the face of the earth, and bluntly call on China to choose forthwith between Christ and her ancestors:—and she does.”

It is common to assert that the Chinese are in a state of arrested education; that the education of the race reached what was a remarkably high level for the time some two thousand years ago; but was there arrested and has never got beyond that. There is a similar condition of arrested education from which individuals suffer, and it is seen where men are addicted to the worship of words. As our writer says:—