

THE CHINESE AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MID-19th CENTURY AMERICA.



**Extracts from Protestant Episcopal Church, “Spirit of Missions”,
and other American archival sources, with
references to the Chinese in Australia and New Zealand.**

**ITEMS FROM OTHER AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO
THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA ARE ALSO INCLUDED.**

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RECOMMENDED RESOURCES ON CHINESE IN AMERICA.



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The Chinese in California, 1850-1925

Timeline

- 1839 Start of the Opium War between China and Great Britain.
- 1842 Treaty of Nanking, first "Unequal Treaty" after China met defeat in Opium War. Opened ports of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai to trade. China ceded Hong Kong to the British.
- 1848 James Marshall discovered gold at John Sutter's sawmill on the American River at Coloma. This discovery triggered the California Gold Rush.
- 1850 Some 500 immigrants out of 57,787 arriving in California were Chinese. California state legislature passed the first Foreign Miners' Tax Law, levying a \$20-per-month tax on each foreigner engaged in mining.
- 1851-1864 The Ta'ip'ing Rebellion. Insurgents seized control of the middle and lower Yangtze Basin. Millions of lives lost.
- 1852 Of the 11,794 Chinese living in California, only 7 were women. Chinese immigration increased to 20,000 this year with most individuals proceeding to mining regions. This number decreased to under 8,000 annually during the next two decades. Re-enactment of the Foreign Miners' Tax Law aimed at controlling the Chinese and other immigrant populations in California.
- 1854 *People v. Hall*. California Supreme Court ruled that a white man charged with murder could not be convicted on the testimony of a Chinese witness. Weaverville War of 1854 in California between the people of Sze Yup and Heung Shan. Also fighting at Chinese Camp between the Hakkas and Sam Yup People.
- 1860s The Six Chinese Companies called Tongs formed to represent and organize Chinese interests in San Francisco and California.
- 1862 Pacific Railroad Bill provided government aid to build transcontinental railroad.
- 1863 On January 3, the Central Pacific Railroad broke ground.
- 1865 Crocker hired first 50 Chinese men in response to white workers' threatening a strike; within two years, 90 percent of the work force on the Central Pacific Railroad was Chinese.
- 1867 June 25, railroad strike: the Chinese laborers, without support of other workers, won concession over wages. Workingmen's Party of California founded in San Francisco. Denis Kearney acted as its president. Four hundred men (associated with Workingmen's Party) attacked Chinese in San Francisco.
- 1868 The Burlingame Treaty recognized the right of free immigration on the part of citizens of the United States and China. Governor John Bigley delivered anti-Chinese speech; Lai Chun Chuen, Chinese merchants in San Francisco, issued pamphlet in response. Twelve thousand Chinese working in construction of the railroad. Union Pacific joined the Central Pacific at Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10.
- 1870 By this time, 3,536 Chinese women had emigrated to California, 61 percent (2,157) listed as prostitutes. Foreign Miners' Tax represented 25 to 50 percent of all state revenue. Chinese constituted the largest racial group in the mines, 9,087 out of 36,339.
- 1870s Diversification of crops developed after railroad was completed. Chinese aided in cultivation techniques as well as harvest of these crops. Record unemployment hit California. Chinese involved in commercial fishing along the West Coast. In 1888, there were more than 2,000 Chinese in thirty camps, mostly along the San Francisco Bay and in the Monterey and San Diego areas.
- 1871 Fifteen Chinese hanged in anti-Chinese riots in Los Angeles.
- 1872 Central Pacific Railroad started the Occidental and Oriental shipping lines to enter Asiatic trade and competed with the Pacific Mail Company, finally purchasing the latter in 1880.
- 1876 State printing office issued the publication "Chinese Immigration." Southern Pacific Railroad constructed railroad to Los Angeles, using many Chinese as construction workers.
- 1878 Workingmen's Party Resolution connected cheap Chinese labor with corporations.
- 1882 The Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States.
- 1892 The Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 renewed in 1892 through the Geary Act. It is renewed again in 1902, and extended indefinitely, until it was repealed in 1943.
- 1900 Boxer Rebellion.

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CONGREGATIONAL WRITINGS.



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The American Missionary

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CHAPTER XII.

THE ORIENTALS IN CALIFORNIA

I do not know how early the immigration of Chinese to California began. They were here when I arrived. My route from the city's center to my home took me through an incipient Chinatown. I looked in at the windows when walking through in the evening, to see in the bowls of oil, on which corks perforated with little wicks were floating, the lamps of Bible times. Missionary work among them had already begun. **Rev. William Speer**, compelled by ill health to return from his field in South China, was serving under the Presbyterian Board, and **Rev. S. V. Blakeslee**, commissioned by the American Missionary Association, had gathered a small class whom he hoped to reach with Christian influences through teaching them the English language. Few men have left upon my memory so fair a picture of an ideal Christian as did Mr. Speer. Evidently strong and well trained intellectually, courteous, witty, companionable, but unflinching in his loyalty to truth and right and Christ, he was honored by us all and seemed easily to procure the means for erecting on the corner of Stockton and Sacramento Streets a substantial and quite roomy mission house. I think that he followed the methods to which he had become accustomed in China,--methods which presupposed in the worker quite thorough acquaintance with the Chinese language; and I remember well looking at him and thinking of him with a sort of brotherly envy because he was thus provided. Mr. Blakeslee, on the other hand, wrought without that advantage, undertaking in a small way what has led to our largest successes in leading Orientals to Christ. But unfortunately he had invented a sort of phonetic English which he was sure would be a real royal road for a Chinese to a knowledge of our language, and he clung to this with too much tenacity, so that his few pupils, eager to learn the language as it is, rather than as it ought to be, soon forsook him,--for which we have reason to thank them, since it brought him to our help in sustaining "The Pacific," where, as I have said in a previous chapter, his service was such as no other man among us could have discharged.

It seems strange to me now that more than ten years should have elapsed before this idea which Mr. Blakeslee conceived came to be recognized by Christians generally. I remember distinctly the real sadness with which I used to pass by the Chinese quarter in Downieville, almost swarming with them, and felt so utterly helpless as to letting in upon their darkness the light of Christ. "Close by me," I often said in substance to myself, "yet as far off practically as though they were in China,--souls for whom Christ died!"

At length, in 1867 or thereabouts, **Rev. Otis Gibson**, a returned missionary from China, was put in charge of the Methodist Mission, and found himself no better off, through his knowledge of the Chinese language, than we who knew it not at all, because he did not come from South China, the region from our Chinese came, and could neither speak nor understand the dialect spoken here. And he saw the way open which we had failed to see. His proposal to organize Chinese Sunday Schools, and after that, Chinese evening schools, at which Chinese could learn English, was so presented as to call forth an immediate response. Indeed these Sunday schools became a real fad. The one conducted by young people in the First Congregational Church (then located at California and Dupont Streets, close by Chinatown), was so large as to need to be held in the auditorium, and became one of the spectacles to be shown to tourists, and thus was known and written about East as well as West. The Third Church, of which I became pastor in 1868, had already, I think, established such a school. There was a large woolen mill at no great distance from us on one side, and large shoe factories on the other side, each employing many Chinese, so that our school was as large as we could well accommodate in our audience room or could provide teachers for at the rate of a teacher for each pupil. It was an inspiring sight. As it was held immediately before the evening service, I could take no active part in it, and was proud of my church which could do so large and good a work without me.

At length the American Missionary Association turned its face this way again. Gen. C. H. Howard,

a brother of Gen. O. O. Howard, who was the District Secretary of the American Missionary Association at Chicago, visited San Francisco to enquire whether there was room for Congregational work among the Chinese, and if so, whether we desired it to be undertaken. Sufficient encouragement was given, and Rev. John Kimball was appointed superintendent, and very soon evening schools were started in Sacramento, Oakland, Santa Cruz and Los Angeles. At length Mr. Kimball called upon me to inquire whether an evening school might not make our Chinese Sunday school more useful. I welcomed the idea, and my people all seemed equally to welcome it. I nominated a young lady as teacher who had recently united with the church on confession, and who proved to be the right person in the right place. I had no expectation of immediate results. I had heard for so many years of the very slow progress and the very little fruit in the work in China that I supposed that it would take two or three years before Chinese conservatism could be overcome and conversions reward our labor. My surprise therefore was great when after not more, I am sure, than three months, our teacher came to me and said that eight of her pupils seemed to have given themselves to Christ, and that they desired to be baptized and received to the church.

I proposed, however, to converse with them one by one, and in the case of the first one sent me, did not call for an interpreter. The conversation was far from satisfactory to me. The man seemed to have no conviction of sin at all and consequently no conscious need of a Saviour. I reported this to the teacher and she replied, "I have learned a lesson." But by this time Jee Gam had been called into the work and declared that the candidate had misunderstood my questions and had failed to make his own meaning plain to me. But this man left for China before our preliminary examinations were completed, and when he returned, his interest in Christ, or desire to be a Christian, had died out completely. Assisted by Jee Gam, my conversations with the other seven were surprisingly satisfactory, and when I went to the homes where some of them were employed, I found that their conduct was as becometh believers. By two of the ladies to whom I appealed the testimony was expressed in identical words: "If Jee Lee is not a Christian, there are no Christians." "If Chin Sing is not a Christian, there are no Christians." Distrusting still my own impressions, I requested Rev. Dr. Loomis, the Superintendent of the Presbyterian Mission, to come and converse with them, with full liberty, if he should judge them to be intelligent and sincere in their profession, to invite them to unite with his own Chinese church; and he kindly came over to our church to see them. Of course I knew nothing of what had passed between him and them, the conversation being in Chinese, but Jee Gam told me that he cordially invited them to unite with his church, and that they replied, "Your church is nearly three miles away; we were converted in this church, we love our teachers, we would like to be baptized and received here." When I heard this, I saw that our Saviour was committing these souls to our care, and that we ought not to refuse the responsibility. I had no apprehension whatever of any objection being raised to receiving them, in view of the special precautions that had been taken and the satisfactory conclusions reached. And the unanimous vote of the Standing Committee in their favor confirmed me in this view. But I was to be disappointed. By a very large majority it was voted to propound and admit them, but in deference to the minority and in order that they might have, as was requested, opportunity to enquire for themselves as to the fitness of these candidates, the matter was laid over for two months. It is strange, but true, that during those two months not one of the objectors, so far as I could learn, went near a single one of these candidates or made any inquiry about them, but when the period of probation expired they were armed, among other things, with a statement from the missionary whom I had called in, to the effect that it would be impossible for me to ascertain whether these candidates were sincere, or knew what they were doing. Whereupon their probation was extended for six months longer, and the guns were turned upon the pastor himself. It was the only church quarrel in which I ever had a part. But it resulted, without any effort on my part at self-defence, in such an uprising of public sentiment against those who would forbid men of a particular race, as such, to be at home in a church of Christ, that at the end of six months, the church had become far more anxious to receive them than they were to be received. For as soon as it was thus made sure to me that what I saw to be a vital element in the teachings and the work of Christ, would at last be accepted by the church and

acted upon without discord, I wished to withdraw from the battle-field, and presented my resignation. The last ministerial act which I performed in the church was to baptize these brethren and receive them.

I trust that it will not seem egotistical if I mention one incident in connection with their consent to be received which stands in somewhat close connection with what is to follow. The reception took place after my pastoral relationship to the church was dissolved. The Standing Committee had caused these brethren to be gathered together in order to be advised that they would be welcomed on the next Sunday, but found them unwilling to come. The church had come to feel itself so discredited that the committee sent for me to endeavor to persuade them to come. And I myself was disturbed by their refusal. When I had exhausted my persuasions, one of them said to me, "But you will not be our pastor." Quick as a flash I replied, "I will be your pastor," and thereupon they consented. I had no sooner said those words than the thought thrust itself in upon me, "How can this be?" And I saw no way in which my promise could be fulfilled. Yet I could not withdraw it. Somehow this was impossible. And I rested in the assurance that the Spirit of God spoke through me and He would make the apparently impossible come to pass. And it did come to pass.

Having been duly installed as pastor, by a council, a second one was called to advise the church as to the acceptance of my resignation, and at my earnest request they advised this. While a day or two later I was in my study boxing my library, a brother who had spoken for me very effectively before the Council, called and asked me to ride with him. Upon my consenting, he took me to a point from which I could overlook a new district of the city, and asked if it was not a hopeful place for a mission Sunday school. I was able to tell him that I had already noted this, hoping that the time would soon come when we could propose to our church to establish such a school. "We will start one then," he said, and in two weeks it held its first session. A small room was rented which soon overflowed, so that the primary department was held under the open sky in the back yard. One day while engaged in some service in my own yard, my mind was running on those words concerning Mary of Bethany, "Who also sat at Jesus' feet and heard his word." "What a perfect motto for a Sunday school!" I exclaimed, and then, "What a beautiful name to go with it is Bethany!" Able to visit the Sunday school the next Sunday, I spoke of this to the teachers and pupils, and with much enthusiasm both motto and name were adopted. I had already accepted the invitation of the Trustees of the Pacific Theological Seminary to become its Financial Agent, so that I could see little of this work, but it soon appeared that larger quarters must be had. There was very little wealth at command, but enough so that by very generous giving a chapel was erected on a leased lot, and Bethany Sunday School moved into it, and soon flooded its new quarters.

All this had taken place through the cooperation of about thirty members of the church of which I had been pastor,--members who had fully decided to leave that church, and most of whom lived in this new neighborhood, fully one and a quarter miles from their former house of worship, a distance believed to be large enough to prevent competition. They had expected to scatter, but there was no church near them with which they chose to unite. It is not strange that the question soon arose whether they might not establish a church, and this was done on **February 23rd, 1873**, on the twentieth anniversary of my landing in San Francisco,--a coincidence unsought and at the time not even recognized, but which has since then often recurred to my memory and blessed me. Thirty-two of us joined hands in the prayer of consecration and of fellowship in Christ.

After this, my service to the Seminary absorbed my time and strength for a solid year. An account of this may be found in the chapter concerning the Seminary. It seems to me remarkable that that infant church, undertaking no public worship except the Sunday School and the mid-week meeting, held together for twelve months without a single deserter, till, my task completed, I was able to return to them, my pastorate beginning with March 1st, 1874.

The pertinency of all this to the subject of this chapter will now appear. As I journeyed Eastward to prosecute my canvass in New England, I became possessed with the idea that the American Missionary Association was considering an abandonment of its work for the Chinese in California. I

hardly know why my mind dwelt on this idea so much and with such real power, but I determined that when I reached New York I would call at the office and find out whether my impression represented a real fact. I found that it did, and I presented, with all the emphasis I could command, the reasons for its continuance,--not as a competitor with missions already existing, but as occupying fields unoccupied. There were many of these in the smaller cities where colonies of Chinese numbering from (say) 150 to 1,500 could be found with no one caring for their souls.

Several months after this, I found myself, as I approached the end of a week, destitute of any appointment for the coming Sunday. A very dear friend, Rev. B. N. Seymour, who had been my nearest ministerial neighbor when I was pastor in Downieville, was now pastor in a church not far from Boston, and I wrote him that I was coming to him for a rest. He met me at the railroad station, and with a little embarrassment said that he was not to be in his own pulpit on the morrow, and that Rev. Mr. Woodworth, District Secretary of the American Missionary Association, was to preach, and he himself had promised to preach elsewhere. "Oh well," I replied, "I will go with you; I want to hear you." With still more embarrassment he said, "We have but one extra bed, and I have invited Mr. Woodworth to occupy it. Could you sleep with him?" "If he is willing to sleep with me," I said, "I will promise not to trouble him." And so it was arranged, and so it came to pass. Mr. Woodworth had doubtless heard of the conversation with a secretary in New York, and we had scarcely settled ourselves in bed when he began to pump me on the subject of their mission among the Chinese. And he did not need to pump hard, for I was brim full of it myself. He said that the work had been started at his earnest instigation and he could not bear its being abandoned. It was well on in the small hours before we slept, but his concluding words were, "Brother Pond, you must take up the work when you return." And I frankly told him that I would like to do so, for I saw in it possibilities which were very inviting. In consequence of this I was invited to speak of these possibilities at the annual meeting of the Association in Newark, which I did.

At length my hard job was fulfilled and I started for home. I spent but two days in New York, on one of which I called again at the office of the American Missionary Association. I was cordially welcomed and I had hardly got quietly seated when the Secretary said to me, "We want you to superintend our work for the Chinese in California, but Mr. Kimball, though he is somewhere on this side the Rockies and cannot attend to the work, yet has forgotten to resign, and we do not like to discharge him." I replied that I would like to make the attempt to bring to pass what I had pictured as being possible, and that whenever he should hear from Mr. Kimball he might write to me. The office was then on Reade Street just below Broadway. I went up to Broadway and turned down that street to get a look at the then famous hostelry, the Astor House, and there, coming down the steps, was Mr. Kimball. The cordial greeting was scarcely completed before he said to me, "Brother Pond, I am here in the East and cannot return for a good while, and you ought to take my place as Superintendent of the work for the Chinese." I replied, "If you think so, it can be arranged in less than twenty minutes," and we walked around to the office. He wrote his resignation and withdrew. The few details needing to be settled were arranged, and the next morning I started for home, and two days after I reached home, my commission arrived, and the promise which leaped to my lips in talking with my Chinese brethren, began to be fulfilled.

I had something yet to do in collecting the subscriptions which had been made, conditioned on the full amount of \$35,000 being subscribed, and while on the journeys thus made necessary, I visited several missions already in existence,--at Sacramento, Santa Cruz, Oakland and Los Angeles, and started one in Santa Barbara.

Not long after I had returned, Jee Gam laid before me a scheme for a headquarters in San Francisco, close by the Chinese Quarter, which would afford a refuge for our brethren, a school in the English language, a place for Sunday services and a "Theological Seminary." This last seemed to me rather premature, but the rest expressed our immediate and pressing necessity, for our few Chinese brethren were indeed, as one of them said, "like orphans without a home." I promised to write about it to the office in New York, and if the plan was approved there, we would undertake to carry it out.

The reply was a hearty approval. I think that I remember the words in which it was expressed: "This is just what we have always wished to see done." While I was waiting for this reply, my own appreciation of the project had so grown upon me that I was eager to enter upon it. So a building was soon found, admirably located, which with some alterations would answer our purpose, and I rented it at \$75 per month. At that time Congress had just passed the Exclusion Law, to take effect six months after it received the President's signature. During these six months, the immigration of Chinese was almost precisely equal to the whole number in the United States when the bill became a law. The consequence was that our rooms were packed by the newcomers eager to learn the English language. Teachers could hardly move about in the crowd. As many as 130 were reported in attendance for several months. This called for a large number of teachers, so that the expense became very great. Nothing had been said to me, either in my commission or in any other way, about a definite and limited appropriation for this work. In my inexperience in such matters, I had assumed that whatever expense was unavoidable in carrying out what the home office had approved, would be supplied. I have never in my life been more startled than I was when after all this was moving well, I received a letter stating that the appropriation for this work was \$5,000 per annum, that it was nearly exhausted and that it could not be increased. What could I do? It was evident that appeals to the A. M. A. would be in vain. On the other hand, retreat meant such disappointment and disaster as would wreck our whole work. I had not expected to have anything to do with raising funds. My part was to be simply to use as carefully and usefully as possible funds supplied from the East. And I was already overloaded with tasks of that sort in connection with the Seminary and our infant Bethany Church.

At length an appeal to the Lord Jesus brought me courage, and I said, "If I have to raise \$1,200 in subscriptions of five and ten dollars, I will raise it somehow." And God answered my prayer, leading me to success by a way that I knew not.

Our general Association for that year, 1874, was held with the First Church in Oakland, and Mrs. Pond and I were assigned as guests to Mr. and Mrs. Wedderspoon, English people of wealth, for reasons highly complimentary to my wife, but such as made us go to them with some bashful timidity. But never were we more happily disappointed. Friendship sprang up almost instantly. And my work for the Chinese was made by them to be an almost absorbing topic of conversation. Hence it came to pass that when I began to plan for my campaign, I determined to go to Mr. Wedderspoon first. "Possibly," I said to myself, "his firm will subscribe \$100." So I wrote him a rather long letter stating the case, and handing it to him in his office, asked him to read it at his leisure at home, and said that I would call for his answer the next day. I did this, and was received most cordially. "And how much did you say you would need?" "Fifteen hundred dollars," I replied. "Oh, we will get that. Get a little better subscription book and I will go out with you." Now the firm of which he was the resident partner had in charge large operations in the interior and were consequently great buyers of all sorts of merchandise from mining machinery to dry-goods. I purchased and prepared a quite handsome subscription book, and after putting down the name of his firm for \$100, he went with me. A tap of his hand on a man's shoulder seemed sufficient to call forth a subscription,--one other of \$100, a goodly number at \$50 and still more at \$25, till, in one afternoon, if I remember correctly, the whole amount needed was subscribed and most of it deposited in bank.

The momentum of this effort enabled me for several years, in spite of an intense and growing hostility to the Chinese, to gather a very helpful amount from San Francisco merchants for our Mission. From that time also our financial operations were grounded in faith that the Lord would provide. After receiving notice from the American Missionary Association as to the amount of their appropriation for a coming year, I never asked that it be increased. Believing in the leadership of Christ and that if one asks for that leadership he will have it and have it made clear to him, we entered doors which Christ opened, and occupied any new field to which He called us. And though after the appropriation was exhausted and we had to meet the bills of nearly six months by our own efforts, though this seemed to be utterly impossible, still month by month all bills were punctually met, and when we closed our books for the fiscal year, there was always except in two instances a small balance on hand. In one of these cases the deficit was \$6.00, in the other it was \$30.00, the result of the forwarding by mistake to New York for the general work of the American Missionary Association, of precisely that amount which was really intended as a special for us. Thus year by year the Master's promise was fulfilled. The mountain was "taken up and cast into the sea."

The saving grace of God has attended our lowly work from its beginning until now. Our workers sent me month by month detailed reports, and according to my recollection there was never a month in which no one of them could speak of a soul saved. At no time did these reports indicate what might be called a flood-tide of the Spirit, but a quiet stream was flowing all the while.

First and last we have had forty-nine missions. Not even one-half of these became permanent. We never had at one time more than twenty-three missions. But those that were planted and lived only a year or two, were not fruitless. Of but one do I think as a failure. One was discontinued because the mob drove all the Chinese from the town; some because the business which gathered Chinese in that locality was discontinued; some because through lack of funds we were compelled to let them die in order that those with brighter prospects might continue. **It is impossible for us to know how many souls were led out of darkness into light. The Good Shepherd knows them all. But I am safe and quite within bounds in saying that there have been reported to me more than 3,500.** Nomadic as they are,--as indeed all men are who are without families or homes--these have been scattered in our land from Alaska to Florida; a little army of them have returned to their native land, and many have found their final home in their Father's House on high. One chief source of satisfaction in the work has been in those who have returned to their native land, self-transported, self-supported missionaries, furnished already with the language as their very mother-tongue, knowing by experience how much better is the living and life-giving Saviour than anything which their old customs and superstitions could afford, their simple words of testimony, uttered perhaps in the ancestral hall to which their fellow villagers would gather to hear reports from what they called "the

Land of the Golden Mountain," were attended with saving power in some, even when they encountered in others an intense antagonism.

At length, in 1885, our brethren, in order to make this work in the old home villages more efficient and abiding, organized "The China Congregational Missionary Society." It was not in virtue of any conscious spurring by their Superintendent, but of their own accord, and his first knowledge of it came to him when there was brought to him a translation of their Constitution for him to revise. This is still in vigorous life, cooperating with the Mission of our American Board and really a part of its work, but sustained entirely by themselves. For many years Rev. C. R. Hager, M.D., was the sole missionary of the Board in South China, his headquarters at Hong Kong, where a large mission house with a commodious chapel was erected, in which, as one of our brethren wrote me, "When we go to church it seems as though we were in California again, so many of the people whom we see were once with us there." Twice each year, and sometimes oftener when special occasions called for it, Dr. Hager toured, much of the way on foot, from village to village, meeting the brethren, teaching them, and baptizing such as seemed ready for baptism. I remember its being reported to me that on one occasion, in one village, he baptized one hundred in one day. At any rate several years ago, I saw in the report of the American Board the South China Mission, with its one or at most two missionaries, credited with a much larger number of communicants than any other mission,—a fact which finds its readiest explanation in the number and zeal of Chinese believers returning from California (mainly) and becoming witnesses there, through the power of the Spirit, to Him whom they had found to be a real Saviour.

I am well aware that in these reminiscences concerning our work for Orientals, I have passed quite beyond what we now account as the early days of Congregationalism in this State. Indeed, the beginning of my own participation in it occurred subsequently to the limit which I had set for myself in this respect. Yet it seemed that my story would be sadly incomplete if it had nothing to say of this work; and having begun to write about it, there was found no stopping-place save that afforded by the close of my official relationship to it. My interest in it can never die, and my cooperation with it, so far as opportunity is afforded me, will continue as long as life and strength remain.

PRESBYTERIAN WRITINGS.

ORIGINS OF PRESBYTERIAN CHINESE MISSION.

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CHAPTER XI.

Christian Work among the Chinese-- Founding of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission.

Page 109. A new department was added to the list of causes in which the First Presbyterian Church was embarked, in supplementary foreign missionary work among the Chinese. From the date of the first public gathering of Chinamen in our city, on the 20th of August, 1850, under the auspices of a committee, consisting of Mr. Frederick A. Woodworth, the acting Chinese Consul, and Mayor John W. Geary, and myself, for the distribution among them of Chinese books and tracts, religious and secular, both the pastor and members of the First Church were accustomed to take an active interest in the welfare of these people. We were in the habit from time to time of visiting the resorts of the Chinese, distributing the Chinese publications which had been forwarded to us by our friends in China. In such service we met, in general, a cordial reception. Our gifts were rarely declined. Only one instance, indeed, do I recall, in which either opposition or indifference even was encountered, and (122) in that case logical consistency was maintained, which held the shrewd recusant firm in his rejection of the proffer made of a portion of the New Testament. In September, 1851, Mr. Buel, Bible agent, and myself, made the rounds, one evening, of the Chinese quarter in Sacramento street. In a Chinese gambling place, among some twenty persons, a young Chinaman gave us the exceptional rebuff, with the reply, "No good." We said, "It is good." "Good for you," he answered, "bad for me." On our further adding, "Good for us, good for you," he ended the colloquy by saying, very politely in manner, "No good, no bad; no bad, no good."

Of the number of Chinese then in the city, were some who had been instructed in Mission Schools in their own country. The first Christian Chinaman I met with was Achick, who had been about three years in the Morrison School, Macao, under the charge of my friend, the Rev. Samuel R. Brown, and two years more in the school of Bishop Smith of Hong Kong, by whom he was baptized. The intelligent answers of this young man to questions regarding Christian doctrines were peculiarly gratifying. Frequently he and others of his acquaintance came to see me in my residence. The next step in this interest was the formation of a Bible Class connected with our Sunday School, originally composed of Achick (123) and his three companions, afterwards considerably increased, and taught by Mr. Thomas C. Hambly, one of the ruling Elders of the Church. This movement, undertaken in the Winter of 1851-2, was initiatory to the establishment of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission of San Francisco. (126)

The interest which the Church early manifested in the spiritual welfare of the Chinese was continued. The Bible Class which had been formed for their instruction was not regarded as sufficient. A more extended scheme was called for, and also a more ready and effective appliance of instruction, through the instrumentality of a religious teacher skilled in the Chinese language. Thus were we prompted, in the Session of the Church, to open a correspondence with our Board of Foreign Missions in New York, and propose an extension of their Chinese Mission by establishing a branch in San Francisco. The proposal was promptly acted upon and adopted, and we were duly informed by the respected Corresponding Secretary of the Board, the Hon. Walter Lowrie, that the

plan would be carried into effect. A returned Missionary from China, the Rev. William Speer, was commissioned to take the charge of this Mission work. In October, 1852, Mr. Speer arrived. His own account of (127) his reception was communicated to an eastern newspaper, the *Presbyterian Advocate*, as follows: "The missionary work among the Chinese has proved very interesting thus far. I have been very cordially received by this people. Many of our Mission scholars from Canton, Hong Kong, and Macao, and merchants, and others that I knew, are here engaged in trade or mining. I have not yet opened a chapel, but am engaged in visiting their sick, distributing tracts, and preparing the way for future active labors amongst them. The Chinese language comes back to me much more easily than I had expected. Much sympathy is expressed in the work by our Christian friends here."

A temporary chapel was soon after provided and fitted up in an "upper room" on Sacramento street. Stated religious services and a Sunday School were there maintained. A benevolent lady of the First Church having volunteered to teach in the Sunday School, Mr. Speer came to me saying he felt embarrassed, in the view of the prejudice of the Chinese against "the sex," about accepting this offer. Yet he did accept it, and the experiment was only favorable. Long since that kind of prejudice here came to an end; and more, I believe female teachers have the preference now among the Chinese. Next in order in the history of this Mission (128) came the organization of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Church, which was effected on Sunday afternoon, November 6th, 1853, in the First Church, and in the presence of a large and deeply interested assembly. The attendance of Chinese on this occasion was also numerous. It was my privilege to address the small Christian band of eleven, the Rev. Mr. Speer my interpreter, and receive their solemn vow, "With the help of God, I do;" and also, in the case of Lai Sam, ordained the ruling elder, the same sacred promise, with its added responsibilities.

In this connection, it may be also noted, that as the need of a permanent Mission House, with a chapel, was pressing, steps followed which, by the earnest and liberal agency of the First Church, with assistance of friends of the Mission belonging to other communions, resulted in the erection of the commodious Mission building on the corner of Stockton and Sacramento streets, completed and occupied at the close of 1853. A balance of unsettled obligations remaining was met by the generous donation of a liberal member of the Board in New York, and the title of the entire property was conveyed to the Board of Foreign Missions.

The history of this useful Mission among the Chinese, not only of San Francisco but also throughout all the Pacific Coast, is alike (129) interesting and honorable to the Church which originally led, and chiefly contributed to its establishment. More I might add to the record of its well-doing in this behalf; less would be chargeable as an ungrateful omission.

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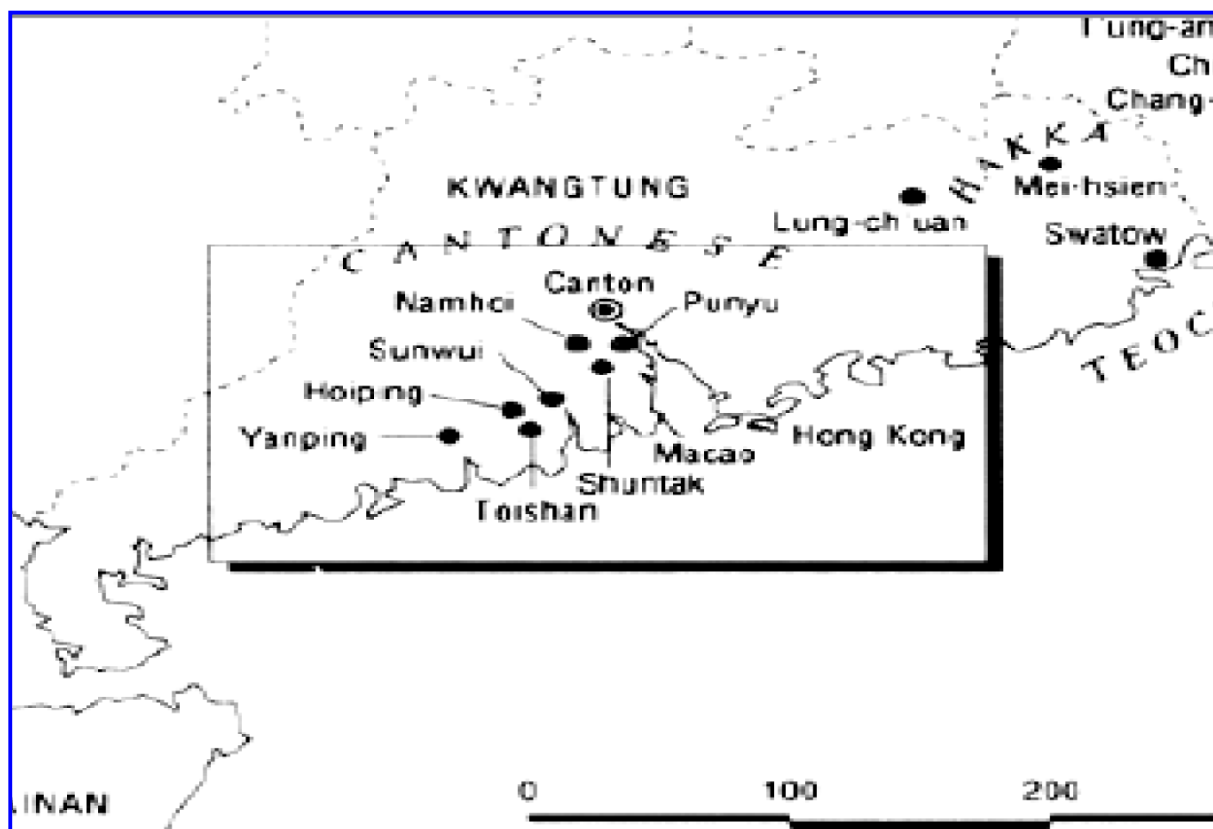
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Origins of Cantonese Emigrants to the United States, Australia and New Zealand.



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CHINESE DIASPORA: RELATED INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

**Welch, Ian, (2003), Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong CHEONG,
1851-1928, PhD, Australian National University. Online at:—
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ABSTRACT:

This thesis contributes to the ongoing discussion of modern Chinese identity by providing a case study of Cheok Hong CHEONG. This thesis contributes to the ongoing discussion of modern Chinese identity by providing a case study of Cheok Hong CHEONG. It necessarily considers Australian attitudes towards the Chinese during the 19th century, not least the White Australia Policy. The emergence of that discriminatory immigration policy over the second half of the 19th century until its national implementation in 1901 provides the background to the thesis. Cheong was the leading figure among Chinese-Australian Christians and a prominent figure in the Australian Chinese community and the thesis seeks to identify a man whose contribution has largely been shadowy in other studies or, more commonly, overlooked by the parochialism of colony/state emphasis in many histories of Australia. His role in the Christian church fills a space in Victorian religious history.

NOTE: The nearest Chinese-Californian equivalent to Cheok Hong CHEONG was Norman ASLING of San Francisco. See http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/asian_voices/asian_voices.cfm

The California Gold Rush transformed San Francisco from a town of less than 3,000 inhabitants in 1848 into a violent, ethnically diverse port of 35,000 by 1852, in which law was enforced by a Vigilance Committee that inflicted extra-legal punishments.

In an attempt to exploit anti-Chinese racism for political gain, Governor John Bigler proposed restrictions on Chinese immigration in 1852.

Norman Asing, a prominent merchant who had arrived in San Francisco in 1850 and was the self-appointed spokesperson for Chinese Californians, protests Governor Bigler's discriminatory and unconstitutional measure. He plays on Americans' professed worship of industry, their prejudices against Indians and African Americans, and their repeated references to the Declaration of Independence.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. BIGLER

Sir: I am a Chinaman, a republican, and a lover of free institutions; am much attached to the principles of the government of the United States, and therefore take the liberty of addressing you as the chief of the government of this State. Your official position gives you a great opportunity of good and evil. Your opinions through a message to a legislative body have weight and , and perhaps none more so with the people, for the effect of your late message has been thus far to prejudice the public mind against my people, to enable those who wait the opportunity to hunt them down, and rob them of the rewards of their toil. You may not have meant that this should be the case, but you can see what will be the result of your propositions. I am not much acquainted with your logic, that by excluding population from this State you enhance its wealth. I have always considered that population was wealth; particularly a population of producers, of men who by the labor of their hands or intellect, enrich the warehouses or the granaries of the country with the products of nature and art. You are deeply convinced you say "that to enhance the prosperity and preserve the tranquility of this State, Asiatic immigration must be checked." This, your Excellency, is but one step towards a retrograde movement of the government, which, on reflection, you will discover; and which the citizens of this country ought never to tolerate. It was one of the principal causes of quarrel between you (when colonies) and England; when the latter pressed laws against emigration, you looked for immigration; it came, and immigration made you what you are— your nation what it is. It transferred you at once from childhood to manhood and made you great and respectable throughout the nations of the earth. I am sure your Excellency cannot, if you would, prevent your being called the descendant of an immigrant, for I am sure you do not boast of being a descendant of the red man. But your further logic is more reprehensible. You argue that this is a republic of a particular race—that the Constitution of the United States admits of no asylum to any other than the pale face. This proposition is false in the extreme, and you know it. The declaration of your independence, and all

the acts of your government, your people, and your history are all against you.

It is true, you have degraded the Negro because of your holding him in involuntary servitude, and because for the sake of union in some of your states such was tolerated, and amongst this class you would endeavor to place us; and no doubt it would be pleasing to some would-be freemen to mark the brand of servitude upon us. But we would beg to remind you that when your nation was a wilderness, and the nation from which you sprung barbarous, we exercised most of the arts and virtues of civilized life; that we are possessed of a language and a literature, and that men skilled in science and the arts are numerous among us; that the productions of our manufactories, our sail, and workshops, form no small share of the commerce of the world; and that for centuries, colleges, schools, charitable institutions, asylums, and hospitals, have been as common as in your own land. That our people cannot be reprov'd for their idleness, and that your historians have given them due credit for the variety and richness of their works of art, and for their simplicity of manners, and particularly their industry. And we beg to remark, that so far as the history of our race in California goes, it stamps with the test of truth the fact that we are not the degraded race you would make us. We came amongst you as mechanics or traders, and following every honorable business of life. You do not find us pursuing occupations of degrading character, except you consider labor degrading, which I am sure you do not; and if our countrymen save the proceeds of their industry from the tavern and the gambling house to spend it on farms or town lots or on their families, surely you will admit that even these are virtues. You say "you desire to see no change in the generous policy of this government as far as regards Europeans." It is out of your power to say, however, in what way or to whom the doctrines of the Constitution shall apply. You have no more right to propose a measure for checking immigration, than you have the right of sending a message to the Legislature on the subject. As far as regards the color and complexion of our race, we are perfectly aware that our population have been a little more tan than yours.

Your Excellency will discover, however, that we are as much allied to the African race and the red man as you are yourself, and that as far as the aristocracy of skin is concerned, ours might compare with many of the European races; nor do we consider that your Excellency, as a Democrat, will make us believe that the framers of your declaration of rights ever suggested the propriety of establishing an aristocracy of skin. I am a naturalized citizen, your Excellency, of Charleston, South Carolina, and a Christian, too; and so hope you will stand corrected in your assertion "that none of the Asiatic class" as you are pleased to term them, have applied for benefits under our naturalization act. I could point out to you numbers of citizens, all over the whole continent, who have taken advantage of your hospitality and citizenship, and I defy you to say that our race have ever abused that hospitality or forfeited their claim on this or any of the governments of South America, by an infringement on the laws of the countries into which they pass. You find us peculiarly peaceable and orderly. It does not cost your state much for our criminal prosecution. We apply less to your courts for redress, and so far as I know, there are none who are a charge upon the state, as paupers.

You say that "gold, with its talismanic power, has overcome those natural habits of non-intercourse we have exhibited." I ask you, has not gold had the same effect upon your people, and the people of other countries, who have migrated hither? Why, it was gold that filled your country (formerly a desert) with people, filled your harbours with ships and opened our much-coveted trade to the enterprise of your merchants.

You cannot, in the face of facts that stare you in the face, assert that the cupidity of which you speak is ours alone; so that your Excellency will perceive that in this age a change of cupidity would not tell. Thousands of your own citizens come here to dig gold, with the idea of returning as speedily as they can.

We think you are in error, however, in this respect, as many of us, and many more, will acquire a domicile amongst you.

But, for the present, I shall take leave of your Excellency, and shall resume this question upon another occasion which I hope you will take into consideration in a spirit of candor. Your predecessor pursued a different line of conduct towards us, as will appear by reference to his message.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's very obedient servant,

Welch, Ian, (2008). 'Our Neighbours but not our Countrymen, Christianity and the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria (Australia) and California, pp 149-183 in *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol 13, (2004-2006), Theme Volume: Christianity as an Issue in the History of US-China Relations.

ABSTRACT:

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States of America and the British colonies of settlement in Australia shared the experience of gold rushes and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants including the Chinese. In both countries, the long-term impact of European imperialist expansion from the sixteenth century and the Anglo-Saxon dominance of the nineteenth-century world was inseparable from a wealth of explanatory theories about ethnicity in which culture, religion, and race contributed to a major (if unsubstantiated) corpus of evidence shared by the Anglo-Americans. The discovery of gold in 1847 in California (Gum San, Chin Shan—Gold Mountain) was followed by the 1854 gold rush to Victoria, Australia (Dai Gum San, Hsin Chin Shan—New Gold Mountain). The similarity of names indicates how close the connection was in Chinese minds at the time. This paper discusses one little-known aspect of the triangular relationship between China, America, and Australia during the second half of the nineteenth century—attempts by Protestant Christians to evangelize the Chinese immigrants.

Hannis, Grant, "A Comparative Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Californian and New Zealand Newspaper Representations of Chinese Gold Miners,; pp 248-273 in *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol 18, (2011).

ABSTRACT:

During the nineteenth-century gold rush era, Chinese gold miners arrived spontaneously in California and, later, were invited in to work the Otago goldfields in New Zealand. This article considers how the initial arrival of Chinese in those areas was represented in two major newspapers of the time, the Daily Alta California and the Otago Witness. Both newspapers initially favored Chinese immigration, due to the economic benefits that accrued and the generally tolerant outlook of the newspapers' editors. The structure of the papers' coverage differed, however, reflecting the differing historical circumstances of California and Otago. Both papers gave little space to reporting Chinese in their own voices. The newspapers editors played the crucial role in shaping each newspaper's coverage over time. The editor of the Witness remained at the helm of his newspaper throughout the survey period and his newspaper consequently did not waver in its support of the Chinese. The editor of the Alta, by contrast, died toward the end of the survey period and his newspaper subsequently descended into racist, anti-Chinese rhetoric.

Online:

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Protestant Episcopal Mutual Benefit Society Lectures.

Rev. Mr. Syle on China.

(*New York Times*, 12 January 1854.)

Protestant Episcopal Mutual Benefit Society Lectures.

REV. MR. SYLE ON CHINA.

One of the lectures of this course was delivered on Tuesday evening, in the chapel of the New-York University, by Rev. Mr. SYLE, of the China Mission, in place of Bishop WILLIAMS, previously announced, who was prevented by indisposition from fulfilling his appointment. The subject was *China*. The audience was large and fashionable, including a native Chinaman, who appeared to have been provided as a specimen brick.

The lecturer commenced by remarking that public opinion, respecting the Chinese character and habits had greatly changed within a few years. It is not for us to transfer the old ludicrous conceptions and impressions we have of the Chinese to their glorious country, for it is one of the most beautiful upon the earth. The lecturer proceeded to consider the present state of the country, embracing 18 large provinces, and 300,000,000 of people. Under the treaty of Nankin, the ports of China were first laid open, and, in 1845, the Episcopal Mission took advantage of this opening.

The present Government of China was then made a subject of remark. The Governors of the Provinces resemble nearly the Ancient Satraps. Laws are enacted by a High Mandarin writing a memorial to the Emperor, where it may be referred to one of the six Boards, for their consideration and decision. Then it remains in the Emperor's hands until he chooses to promulgate it. The Mandarins are a constituted aristocracy; aristocratic, though chosen from among the people. Mandarins cannot hold office in their own country. Thus their sympathies are removed from the people to the Emperor. The Mandarins are made responsible for all crime committed in their bounds. And all inferiors strive to keep the knowledge of crime from their superiors. The whole system rests upon espionage. Every Commissioner who is sent by the Emperor is accompanied by a spy. The soldiers are totally untrained, and were shot down by the English armies like sheep. They once fortified the bottom of a hill, leaving the top altogether unprotected, and when the English took possession of the hill the Chinese Generals complained that that was not the way to come.

All law is carried on by written pleadings, and they still adhere to the mode of examination by torture. The Mandarin rules with a rod of hot iron. Whoever has anything to do with their law has cause to rue it, be he right or wrong. The parties in a quarrel often repair to a tea-room and furnish free refreshments to those present, who listen to the arguments and decide the case as a jury. This is one of the many expedients which the Chinese resort to to secure the ends of justice as near as may be. The missionaries and their servants often suffer greatly from the people and officials, and can very seldom gain any redress. Several instances of this habitual injustice were narrated by the lecturer. Incidentally he mentioned the great importance of sending missionary physicians to the Chinese. They are most acceptable to the people, who constantly throng their doors. He regretted to state that their own mission had no physician. The Chinese medical practice is very curious. They have benevolent doctors to go around among the sick and poor and advise gratuitously. There are mountebanks, very much in favor with the people. They are by no means ignorant of the healing art.

The benevolent institutions of the Chinese are worth consideration. There is in Shanghai an institution which performs all actions constructively benevolent; a Foundling Hospital; a Humane Society. All these are closely associated with idolatry. In times of calamity, benevolent societies are organized to bury the dead. These institutions are supported largely by private subscription. Three times in the year there are great processions to see that the ghosts of the departed are not neglected.

The Religion of China is Confucianism—a kind of Stoicism, cold and heartless. It tends to foster pride and great hardness of heart. It has now degenerated into juggling and chicanery. They burn paper images of all earthly valuables, trusting that the originals will thus be transferred to a higher world. They all believe in Metempsychosis. It is almost impossible to express the degradation of mind consequent upon this belief.

A Chinese always considers it necessary to find a match-maker to carry on the operations of love and marriage. Of other circumstances connected, the lecturer spoke in an interesting manner. There is no domestic felicity—no home.

In commercial transactions, three times a year the Chinese merchant comes to a full settlement of his accounts. Without this adjustment, no credit can be obtained.

The language of China must be distinguished into written and spoken. The former is very hard and arbitrary; the latter language is split up into innumerable dialects. The written language is to China what Latin was to Europe during the changing periods of the middle ages. The literary examinations are held once a year. One who takes a first degree is exempt from civil punishments; the second degree renders the holder eligible to office. The purchase of degrees was a moving cause of the present great revolution. Some designated candidates for degrees, whose merits had been overborne by bribery, met with and took home some of the missionaries' books. They formed themselves into a secret society, which daily grew in strength. The possession of Nankin almost secures them the southern half of the Empire. China is now open to Christian effort. It can never again be what it has been. This movement resembles nothing in the past so much as Mohammedanism. All kinds of influences will be brought to bear upon China; it is for Christian men to determine whether their influence shall be felt there.

With a few similar remarks the lecturer closed.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SHANGHAI.

Rev. Edward W. Syle (New York).

TO CHURCH AT SHANGHAI. On a Sunday, not long since, we had the great satisfaction of hearing the Rev. Mr. Syle, (one of the Missionaries of our Church to China,) who in two sermons, (morning and afternoon,) eloquently set forth the condition of the people in that most populous of all countries, containing, as it does, three hundred and sixty millions of inhabitants! He said this great enterprise of our Mission to China originated in the "heart's thought" of one individual, — a student in our General Theological Seminary, some twenty years ago. He had meditated upon a nation, learned and refined, "wholly given to idolatry;" — from whom we received so many of the elegancies of life, but in return had never sought to "open to them the door of faith." He therefore determined to dedicate himself to the work of the ministry in that far region. Soon after he received Orders he closed a life of rare Christian excellence, and went, as we trust, to his exceeding great reward. The seed, however, he had sown in the minds of others sprang up in the fruit that has since appeared. The name of that individual was Augustus Lyde, a name which should be enshrined in all our hearts! After many delays, and unsatisfactory attempts, the Mission was thoroughly established about nine years ago. The difficulties and discouragements of the Missionaries were shown in an unostentatious, but striking, manner by the preacher. The written language of China, used by the learned, is not understood by the populace, — and the Missionaries set themselves to learn the popular language as children would learn. In the course of six months they were able to converse with all whom they met. The jealousy of the Mandarins and the dread of suspicion with hold them from communicating freely with foreigners, but the innumerable multitude of other classes are approached without difficulty, — indeed, they seem willing to be instructed. Many there are who make agreement with the Bishop that their children shall be placed under his control for ten years, provided, at the end of that time, they shall be free to return to their homes. In this way they have a flourishing school for boys, and one for girls. Of the boys so educated, there is one admitted to Orders, and three are candidates; — others, of both schools, are believed to be sincere Christians; — some, doubtless, will fall away, and many will return to their homes, of whom nothing more shall be heard; — yet, the strong hope is entertained that the influence, of at least a portion, will be for good. School-houses and dwellings have been erected at a short distance from the city of Shanghai, — while the church stands in the midst of the city, distinctive in its architecture, and attractive in its appearance. Thousands inquire — "What is this building, so different from all others?" They are answered — "This is a temple for the worship of the one true God!" And in this temple the Missionaries "teach and preach Jesus Christ." Here, in the morning, portions of our service are read, and the converts who have been baptized are instructed out of the Scriptures; in the afternoon the heathen congregation assemble, — prayers are offered from our Liturgy in their own language, and a sermon preached; they are then invited to the vestry-room, where a familiar conversation, coupled with instruction, takes place. The results are as in the parable of the sower; some come once, and never again; some for a while, and then cease; others persevere, and are taught. The Missionaries are cautious in admitting converts to baptism, and desire they should well understand the nature of the vows before they assume them. Notwithstanding this, twenty-nine have already been baptized. The city of Shanghai being a centre of commerce, is very favorably situated. The immense river upon which it stands flows through a most populous and productive region; the climate is good, and the country fertile to excess. Here thousands come from the interior, and with them the Missionaries have daily intercourse. No plan has been found so well suited to a course of instruction as the teaching of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The still ignorant heathen will commit, for instance, the Creed to memory; but when stopped at the commencement, and examined thus — "You say I believe; what do you mean by I? what are you?" The reply, probably, will be — "I am a man, with a body, three souls, and six spirits." Such is the darkness of the benighted heathen! And they think that, after death, while two of their souls and their six spirits are disposed of in various ways, one soul (their identity) passes into the body of some animal, or wretched person, until they accomplish a certain number of transmigrations, to fit them for the heaven they believe in. Idolatry pervades every thought, and every action; at almost every step you find a temple, or a shrine, with its idol, — to the Queen of Heaven, — to the Earth, — to the Sea, — to any power they wish to propitiate. Most feelingly did the preacher plead that help might be sent, — not so much in money, although that, too, is needed, — but in Missionaries. Ladies of refinement, education, and good breeding, as well as of piety, and devotion to the Missionary work, are greatly useful. The Chinese, although sunk in gross idolatry, are noted for learning and refinement. Such is the etiquette of Chinese life, that female missionaries alone have access to the women of China; besides that, they are peculiarly adapted

to the instruction of the children. The immediate wants of the Mission are, a few more clergymen, a physician, a schoolmaster, and two or three candidates to spend a year before their ordination, on the field to which they will devote themselves. The work is arduous, the field extensive, and the laborers too few. May the Lord of the harvest send forth laborers into His harvest!

2. CHINESE IN NEW YORK.

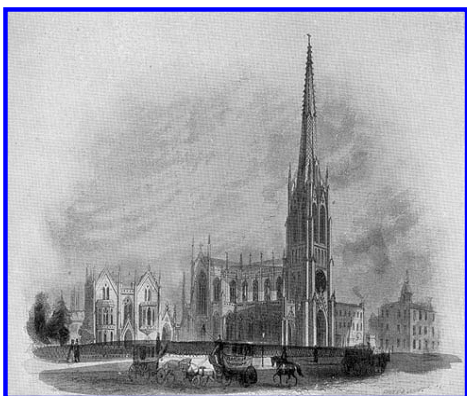
REPORT OF THE Rev. Edward. W. SYLE. Protestant Episcopal Church Missionary in Shanghai.

THIS Report came to hand just as the SPIRIT OF MISSIONS was going to press, so that we have no space to introduce it as we should have desired.

To the Editors of the Spirit of Missions.

NEW-YORK, 15th July, 1854.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN: IN commencing the communication which I am desirous of making, I feel somewhat perplexed as to how it should be addressed. The labors which it is intended to record have been performed here at home, even in this very city; on which account it would seem suitable to report them to the Domestic, if not to a City Missionary Committee. At the same time, the Missionary and those among whom he labored, and the language employed, all belong to the Foreign Department; in consideration of which, the matter seems rightly to come under the cognizance of the Foreign Committee. Without, therefore, attempting to decide the point, I will proceed to give, in that "journal form" which I have become accustomed to use when writing home from Shanghai, the particulars of those efforts which have been making for the last two months among the destitute Chinese in New-York.



I must premise that my attention was first called to this matter by a letter from Rev. R. H. Dickson, City Missionary, connected with **Grace Church, N. Y.**¹ Under date of April 21st, 1854, this esteemed brother wrote to me, inquiring whether I thought any good could be done, in Sunday Schools or otherwise, to these poor creatures, who were, he said, "scattered through the streets, eking out a subsistence by the sale of cigars and fabrics of their own, looking forlorn and neglected." It seems that some ladies of the Grace Church congregation had become anxious that something should be attempted; and a proposition had been made that some of the students of the Theological Seminary should meet the

Chinese on Sundays, and attempt to teach them; but the want of some one acquainted with the Chinese language proved an effectual barrier to this undertaking, and caused application to be made to me.

In consequence of the favorable reply which I returned to this letter of inquiry. I received, under date of May 2d., another communication from Mr. Dickson, inviting me to come on to New-York, assuring me of adequate support and co-operation in the carrying through of this undertaking, which I was urged to enter upon forthwith. Prior engagements, however, did not allow of my leaving Virginia till the 24th of May, when I set out from Leesburgh for the North. Here I may commence my Home-Foreign Missionary Journal.

Tuesday, 24th May.—At Philadelphia, where I spent some time consulting over the cases of parties whose minds were moved to engage personally in the Missionary work in China. It is encouraging to know that there are such persons in the Church, and that we are not in reality so entirely cut off from the hope of having an accession of Missionary laborers as the extreme difficulty of late years in obtaining such would seem to indicate.

1 Contemporary drawing of Grace Church, with wooden steeple, c1850. "Dickson wrote to Syle on April 21, 1854, asking if Sunday schools or related activities might be undertaken among some of the Chinese, who were described as 'poor creatures who were scattered throughout the streets, eking out a subsistence by the sale of cigars and fabrics of their own, looking forlorn and neglected.'" "Cohen, Lucy M, *Chinese in the Post Civil War South: A People Without a History*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p. 9.

Wednesday, 25.—At New-York, where I found out Mr. Dickson. and in company with him waited upon some of those ladies connected with Grace Church and St. George's congregations, who had interested themselves in the matter of relieving the destitute Chinese. Found in every one much readiness to co-operate in carrying out any feasible plan. What that plan should be must depend upon the result of my investigations among the Chinese themselves, with regard to whose lodging-places and occupations I was told some information could be obtained from Mr. Pease, at the "Five Points."

Thursday, 26.—Still in company with brother Dickson, who piloted me to that place of unenviable notoriety, the "Five Points."² Here we saw Mr. Pease, and learned from him many particulars as to the "whereabouts" of our Chinamen. There were, Mr. Pease told us, about forty in the city—some living on Ward's Island, at the establishment maintained there by the Commissioners of Emigration: others were to be found at certain boarding-houses in Cherry Street; other some had been a long time in this country, and had married here: and others yet, were to be found serving behind the counters in tea-stores, the locations of which were mentioned to us.

Mr. Pease told us that one of the Chinese, *Okkeo* by name, had been for some months a servant about the Five Points Mission establishment, and had conducted himself remarkably well, evincing great quickness at learning to do whatever was showed him, and proving remarkably reliable and trustworthy. On Sundays, *Okkeo* had exhibited great curiosity to know what they were about during worship, and seemed to find it hard to understand how (they could pray without an image before their eyes. His appearance of distress and indignation at being suspected, on a certain occasion, of dishonesty, was said to be very moving; and it was plain that the poor fellow, whatever might be his real faults or merits, had succeeded in enlisting the lively sympathy of those who had known him. During his stay with Mr. Pease, some twenty or thirty of his countrymen had come to see him at different times, but they came no more; and he himself had wandered off somewhere, so that no trace of him could be given me. Before we left, Mr. Pease suggested that, in case it should be desired to place some of the men in the country, he thought they might be located, temporarily, at least, at the newly-established farm connected with the House of Industry.

My next visit was to one of the tea stores, whose direction had been given me; and there I saw a veritable Chinaman playing his part as salesman, with an alacrity of movement and flourish of manner that were quite exemplary. It was evident at a glance that he wanted nobody to take care of him, but was abundantly able to be the guardian of his own interests—indeed, that any one who should have to deal with him would require to keep a sharp look-out, lest they found themselves on the worst side of a bargain. I observed him refuse, in the most authoritative manner, to give the change for a dollar note to a man who bought only a small quantity of coffee. Said he to the customer, "You want change this note—must buy half a pound, then can do;" and the man was so taken aback, that he took the half pound with quite a subdued air.

The number of customers which his presence brought to the store made it a little difficult for me to get an audience with my Chinese friend. When I did succeed in fixing his attention by addressing him in his own language, he was not disposed to be communicative at all. It was not until after the proprietor of the store (to whom I explained my object) had shown by his manner that he felt respectfully towards my cause and myself, that the Chinaman thought it worth his while to stop his work and give me the information I wanted. His own personal history would appear to have been a singular and eventful one, if his own account of himself may be relied on; but it is too long to write out in detail. He speaks English quite intelligibly, and seems familiar with several of the Chinese dialects; which might easily be accounted for if what he said was true about his having been for some time in the service of Dr. Gutzlaff, and followed him in his voyagings up the coast of China, to Amoy, Ningpo, Chusan, Shanghai, and elsewhere.

2 Fitts, Robert, *The Rhetoric of Reform: The Five Points Missions and the Cult of Domesticity*, pp 115-132 in *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 35 No 2, *Becoming New York: The Five Points Neighborhood*, 2001.

At parting he promised to invite the chief men of his acquaintance to meet me at his house, the address of which he gave me, and where I am told his wife resides—an American woman recently married to him. Two other instances of such intermarriages have been mentioned to me, though in these I believe the wives are Irishwomen.³

My last call to-day was on Bishop Wainwright, who expressed a very cordial interest in the undertaking, and promised to exert his influence with the City Mission, in case anything within the range of their ability might be required.

Friday, 27.—Made explorations in Cherry Street, among the sailors' boarding-houses, a description of which does not fall within the range of my present record, else I might tell such a tale of abounding sin and wretchedness as would alarm (as well it might) some of the purer-minded readers of this journal. Such scenes as may be witnessed in certain quarters of Christian cities, such as London and New-York—the centres of the most highly Christianized civilization the world has ever seen—would no more bear relating than the arcana of the Eleusinian mysteries of old, or the vile orgies of modern Hindoo festivities. It is in view of such things as become known to the city Missionary concerning the dark places of Christendom, that one is made to feel the application of that passage, so full of instruction as to God's character and government—

"I, the Lord, change not: therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed."

But I must remember that I am writing about the heathen—the Chinese heathen, I mean. And that I found some thirty or more of them stowed away, like steerage passengers in an emigrant ship, in two small rooms—the wretched and filthy condition of which I will not stop to describe. In the first I entered I found eight Ningpo and Shanghai men sitting round a table gambling. On a sort of lounge were arranged the well-known apparatus for smoking opium : one of the company was evidently under its influence. A sudden huddling away of the cards, (lice, &c., took place on my opening the door, and one of the men who had seen me at Brooklyn last year, told the rest of them who I was. Immediately the national respect for the "teacher" exhibited itself, and they stood round with the greatest decorum, while I sat and explained to them the object, I had in view. To say that they were *delighted*, would not half express the feeling they manifested. My speaking to them in their own "tongue wherein they were born," was enough to win their confidence, and insure their compliance with whatever I might suggest.

This was not the case, however, with the occupants of the second apartment. They were Canton men, part of the remnant of that dramatic company which had been brought over from California in the month of April, 1853, and had passed through a series of vicissitudes—failure of their project, desertion by those who brought them here, forfeiture of their wardrobe, destitution of the means of subsistence, banishment (as they considered it) to Ward's Island, gradual emergence therefrom, and engagement in the selling of cigars, &c., about the streets—so that they became part of the "stock subjects" for caricature sketches of New-York city life. Such had been the history of their twelve-months' sojourn in this Christian land: with the exception of *Okkeo*, to whom Mr. Pease showed kindness, I have not heard of one of these poor heathen who has been taken by the hand, in a spirit of compassion, by any follower of Him who said—"A stranger, and ye took me in." The Commissioners of Emigration, and especially their kind-hearted Vice-President, have acted with the greatest consideration towards the whole company; but that individual well-doing which says, "Come with me, and I will do thee good, in the name of the Lord," does not seem to have been exhibited in any other instance.⁴

3 The Irish were held in very low esteem among 19th century English-speaking communities in the United States and Australia. It was argued in both countries that Englishwomen would not accept a Chinese husband so any European woman married to a Chinese must, therefore, be Irish. The best examination of Chinese-European marriage is Bagnall, Kate, *Golden shadows on a white land: An exploration of the lives of white women who partnered Chinese men and their children in southern Australia, 1855-1915*, PhD University of Sydney, online 7 August 2008 at — <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/1412>

4 Similar rejection from European Christians was reported in Australia. Welch, Ian (1980), *Pariahs and Outcasts*,

Was it any wonder that I found them distrustful and shy of me, as though I was concocting some fresh scheme by which they were to be victimized! I seemed to make no progress at all in conciliating them; their dialect was different from that which I spoke;⁵ none of them were acquainted with me previously; even my white cravat did me no service in their eyes, for they seemed not to know anything about Clergymen, or Missionaries, or Christians, as such.⁶ I looked up in one corner of their little apartment, and saw a shrine, with their little idols in it: before them the ever-burning lamp and the smoking incense. Need I say that I left that room with a heavy heart!

An old Canton-man, who spoke some English, and who has kept a boarding-house here in New-York for the last twenty years, told me that the number of the play-actors remaining now was thirty-three: of these, two wish to remain here, and be taught English; the remainder all want to get back to China.

In order to complete my investigations, I visited several other boarding-houses, where I was told some Chinamen were lodging, and such I found to be the case; but these were generally seamen—or rather cooks and stewards—who arrive here in vessels from various ports, and ship again, like any other sailors; these were not the proper subjects of my search, though they are an interesting class of men, and deserve some special attention, because of their peculiarities; for though they are able to speak English well enough for practical purposes, they are thoroughly Chinese in their thoughts. I found their number to be in one house (kept by a Chinaman for the last fifteen years, and who has been married some (time) about 15; at another 3, and at a third 12; in all 30, which, with the 33 of the dramatic corps⁷, and the eight or ten of my Shanghai-Ningpo men, make over seventy—a larger number than I had expected to find.



Tuesday morning, 30th May.—The proposed meeting at **St. George's** Vestry proved an entire failure—not one came. Went to Cherry-street myself, and gave notice for another meeting on Thursday morning. Then, in company with Mr. Dixon, to Blackwell's and Ward's Islands, at which last place we found fourteen of the Chinese, some occupied in roiling up cigarettes—opium-smoking apparatus to be seen here also. Thursday, 1st June.—The Vestry-room was not large enough to hold conveniently all who came. Thirty-five gave me their names, and told me what they wished to have done for them—I promising to meet their wishes as far as practicable. Then, as the only way in my power of expressing for them the compassion I felt, and of convincing them that we meant kindly by them, I gave each man a quarter of a dollar, telling them to come again on Sunday afternoon, not for money, but for worship. Then, the Rector, Mr. Evans and two other clerical brethren being present. I requested that they would all be seated in the church, and alter a few moments' pause, I went in and held the first service, preached the first discourse, in Chinese, to which the walls of that venerated building ever echoed. The place, the occasion, the presence—all aided to impress my own mind with emotions most unusual both in their character and intensity. In that old church where was held the farewell meeting at which our dear Bishop heard the farewell words of his brethren who were "commending him to the grace of God—to the work for which he had been appointed"—there, easily distinguished among the rest, one honored head was seen,

Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University. (Available on microfilm). Welch, Ian (2003), Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong CHEONG, 1851-1928, PhD Australian National University. Online 1 January 2012 at — <http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/index.html>

5 The men Syle interviewed were Cantonese speakers. Syle spoke the Shanghai dialect of the quite different Southern Min language group.

6 See discussion of the modern clerical collar at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clerical_collar

7 Chinese theatrical troupes were reported in Australia and the United States. One Chinese theatre entrepreneur in Victoria was converted, and later became a very well-respected minister of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong — Rev. Fong [Kwong] Yat-sau

beautiful for its whiteness, and well known wherever charities for home and missions for abroad were to be advocated and promoted.



The name need hardly be mentioned here; every one knows it was **Dr. Milnor, the Rector of old St. George's.**⁸ Now, a company of Chinese occupy the seats on either side of the centre aisle, and near the chancel railing, so that exactly in the midst of them is that stone on which the one word "Vault" is written. Whose is that vault? The snow-white head is lying there at rest. The world is busy all around us; so that none, it may be, of the passers-by are aware that the work of Missions is going on even during those week-day hours, and under such unwonted circumstances. But the God of Missions knows it all, and will surely guide to a good conclusion what has been thus solemnly commenced.

Saturday, 28.—While casting in my mind as to where I should find a place wherein to assemble these several classes for instruction in religious things, and consultation, over their wants, I bethought me of old St. George's—the tower of which may be seen from Cherry-street, where most of the men are lodging. An application for the use of the Vestry-room was responded to by the Rector with great readiness, and I sent word, as well as I could, through the man in the tea-store, for them all to meet me there next Tuesday morning. An engagement to preach in Philadelphia, for the China Mission, will keep me away next Sunday.

It would only interest those who might wish to know how benevolent operations are carried on in New-York if I should attempt to write out in detail all the steps by which this movement progressed: moreover, I find that it would occupy an unreasonable amount of space. It must suffice, therefore, to say that I continued to meet and instruct these men—numbering from forty to fifty—every Thursday morning and every Sunday afternoon. I gave them also some books, which happened to be in my possession, and some (especially a few copies of the new version of Genesis) which were kindly sent me by the Hon. W. Lowrie, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. I was also indebted to Rev. Dr. Brigham, Secretary of the Bible Society, for some copies of the Book of Genesis in Chinese: these contributions proved very opportune and acceptable.

It was not, however, till after service on Sunday, the 11th June, that anything was done which seemed like the dawning of the day of help. Then, one Christian friend who had, in company with others, come forward to express sympathy in the undertaking, declared that "something must be done for these poor fellows." And he was just the man to do it.

Next day, chiefly by his exertions, a meeting was called for the purpose. It was attended by only a few; but enough interest was manifested to prove that a second call would be effectual. This proved to be the case. On the 19th an adjourned meeting was held, and presided over by Bishop Wainwright. The Rev. Dr. Matthews, of this city, took an active part in the proceedings, and the result was the appointment of the following ten gentlemen as a Committee to take measures for the relief of the destitute Chinese:—

Messrs. Pelatiah Peril, T. C. Doremus, R. B. Minturn, Stewart Brown, Jas. Harper, Alfred Edwards, David Olyphant, H. H. Elliot, James Van Nostrand, and George A. Jarvis.

This Committee has labored without intermission until the present time, when it may be considered that their object has been accomplished. They have raised about \$2,500, and have sent off twenty-two of the Chinese to California, as well as four to Canton.⁹ Moreover, the immediate necessities of those who remain here have been relieved, especially by providing them with a decent lodging-place, where they will stay until suitable employment for them can be found.

Out of the number who thus remain in this country, there are six who are desirous of receiving an

8 Images above—Old St. Georges before removal of spires in 1889 and the Rev. Dr. James Milnor.

9 Of those who remained three opened a small tea store and also sold Chinese-style paper lanterns. Their leader was Tsung Ze-kway, a Shanghai man who entered the United States with Syle. Cohen op cit, pp 10-11.

education. Of these I may have more to communicate hereafter. For the present, I feel that I have already trespassed too long upon your time and space. I am, Rev'd and dear brethren,

Very truly yours, 53 Broadway, 18th July, 1854.

E. W. SYLE.¹⁰

10 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 6, July 1854, pp 323-328.

3. DESTITUTE CHINESE IN NEW-YORK.

Rev. E. W. Syle.

To the Editors of the Spirit of Missions.

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN :—At the close of my last communication respecting the destitute Chinese in New-York, I mentioned that those who remained here had been temporarily provided for until suitable employment for them should be found. This had reference to such as wished to work with their hands, either as house-servants or on farms, and I am happy to say that they have been all very suitably located in one of the suburbs of the city.

Three of them have joined together and opened a little store where tea is sold, and where also may be seen exhibited some of those fantastic lanterns, &c., which the ingenuity of one of the partners has constructed. This man was wrecked a short time since in the ship "Trade Wind,"¹¹ and found his way to us from hearing that there was a Chinese "Rendezvous" at the Sailors' Home, No. 107 Greenwich-street. I could not refuse him temporary assistance under the circumstances, and he has proved one of the most willing, as well as most able, to help himself. Another member of this Chinese "firm" is a carpenter, and the shop itself gives evidence of his manipulations, and quite original they are in some respects. The "head of the house," Tsung Ze-kway by name, is a lively, industrious little Shanghai man, who came over in the same ship with me, and accompanied me in some of my visits to various parishes. He professes (and, I hope, with some truth) to be a Christian, and has two or three times asked me to put him on the footing of a scholar; but the book-learning went hard with him, and the confinement to study almost made him sick, so he has resolved to follow out his natural disposition and be a tradesman. May he prove an honest one!

Thirteen remained to be provided for, and they are now working as day-laborers, all in one employ, and all in the same neighborhood as the tea-store, which is at Gowanus, near the Greenwood Cemetery, on the road to Fort Hamilton; these I now consider as all off my hands, as far as temporal relief is concerned, though I keep a watch over them, and attend to their instruction on Sundays. In the morning they go to one of the neighboring churches, and in the evening I preach to them in their own language.

And now I come to speak of the six others who have requested to be taught our language, and for whom, accordingly, provision has been temporarily made, for the purpose of giving them the opportunity of showing whether they are capable of receiving a thorough education or not. Thus far the balance of moneys collected by the Committee of Ten, and by them intrusted for disbursement to the discretion of their Treasurer and myself, has sufficed to meet current expenses. Now that amount is expended, and I have undertaken to provide for the wants of these six scholars until such time as some other openings may be made for their support and instruction. Some contributions from friendly hands (some of them anonymous) have already been sent me for this especial object, and I feel no doubt but that enough will be furnished in this way to bear me harmless, while making the experiment I have entered upon.

Their progress heretofore has been quite encouraging. Indeed, I was quite surprised when I went to their little domicile, and made an examination into their proficiency, to find what good progress they had made in that hardest of all hard lessons to a Chinaman—spelling. The gentleman (a theological student) who has been engaged as their tutor speaks very well of their behavior, and praises their diligence; this is really more than I expected, for the youngest of them is 18, while the oldest is 35! I have thought of sending for the names, and some little sketch of their history; but that might be premature. It will be better to wait till the end of their three months' probation, and then see what is to be said concerning them. This will bring us to the middle of September, and, in the mean time, let me bespeak the prayers of those who love the souls of the Chinese, that it may please the Lord to add His blessing to the instructions they are now receiving, so that they may become

11 See details, online 1 January 2012 at — <http://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?32199>

His servants indeed, and be made useful instruments in the doing of His work in the days that are coming.

What kind of days are these likely to be? Days of commotion at home, and commingling abroad; of suffering and of progress; of great transition—breaking up of old institutions and dissolution of old ties; then an interval when all will be in a state of solution, as it were; and then the period of remodelling comes, and the elements which are most energetic, or which have been most largely introduced while the opportunity lasted, will make themselves felt, and become apparent. Then will appear the wisdom of having conducted faithful the operations when matters were in a quiet, and, as some would say, an "uninteresting" state.

But let us look at a few of the signs of the times now present, and so endeavor to realize how largely this country already has to do with the people of the land of Sinim—the people rather than the government—for it must always be borne in mind that these are two very distinct parties, having little sympathy between them.

The "cup that cheers, but not inebriates," as Cowper has it. Whose hands plant the shrub, and pluck the leaves, and pack the chests of tea that give rise to so important a branch of trade as that which so many of our merchant-princes carry on? Chinese. The matting that overspreads our floors in summer-time—who make it? The Chinese. The fans which help to relieve the sultry heat of our climate—who fabricate them? The Chinese. The embroiderings, the carvings, the garden seats, the vases, which adorn the persons and the residences of the wealthy—who furnish them, in a very large proportion? The Chinese. Who are those multitudes leaving the eastern and crowding to the western shores of the Pacific, bringing to California their labor and their vices, their customs and their idolatries? Chinese. And they are coming, and they will come, to these Eastern States more and more numerously. Our connection with the Chinese is becoming daily more intimate and inevitable.

The emigration from Canton has been so large that old ships not considered seaworthy have been bought up at enormous prices to meet the demand for passages. The now indispensable guano is put on board our ships at the Chincha Islands by Chinese laborers, and what unutterable suffering are they not made to undergo in the operation! The labor on the Isthmus railroad is largely performed by Chinese. In Kentucky, the Chinese coolies are said to be employed at certain iron mills on the Cumberland River near Eddyville. Tea-stores, owned and kept by Chinamen, are to be found at Boston, Albany, and other places; not to mention that Chinese are to be seen in the tea-stores of this city, and at Cincinnati, Dayton, Indianapolis, and elsewhere. Chinese cooks and stewards on board our ships are now quite frequently to be met with.

All these facts go to show that it is no longer a question whether or not we shall have intercourse with the Chinese. They have come to us; they are here in considerable numbers, and they are coming in numbers yet more considerable. In San Francisco, they have commenced the publication of a newspaper, in their mvn language; indeed, the government of California has found it necessary to use the Chinese language officially; the second section of the Miners' Tax Act has been published officially in a Chinese translation. One of their number (formerly a scholar in the Morrison Missionary School) put forth some letters admirably written, in reply to certain anti-Chinese sentiments promulged officially by Governor Bigler.¹²

It is well worth the while of those who have husbands, brothers, and sons dwelling amidst those golden sands, and indulging in golden dreams, to realize that in sickness their beloved ones may be nursed, or neglected by a Chinese servant, a neighbor; may be initiated into the unutterable iniquities that prevail among the heathen by Chinese adepts in the arts of evil.

These things are now just beginning to be felt. The immigration may be controlled and leavened

12 Welch, Ian, (2008). "Our Neighbours but not our Countrymen, Christianity and the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria (Australia) and California," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol 13, (2004-2006), Theme Volume: Christianity as an Issue in the History of US-China Relations.

now by those who will take the trouble to do it. Surely, we are called upon to exert ourselves more than we have heretofore done: more here, more in California, more in China itself—the source and fountain from whence flow all these little matters which threaten to spread a moral miasma wherever they permeate. If there is such a thing as a "set time" to exert ourselves, both for the good of the Chinese and for our own preservation, surely it is now. I remain, Rev. and Dear Brethren,
Very truly yours,
E. W. SYLE.¹³

13 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 9, September 1854, pp 339-343.

4. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—1.

Panorama View of San Francisco 1850.



There is a new element of interest in this part, of what a distinguished Presbyterian has called "the debatable ground between the two Committees." Large numbers of Chinese are gathering on the shores of California, numbering already, it is said, fifty thousand, and rapidly increasing. What shall we do for these? is a question already engaging the earnest interest of the Domestic Committee, and they contemplate establishing a Mission there, if their views are sanctioned by the Church, and furthered by the help of God. They have appointed the Rev. E. W. Syle, late Missionary to China, their Missionary in this important sphere, (subject to the approval of the Missionary Bishop of California,) and he will accept the appointment and soon depart for his new and interesting field. This appointment has been made, after conference with the Foreign Committee, who have transferred Mr. Syle to our service. Your Committee know no way in which the great and sacred cause of Missions, both Domestic and Foreign, can be more effectually aided and promoted. It gives to the Domestic field the attractive interest of distance and the foreign element, and it promises to Foreign Missions a ready pathway and an open door to all the distant nations of the earth. Indeed, it must be the door of entrance for the light and love of Christ in distant and benighted lands, and the pathway for the Cross and the heralds of salvation to the dying millions of the Eastern world. "Westward the course of empire takes its way," and Westward has been the course and pathway of the light and love of the cross and kingdom of Christ. Light, then, with Christian truth and fire of love, the distant stars of California and Oregon, and the long-waiting sons of China, India, and the East will come to the brightness of their rising. Only light the watch-fires all along the coast of the Pacific, and keep them burning brightly, and they will cast their radiant beams far o'er the darkness of the isles and of the sea, and draw the wondering eyes of distant nations unto Him who, lifted up upon his cross of pain and shame, "Shall draw all men unto Him." The whole subject is earnestly commended to the interest and attention of the Board, and the prayers and contributions of the Church.¹⁴

14 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 11, November 1854, pp 427-28.

4. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—2.

THE REV. E. W. SYLE.

The return of Mr. Syle, from China, was noticed in the last Annual Report. During the period of one year from the time of his arrival in this country, Mr. Syle acted as an agent for the Committee, in efforts to awaken and increase an interest in the Mission to China, with a view to securing means and men for a more enlarged and vigorous prosecution of the work in that land. A considerable measure of success attended his efforts in this direction.

At the close of the year for which leave of absence had been granted, circumstances were such as to make necessary a longer continuance in this country on the part of Mr. Syle; and, being unable to pursue any extended agency for the Committee, Mr. Syle, in compliance with the very earnest wishes of parties in the City of New-York, undertook a Mission in behalf of the destitute Chinese living in that city in a state of want and wretchedness. He sought them out in their abodes of misery, and ministered to their temporal necessities. He gathered them twice in each week—Sundays and Thursdays—into one of the churches of that city, (old St. George's,) and taught them concerning the faith in Christ. He interested several of the leading merchants and others in the welfare of these people, and the result of his labors was, the holding of a public meeting, the appointment of an active and efficient Committee, through whose efforts a sufficient amount of money was secured to take these foreigners to the place where they wished to go, viz., some to California and some to China. Some few have chosen to remain, and have, up to this time, received the attention and care of Mr. Syle. The Committee feel that in all this a good work has been accomplished by their Missionary.

The Committee have now to state that the Domestic Committee, being anxious to establish a Mission to the Chinese in California, have desired to secure the services of Mr. Syle in that important enterprise, and have appointed him to the work, the Foreign Committee acquiescing in the arrangement.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 10, October 1854, p. 481.

5. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—3.¹⁶

Rev. Edward Syle.

THE following article has been prepared at our request by the Rev. Mr. Syle, and gives a brief statement of the field and work on which he is about to enter. We commend it to the serious attention and earnest interest of the Church. The Editors of Church papers will do a favor to the cause by giving it an early insertion, and we bespeak for it the cordial sympathy, earnest prayers, and liberal contributions, of all our readers :—

Were it practicable for us to reproduce, on this side of the Continent, the copy of a small printed newspaper which we have just been considering, it should be spread before our readers as one of the most noteworthy ' signs of the times." It is printed in San Francisco, and bears the title of the "GOLDENHILLS NEWS" but these words, together with a leading article headed "*American Preaching versus Practice*," are all that would be intelligible to a reader of our language. All the rest—shipping news, express advertisements, bankers' notices, &c.,&c.—is printed in Chinese; and the question which we cannot refrain from asking, as we look upon the four small pages of unintelligible printing, is, "For whom is this paper designed?" The answer is, "For the fifty or sixty thousand Chinese who have already found their way to California." If we ask again, "By whom is it edited and printed?"—the reply is, "Chiefly by young men who were educated as boys in Mission Schools in China."

It needs no argument to prove that a Mission field is opened here which it devolves upon us to cultivate promptly and diligently. That upwards of fifty thousand heathen men (not to mention a number of females, whose character is of the worst description) cannot become intermingled with such a population as that of California without making its impression, and that a most deleterious one, on the mass, is self-evident. The political questions which their presence has already raised are perplexing and difficult of settlement; the social position which they will eventually occupy is a problem which must be practically solved not long hence; and the means which the Christians of this country hold in their hands for evangelizing this heathen community, must be employed without delay, or the favorable moment will be lost for preventing the virtual *establishment of idolatrous worship* in the State of California!

That our own Church may not be found wanting in the discharge of her duty in such an emergency, the Domestic Committee have resolved to send to San Francisco a Missionary whose especial work it will be to deal with this strange element in the national character.

Exactly in what manner this can be attempted, is a question of detail to be settled when the precise circumstances of the case are more fully understood. The simple fact is, that the heathen have, in the course of God's providence, been brought to our very doors, and the plain duty which devolves upon us is to bear our part in the attempt to Christianize them. To aid them in this, the Committee ask that the means for commencing this peculiar and interesting work may be placed in their hands by prompt and liberal contributions.¹⁷

16 Bishop Kip reflects the anti-Chinese prejudices common in the United States and elsewhere around the Pacific Rim in the 19th century.

17 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 12, December 1854, pp 527-528.

6. MISSIONARY MEETINGS & REV. EDWARD SYLE.

SEVERAL of these have been held in quick succession, and the interest awakened by their services cannot but result in permanent and growing good.

The first was held on the evening of Monday, November 7, in Christ Church, Baltimore, Bishop Whittingham presiding. Addresses were made by the Rev. Drs. Johns and Balch, and the Rev. Messrs. Syle and A. C. Coxe. The meeting, though not large, was interesting, and productive of good.

The second meeting was held in St. Paul's, Boston, on the evening of Sunday, November 19th, when Bishop Eastburn presided, and the Rev. Mr. Syle made an address in detail, giving a brief history of China and Missionary operations in that country, and of the nature and prospects of our Mission to the Chinese in California.

The third meeting was in St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia, on the evening of Sunday, November 26. Bishop Potter presided, and addressed the meeting with earnestness and effect. Addresses were also made by the Rev. Dr. Stevens, the Rev. Messrs. Wilmer and Syle, and the Secretary of the Domestic Committee. The church was crowded, and a deep interest awakened by this animated and interesting meeting, which will not, as we hope, be lost, in coming fruits and lasting good upon the intelligent and influential congregation there gathered from various parishes.

The fourth meeting was held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Advent Sunday evening, December 6. The Rev. Dr. Lewis, the Rector, presided; and the opening services were by the Rev. Mr. Drowne, Assistant Minister of the Parish. It was intended as a farewell meeting for the Rev. Mr. Syle, our Missionary to the Chinese in California, who embarked on the 5th December, in the steamer *George Law*, for his distant field. Mr. Syle addressed the meeting in a review of his past labors and a prospective glance at his future field, and manifested deep emotion at the parting and the prospect. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of St. Ann's, Brooklyn, who showed a deep interest in the person and work of the Missionary, and manifested warmly and strongly his growing interest in the enlarging field and important work of our Domestic Missions. That thoughtful, earnest minds, and firm, fast friends of Missions every where, are bearing a like testimony, is to us full of encouragement and matter of devout thanksgiving.

We give the following report of the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Cutler, as we find them in the CHURCH JOURNAL:"

He spoke of the imperative necessity of this Missionary undertaking in California. To the political economist and to the Christian, it was a momentous thing, this large and increasing influx of foreigners from every part of our land. They bring political and religious views with them, unlike ours, and are generally ignorant, superstitious, and given to unbelief. It seemed to him that God was sending them here, and planning thereby their mental and moral elevation. To this end He had laid open this vast country to the Anglo-Saxon race, and placed us here in advance. He had planted here His Church; colleges and schools had been everywhere established: all, to enable us to act as a lever upon the masses now flocking to our coasts. The Prophet Isaiah, (Ixi. 5 and 6 vs.), it would almost seem, had foretold this event, and marked out our duty: "Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen and vinedressers. But ye shall be named the Priests of the Lord; men shall call you the Ministers of our God: ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and in their glory shall ye boast yourselves." The people of other countries have come to toil for us, to build our cities, to till our lands, to construct our railroads and canals, and we rejoice in their labors; but our duty to them is to be Priests of the Lord—to be Missionaries among them, and living witnesses of God's truth. Our great extent of territory, the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and the numerous advantages of this country over the old and densely populated countries of the other hemisphere, were invitations to them to come over and settle among us. To keep alive our liberties, to protect our free institutions, to perpetuate all that is pure and good in our midst,

requires from us every possible exertion. When he considered this great influx from the Old World, and looked on the mighty issues which were to follow, in religion, in politics, in society, he could not help thinking what a most necessary and all-important instrumentality the Domestic Missions of our Church were becoming. He would not discourage efforts now going on in foreign lands; but he could not help saying that of late, in view of the considerations already stated, his interest in Domestic Missions had increased tenfold. They were necessary for our self-preservation, as well as for the immortal welfare of the teeming millions of foreigners already here and ever coming. He concluded his able and eloquent remarks by showing that it was the surest way of testing the vitality and ministering to the growth of our own piety, to work, ourselves, for the conversion of others. It would be the means of saving them, and also of saving ourselves.

The Domestic Secretary made the closing address, and read a letter of instructions and encouragement to Mr. Syle, by the Domestic Committee.

The meeting was well attended, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and made an impression on the friends of Missions present, which will be no damper on the interest which even such a storm could not repress.

The fifth and last meeting was held in Grace Church, Providence, on Wednesday evening, December 6, the day on which the Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D., was consecrated as Bishop of Rhode Island.

Bishop Clark presided, and addressed the meeting with great feeling, ability and effect. Addresses were also made by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Lee of Iowa, the Rev. Dr. Vinton of Boston and the Secretary of the Domestic Committee. This meeting, though last, was not least in its stirring interest, and will not, we trust, be without its lasting fruits. A collection was made for Missionary purposes in the Diocese of Iowa, a direction suggested by the presence of Bishop Lee, and his part in the services of the day and the exercises of the meeting.

The details of these meetings have been given more fully in the Church papers. The multiplying of such services in our larger cities and towns would do much to quicken and draw out an interest in the great and solemn work of our General Missions, and thus secure far more of sympathy and earnest prayer, and kind co-operation and large-hearted liberality. We here subjoin the letter alluded to above, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Syle on the eve of his departure, by the Domestic Committee:—

NEW-YORK, December 2d, 1854.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER :As the time of your departure is at hand, the Domestic Committee would commend you and yours to the kind care of Him who rules the waves, as well as to the aid and blessing of the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, in your arduous and holy work. Your past experience in seeking to enlighten and to guide the minds and hearts of heathen in their blindness, will show you that this is no easy work, and teach you where to look for grace and strength to cheer you in your labors and crown your toils and prayers with good success.

Your new sphere of labor is one of stirring interest. Christian Missions, in their fulness and their power, there meet and mingle. With blinded heathen at our very doors, we have a Foreign Mission on domestic ground; and God thus, in His providence, is teaching us that, in the work of Missions, all is one—our aims, our cares, our toils, our prayers, our helps, our hopes, our end, all meet in the one Saviour, the same Eternal Spirit;—the same great end—the salvation of souls and the glory of God, and the one cheering hope of Christian hearts, in the smile of a common Father and the one happy home of heaven.

In your new work, God has set before you an open door. There are those waiting to greet you on the shores of California whom your kindness has relieved and won to love their benefactor and welcome his instructions. We shall expect you to go on and prosper in your work, in cordial conference with the Missionary Bishop of California, subject to whose approval your Mission has been sanctioned by the Board; and to report to him and us alike your efforts and discouragements, your progress and your hopes. As much of the success of your mission must depend upon the

enlightened interest which shall feel for it, and pray for it, and give to it at home, we need not say that frequent life-like and stirring accounts of your work and sphere will be most valuable and important. We hope and trust that, in the glorious work and the vast field and prospects now before you, you will find ample room and full employment for the remnant of your energies and life; but if it should be otherwise, you will, of course, give us timely notice of the reasons and clear orderings of Providence which may induce you to withdraw from it. But, hoping and believing otherwise, we look forward with high hope to the rich fruits and happy issue of your ministry and labors among the Chinese in California—a work and ministry which will identify your name and efforts with the great work of Christian Missions at home and abroad, with the spiritual regeneration of the hundred millions of China, and with the gathering and solemn destinies of our own great and growing country. That you may have for all these things the strength and power, we may assure you of the cordial interest, heartfelt sympathy and united prayers of this Committee, and of a multitude of faithful, earnest, praying souls, who will thus hold up your hands and cheer and speed your earnest way. Go forth, then, brother, in the name and strength of God, to do and suffer all His holy will, and when the Chief Shepherd shall appear, you shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away!

In the name and on behalf of the Domestic Committee, your friend and fellow-servant in the Missionary work,

R. B. VAN KLEECK,
Sec. and Gen. Agent of the Domestic Committee.¹⁸

18 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 29, No 1, January 1855, pp 2 -6.

7. MISSION TO THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA-4

Rev. E W Syle.

The Rev. Mr. Syle will embark, D.V., for this important work, on the 6th day of December. He is employed during his brief stay, at the request of the Committee, in presenting the claims of his Mission, in some of our larger cities, with a view to exciting an interest in the Mission, and raising funds for its support. Individual and special offerings for it will be gladly received and applied. It is a work which must commend itself to many, who have an interest in the Foreign field as well as the Domestic, and will, we trust, be remembered by many who have their wealth either from our Pacific Coast, or the traffic of the Eastern World.¹⁹

19 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 12, December 1854, p. 565.

8. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—5.

Rev. Edward Syle.

WE give the following from a letter of our Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Syle, to the Secretary, dated Panama, Dec. 16, 1854. He has, we trust, ere this, reached his field and entered on his duties. Bishop Kip writes, Dec. 15th: "I am happy to hear of your action in regard to Mr. Syle, and shall do all in my power to advance his objects." So he is sure of a welcome, and of an open door! May the Church help on this interesting Mission with fervent prayers and liberal contributions!

Although it is now past midnight, and I have no other convenient writing implements with me than my pencil, I must send you a few lines, to convey to yourself and the Committee information of our having safely (though not without much difficulty) passed over the most dreaded part of our journey—the Isthmus." Our passage from New-York to Aspinwall was quite comfortable, considering the unusually cold and rough weather we had on starting, and for some days afterwards; and so far as the rail-road brought us across the Isthmus, our land travel was delightful. But I would no more attempt to describe the last fifteen miles of the way—that part which is performed on mules—than I would attempt to repeat the experiment of passing over it again with my wife and children. Thanks, however, to the signal care of our Heavenly Father, we are here, and so far as present symptoms indicate, we are not any of us sick, though we have some fear lest the exposure of last night should still afflict our little ones injuriously.

Much of the past day has been spent here by me in the endeavor to retrieve the loss (by theft, I fear) of some of my personal baggage. During the interval of this unwelcome occupation, I have received from various sources (some of them reliable, I know) confirmation of reports formerly heard concerning the political and moral condition of this Republic of New-Granada. *****

The few miles of the rail-road which have been constructed from Panama eastward (part laid and more graded, but none travelled as yet) are a memento of the hundreds of Chinese who were brought here in the hope they would prove useful laborers in the construction of this prodigious work.²⁰ But their hopes were disappointed: about two-thirds of the whole number died' (many committing suicide), and the remnant, between two and three hundred, have been sent to Jamaica. On the other hand, negroes from Jamaica, unwilling to work there, are attracted by the high price of labor here, and come over in large numbers, proving themselves more able to do the work required than any other class of laborers hitherto engaged on this inconceivably arduous undertaking, one of the greatest marvels of human skill and perseverance.

Excuse an abrupt conclusion. We are to embark, D V., early to-morrow morning.

Believe me to be yours, with sincere regard,

E. W. SYLE.²¹

20 The first group arrived on 39 March 1854 via Canada and Jamaica. See Lind, Andrew W., Adjustment Patterns Among the Jamaican Chinese," pp 144-164 in *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol 7 No 2, June 1958.

21 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 2 No 2, February 1855, pp 38-39.

9. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—6.

WE have received from Bishop Kip the following interesting article, on "The Chinese in California." The Bishop's views agree with the impressions received by the Committee from other sources. They entered on their work, as a work of time, calling for faith, and patience, and prayer. The difficulties, therefore, in the way, should only quicken our faith, and zeal, and prayers, and they look to the Church to sustain them in the arduous work, by a lively sympathy, earnest prayer, and liberal contributions:—

There is one quarter of San Francisco, through whose streets a stranger passing, might imagine himself in the lowest parts of Canton or Hong-Kong. He sees around him nothing but houses swarming with Chinese, and hears nothing but the sound of their harsh and discordant language, or the noise of their still more discordant music. Their shops are on each side of him, where they are engaged, as at home, in their various occupations,—the street is gay with their signs,—at night, their illuminated lanterns are hung out,—and it is hard for him to realize, that the broad Pacific is rolling between him and the Celestial Empire.

Chinese Musicians in America.



Bancroft Library, California.

So it is with all the inland towns and villages I have visited. They have their quarter in all, (except where they have been forcibly expelled by the inhabitants,) where they congregate together, separated from every one else, carrying with them the costumes, language, habits, and occupations of their native land. We meet them in the Sierra Nevada mountains, toiling along, with huge bundles suspended over their shoulders on a pole, and we see them scattered through the mines, in the deep

ravines, or on the hill-side, digging like their white brethren for the gold of their idolatry. They are a perfectly distinct people, governed in a great degree by their own rules and regulations, trading with their own countrymen, importing from China nearly everything they eat and wear, sending back to it the gold they dig in the mines, making no effort to acquire our language, and conducting themselves in every respect as if they were strangers in a strange land, and determined to remain strangers. Between the Mongolian and the Anglo-Saxon races, there is a "deep gulf," as impassable as that which at the South separates the white and slave population.

Number.—It is estimated there are more than fifty thousand in California. In San Francisco alone, there are several thousands; how many, it would be impossible to tell, as the number is constantly fluctuating; vessels filled with them are arriving almost weekly from China, while hundreds leave the city and disperse over the country. The number, however, is constantly increasing, till serious alarm has been excited in the minds of many, as to the final result of this immense emigration from the teeming millions of the East.

Condition.—It is one which might excite the commiseration of the philanthropist, independent of any religious considerations. The multitudes imported here, with very few exceptions, seem to be the vilest offscouring of China. None of the higher class appear to emigrate; but the lowest are shipped off by hundreds, to **five great companies**, organized to import laborers from China. These companies are severally named, the Sam-yap, the Yaong-wo, the See-yap, the Sun-on, and the Ning-yaong Companies. At first it was supposed that these people might make good servants; but this idea has been abandoned, and I do not know a family in this city in which they are now engaged in this capacity. The men open little shops, (generally cooking shops,) and in various ways obtain a precarious subsistence here, or at the mines, imitating the vices, but not emulating the virtues of the whites. Many of them seem to spend their time entirely in gambling. With them it is an absorbing passion. In their section, every third house is a gambling-house, which being open to the street, the occupants can be seen by all passers, crowded around the tables, gaming from early morning until late at night. They use large quantities of liquor and opium, when they can afford it; and the section in which they live, reeks with a filth which would produce a pestilence in any city where the air was less pure than in this. A daily paper gives no exaggerated picture, when it says—"Dirt, filth, nauseous smells, and horrid caterwauling characterize the streets in which they live, and the most disgusting indecencies practiced by them, are forced upon the eye in passing their homes. The laws of common decency are outraged, and Dupont-street presents scenes in broad day-light, which are worthy of the Five Points in its palmiest days.

They are much divided among themselves, bringing with them to this country their foreign feuds, and sometimes, in the interior, after weeks of preparation, the whole Chinese population pours out, armed with clubs, swords, and bamboo shields, and a general battle takes place, in which a number of lives are lost before the civil authorities can interpose.

But, notwithstanding the outrages which are constantly perpetrated among them, it is very difficult for the Courts to reach them, as there are associations, the object of which is to defeat justice. "They have," says one of the San Francisco papers, "by a powerful combination which exists among them, placed themselves in a position, in which they have set utterly at defiance the mandates of our Courts. Crimes committed by them go unpunished, because they hold in fear and intimidation the witnesses who would testify against them. Perjury is a matter of daily occurrence among them, and so great has this evil become, that Recorder Baker considers it his duty never to render a conviction on uncorroborated Chinese evidence. When they testify in Court, the oath is written on pink paper, signed by the witness, and then burned to ashes before him. The following is a translation of one of these oaths :—

"The subscriber of this oath being now in the Public Court, to give evidence in the case of the State vs. Yee-Atai and others, with truth, tells the truth, without a particle of partiality and such vices. Therefore, I burn this declaration, presenting it up to the Heavenly God, (or gods,) for investigation. If there should be any partiality and false accusing, may a curse be on him. If he really testifies the

truth, without any partiality, may a blessing be upon him.(Signed). Dated 12th Sept., 1854, Chinese 21st day of)the Interlary, 7th moon."



The condition of the females is, it possible, even worse than that of the males. Of the thousands in San Francisco, there are scarcely any but gain their bread by the most degrading vice. I asked the **Rev. Mr. Speer²², Chinese Missionary of the Presbyterian Board**, and who had spent some years in China, before he began his labors in this city, whether he knew of any married women among all those in San Francisco? He replied—that he did not—that there might be a few "secondary wives," (as he expressed it,) meaning those who had a kind of connection legalized among themselves, but none who were wives in the honored sense in which that word is used among us.

A few months ago, on memorial of some of the citizens, a committee of the Common Council was appointed to "investigate the facts connected with the emigration of the Chinese to this country," and (in confirmation of what I have written), I make the following extracts from their Report:—

The Committee have ascertained, as far as they had it in their power, in the short time permitted to make enquiries, that there are about fifty thousand Chinamen in this country. On Saturday last, seven hundred and fifty Chinese were landed here; and during the previous fourteen days, about two thousand of the same people arrived. The Committee have visited different locations, owned by the various Chinese Companies, and they have, with one exception, (the Chinese house on Pine-street,) found them the filthiest places that could be imagined. In some of the houses on, or near Broadway, hundreds of Chinamen were crowded together, (as many as fifteen hundred are in three houses,) and the atmosphere is almost insupportable. In one place a member of the Committee found ten sick Chinamen in a cellar. * * * The Committee found in all the houses which they visited, a proportionate number of Chinese ill of some disease, amounting to about from ten to fifteen per cent. Some of the sick were dying, and others were in a condition which would close their earthly career in a few days.

When it is considered that nearly eight hundred Chinamen were landed on Saturday alone, and that many more are on their way hither; that these people come here only as hirelings to five or six companies established among us, and serve at a rate much lower than the wages of the lowest menial in the Atlantic States: that the women of their race who have come to this country, without any known exception, are the most degraded of prostitutes, and that the ostensible and almost sole enjoyment of the male population is gambling, for which purpose they crowd their gambling holes to suffocation; that we know them to be foreign slaves to foreign masters, governed by force and religious dread, and kept in terror by a **secret society called the 'Triad'**—an institution similar to the ancient and terrible 'Fehm'—When these things are considered, we can only come to the conclusion, that the Chinese in this country are a positive, unmitigated, and wholesale nuisance. We have here, slavery in its worst features; serfs carried from home, and left here to die when they

22 Rev. William Speer. graduated from Kenyon College in Ohio in 1840. He graduated from Western Theological Seminary in 1846, and was ordained on June 16, 1846. Reverend Speer served as evangelistic missionary in Macau and Canton, 1846-1850. Mrs. Carnelia B. Speer died in 1847 and was buried in Macau. He returned to U.S. in 1850, serving with the Presbyterian Board of Education. Rev. Speer arrived in San Francisco in November 1852 and served as the founding pastor to the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Church in San Francisco, the first Asian Christian Church in North America. He edited a Chinese and English language newspaper. See also Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Christian Missionaries to the Chinese*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), pp 156-157. Speer, William, *China and California, Their Relations Past and Present: A Lecture*, (San Francisco, Marvin and Hitchcock, 1853). Presbyterian Church, *Foreign Missionary containing Particular Accounts of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, (New York, Presbyterian Church, 1854-5). Speer, William, *the Oldest and the Newest Empire: China and the United States*, (Hartford Conn, S. S. Scranton and Co., 1870). Speer also edited *The Oriental*, a newspaper for the Chinese community. See online 1 January 2012 at — http://cpr.org/Museum/Chinese_Newspapers.html

cannot serve their task-masters any more. When a Chinaman dies, it involves the loss to his owner of probably \$25 dollars, but no more; and millions of the race can be spared from China to fill the vacancy here.

The Committee have come to the unanimous conclusion, that the presence of the Chinese, in the excessive numbers in which they have flooded the city, is dangerous to the health of the inhabitants, owing to the crowded state of the houses of Chinamen, the sickness which they introduce, and the extreme and habitual filthy condition of their persons and habitations. The Committee also view them as a blot upon the human race, in respect of the utter want of chastity and honesty of the whole of their female population. Under all these circumstances, the Committee would recommend the immediate expulsion of the whole Chinese race from the city, or at least their removal outside the more inhabited line of streets, if it were believed that the Council could exercise such authority. But doubting the legal existence of such power, the Committee would recommend that the Legislature be memorialized by the Common Council to afford this city that relief which the exigencies of the case require.

The Committee are in the peculiar position, that they are called upon to apply remedies to an evil, entirely unknown before in the civilized world, and regarding which, therefore, they could find no precedent to govern their decision. But they believe that extraordinary diseases require extraordinary remedies; and they further believe, that it will yet become necessary to apply the extraordinary remedies above alluded to, to the Chinese emigrants.

And the desire, expressed in this Report, to expel them from the city, in some of the interior towns, has been carried out into action. In a number of cases the people have risen against them as an intolerable evil, and forcibly driven away Chinamen from their towns. The *Sacramento Union* only echoes the general voice, when it says;—"To live as the Chinese now do, renders them a pest, a nuisance to the State, and one she should at the earliest moment take steps to abate. The stream of Asiatic emigration must be turned back upon its source, to preserve us from the danger of being overwhelmed by the muddy torrent which is emptying itself upon our shores."

These extracts will show the degraded condition of the Chinese, and the hostility with which they are regarded in this State. The Political Economist looks upon them as the most utterly useless race of people that could be introduced into a country. They produce nothing, their occupations being of a character which adds nothing to the general wealth; with the exception of what they expend for rent, they pay out nothing; but subsisting as they do upon rice and dried fish, they are able to bring a year's supply with them. The money they obtain is carefully hoarded, with the hope of enjoying the benefits it will produce on their return to the Celestial Empire. And as they naturally reciprocate this hostility, it seems as if their residence here would be a positive obstacle in the way of their reception of Christianity. We do not know, indeed, a darker picture than that, of this heathenism, in the midst of a nominally Christian people, where every influence seems to be crushing down these outcasts from their own land into a deeper degradation.

Religious rites.—They have no temple in this country, nor have I been able to discover that they had any public religious rites, except those performed at their burial-place, without the city. Twice a year, in the Spring and Autumn, arrayed in all their finery, they form a long procession, with wagons, some filled with musicians, and others with provisions. Among the latter, a goat roasted whole, with gilded horns, is conspicuous. They march out to the burial-place, where with certain rites they offer this feast to the spirits of the departed, after which it is brought back to the city, and, I believe, consumed by them as a solemn festival. They undoubtedly have private superstitious rites, for I lately saw in a paper the account of a fire at one of the towns in the interior, the origin of which was this: A sick Chinaman was supposed by one of his countrymen who attended him, to be possessed by the Devil. To exorcise his patient, he, therefore, burned, one after the other, some thirty little devils, painted on paper, and the fire originated from one of these dropping through the flooring.

What has been done for their spiritual benefit? The efforts already made have brought forth few manifest fruits. The Romanists imported a priest, who is a native of China, and whom I have frequently met in the streets; but I am told, he proved to be entirely useless. **He spoke a different dialect** from the Chinese in California, (who are mostly from the Canton District,) and could hold no communication with them. I believe he has left the country.²³

The Baptists have a Missionary laboring among the Chinese at Sacramento; but I have heard nothing favorable with regard to his success.

The Rev. Mr. Speer, whom I have before mentioned, after acting for some time in China as a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board, transferred his labors to this city about two years ago.²⁴ A handsome building, costing more than \$20,000, has been erected for his chapel, school, and dwelling. He has regular services in the Chinese language, at which about a dozen attend. There is also a school, which his effort is to induce the Chinese to attend. A paper, of which he is editor, is about to be issued, called the *Tung-ngai San-luk*, or *The Oriental*. It is to be published triweekly in Chinese, and weekly in Chinese and English; its object being to disseminate information among the Chinese, and with regard to them—to furnish intelligence from the East—to illustrate the Scriptures and Christian archaeology—and to promote morals and spiritual religion—a broad design, certainly, promising beneficial results.

What quiet and unseen influence may have been produced upon the Chinese by the labors of Mr. Speer, the future must of course show. I asked him how many among the thousands in this city professed Christi-anity? and his answer was, "four." The hostility between the races, which I have mentioned, naturally renders the Chinese bitterly opposed to Christianity, and invests a Mission here with greater difficulties than it would have in China. Our religion is the religion of their despisers and enemies. Mr. Speer, on one occasion, wishing to put up in one of their public places a notice of the hour of his services, was advised by his assistant, (a Chinese,) not to do so, as it would be torn down as soon as his back was turned.

What then is to be done? We can only exert every means in our power to bring to bear upon their hearts and consciences, that Gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation." It alone can raise them from their degradation, and purify and elevate. And, it will be perceived, that success here involves not only their welfare, but that of countless millions of their countrymen in the East. These people are constantly returning to their own country, and if they are to go back with bitter prejudices against Christianity, nurtured by their residence in a nominally Christian land, the effect will be most disastrous upon the diffusion of our religion in China itself. It is a question, therefore, which concerns our Foreign Missions in the East, even more than it does our Domestic Mission in California.

But we must look for no immediate visible results. We must expect a Mission among the Chinese in this country, to be a work of time and self-denial, and long tarrying for the harvest. It will, as we have already re-marked, be even more so than in China. There, the higher class can be acted upon—men who have not the prejudices against us which these degraded Chinese must have, when they know they are scorned and hated. There, too, *families* can be appealed to—an institution which seems to be unknown among those in California. Here, everything seems to conspire to throw obstacles in the way of their reception of the Gospel.

But we mention these things, not to damp the ardor of any in this work, but rather as an incentive to renewed energy. If difficulties abound, let zeal the much more abound. Christianity in some lands

23 The same situation occurred in Victoria, Australia. A Catholic mission in Ballarat, Victoria, closed after a couple of years for lack of interest produced, at least in part, because the Chinese priest employed was from Zhongshan, with distinct cultural and linguistic differences to the majority Siyi community and the smaller Sanyi and Hakka communities.

24 The longest serving Presbyterian missionary to the Chinese in California was

began its career by winning the helot and the slave, and so it may do here. A Missionary, in time and with patience, may gain the confidence of some—scatter among them tracts, unfolding the Gospel—and each single convert made, in the moral and religious influence he can exert, will be worth more than hundreds in a nominally Christian population. At all events, the path of duty before us is plain. We are to proclaim the Word, leaving the results to Him who hath commanded us to "preach the Gospel to every creature." Much, indeed, may be anticipated in the removal of prejudices, from the fact, that the Missionary just appointed for this city has known some of these Chinese, while strangers in a strange land, and there ministered to their wants. It may prove an "open door" to their countrymen. We are prepared, therefore, to welcome him to his field of labor, and to do everything to uphold him in his most difficult work, looking to the Lord of the harvest to bring strength out of weakness, and to gather into His fold these neglected wanderers.²⁵

25 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 20 No 3, March 1855, pp 85-90.

10. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—7

Bishop Kip, Episcopal Bishop of California.

The Report herewith submitted, from the Missionary Bishop of California, with the various journals of his official visits and acts, already published in the *Spirit of Missions*, give a gratifying view of the state and prospects of his Missionary field. Already a beginning is made in the work of Christian education; the number of efficient working clergy is steadily increasing; Stockton and Marysville are added to the list of self-supporting parishes, which are now five in number—Trinity and Grace Churches, in San Francisco; Grace Church, Sacramento; Trinity Church, Stockton; and St. Paul's, Marysville. The church at Nevada also is flourishing under the care of the Rev. W. H. Hill, and would now be self-supporting, but for Mr. Hill finding it necessary to return to the East for his family. We hope he will soon go back to the scene of his late earnest and successful labours, to be permanently identified with the rising fortunes of the Church in California. The Bishop writes of his Missionary field:—"In most places it would not need Missionary aid for more than one year, but that aid must be extended to it at first, or the Church cannot be begun." Let this first impulse, then, be given, and the Church in California will soon repay, in healthy growth and abundant fruits, all that is now bestowed upon her.

Chinese in California.

It is with very different feelings that we name this Mission now from those with which, in common with the Board, we looked upon it at our last annual meeting. Then high and cheering hopes smiled upon us, but now disappointment from untoward and unexpected issues have led us to abandon the Mission in its present form, and to release our Missionary at his own desire and request. The grounds and reasons of this action, which have led the Domestic Committee to a cordial and unanimous judgment in the matter, are herewith submitted in the Report of a Special Committee, made and adopted on Monday evening, September 10th, 1855 :

The Atlantic and Pacific Committee have had before them a letter of the Missionary Bishop of California, dated June 25, 1855, accompanied by one from the Rev. E. W. Syle, Missionary to the Chinese in California, of June 28th, to which, with letters and reports previously submitted, they have given the deliberate and anxious consideration which their importance demand; and beg to submit the following as the result of their reflections and deliberations:

The Mission to the Chinese in California was entered on by the Domestic Committee in full faith and with sanguine hopes, cheered on by the united approval of the Board of Missions, and of the Church. It was thought that in the fifty thousand of these heathen thrown upon our shores, God was setting before us an open door; was calling us to a sacred and bounden duty; was making our Pacific coast a solemn and inviting theatre of earnest action, both in the work of Foreign and Domestic Missions, and was thus preparing a pathway for His light and truth to the distant and benighted nations of the East..

The opportunity afforded for securing the services of a Missionary of tried zeal and large experience, among the Chinese people in their own land, seemed to be another indication of the hand and will of God. Accordingly, the Mission was conceived, and entered on with high hopes; a lively interest was manifested in it; and special contributions from various quarters were made for its support. In the early progress of the work, we found the feelings and reports of the Missionary to be disheartened and desponding. From his ignorance of the Canton dialect, which almost the whole number of the Chinese in California use and speak, the sphere of his labour was comparatively limited, while the few to whom he had access were so deeply degraded, and seemed so hopelessly inaccessible, that he had very little to encourage him in his labours. The degraded character of the Chinese population, and the strong prejudices against them, even with the Christian people of California, deprived the Missionary of their earnest sympathy and cordial co-operation. Added to this, the Committee regret to find that Mr. Syle has had his residence at too great a distance from those to whom he was sent, to be of any active or essential service.

On this point the Missionary Bishop writes:

"Mr. Syle has a family, and lives on the other side of the bay [Oakland], because he found he could not, with his salary, live in any decent comfort in San Francisco. There is not a Chinaman within eight miles of him; and his occasional visits over here, to help Mr. Speer in his school to teach a few Chinese the English language, or any other service of the kind he might render, can make but very little impression."

In view of these difficulties and discouragements, the Secretary, under date of May 4th, 1855, addressed letters to the Missionary Bishop of California, and to our Missionary, Rev. E. W. Syle, proposing various questions and considerations, to which the letters now before us contain a full and frank reply. **They bring before us the difficult, if not hopeless nature of the Mission in its present form; the inability of the Missionary to teach and preach in the Canton dialect, the vernacular of nearly all the Chinese now in California;** the very degraded character of the Chinese population; the strong prejudices resulting from it on the part of the people of California; and the entire change of policy in the Government of the State, which virtually tends to their exclusion or extermination, by prohibiting the immigration of the Chinese to the State, and inducing their emigration from it. To this latter reason, the altered state of things, and the entire change of policy towards the Chinese in California since our Mission was established, we would especially call the attention of the Domestic Committee. This is set before us in the following extract from Mr. Syle's letter:

"You will have seen the Act passed by the Legislature, fining each immigrant Chinese fifty dollars on landing at San Francisco.²⁶ This stops the immigration. And the increased taxation in the mines, and the increasing prejudice against them in all the mining localities, will drive from the country those who are now in California. I think those who do remain will be scattered everywhere throughout the State, but be found in no one locality in sufficient numbers to warrant special Missionary attention."

This is an important and paramount consideration; for slow as we should be to yield to mere ordinary difficulties, which might be overcome by strong faith and vigorous effort; if the call for sympathy and effort no longer exists, then it will be wise and well to change our plans accordingly, and a Mission which seemed wise and proper at its commencement, it may now be expedient to discontinue.

In view of this altered state of things, and of these difficulties and discouragements, the Missionary advises that the Mission be abandoned in its present form at the close of the present year, at which time he asks to be released; and in this opinion and request the Missionary Bishop of California expresses his entire concurrence.

It is but simple justice to Bishop Kip to let him speak for himself on this important subject, as he thus does in his letter:

"Mr. Syle has just been to me with his letter to the Committee, to which I cannot but give my concurrence. I have been placed in this matter in a very delicate position. To the Committee this enterprise seemed so plain a call of duty, that the Chinese Mission was organized without any previous consultation with me, or I should never have advised its present form. It was commenced at the East, with a zeal which was highly commendable, evidently with the community generally, awakening more interest than all the other Missions in California. I could only, therefore, take it as it was; and after giving you my view of the Chinese, as I did in the Spirit of Missions, await the result of the experiment. I told Mr. Syle, when he came, of my doubts of anything being done in this way, but that of course I should do nothing to damp their zeal or efforts at the East, in the hope that these fears might be unfounded. I therefore should aid him to the utmost; leave him to work out the

26 In British colonies where Chinese sought to land, a "Poll-Tax" was imposed by colonial legislatures. The British Government retained final authority in immigration matters and did not delegate immigration to colonial legislatures. The history of such "alien subsidies" in Britain dates back to the 14th century. The poll-tax was introduced in Victoria in 1855.

problem for himself; and then, if failure came, I should have nothing to reproach myself with, or for which I could be reproached by others. I have done so; and I think he will tell you, have aided as far as was in my power. The result, however, has been exactly what I anticipated; and I do not think that anything has been done to compensate for the amount of labor and money expended by the Committee."

In the event of abandoning the Mission in its present form, two plans are suggested: one by the Missionary Bishop, and the other by the Missionary himself. The former proposes, if the Mission be continued, entrusting it to two or more unmarried men, who might live among, and become identified with the people for whom they labour. This plan does not strike your Committee favorably, from the difficulty of procuring suitable Missionaries, their want of knowledge and experience, and the obvious and practical obstacles in the way of carrying out any such plan of operations.

The other mode is in using the influence and efforts of the parochial clergy. This seems to your Committee more practical and desirable. With their diminished numbers, their growing knowledge of the language and feelings of our people, and the greater prevalence of Christian principle and example around them, they will be gradually attracted and moulded by the power of the Gospel, and sooner or later absorbed in the various Christian congregations with which they are brought in contact. Meanwhile Chinese books and tracts may be freely distributed among them, under the auspices and efforts of the Missionary Bishop, and the parochial clergy in the various towns and districts.

In view of all these things, your Committee, under a deep sense of responsibility to the Church and to these thousands of benighted heathen on our shores, would recommend the following Minute and Resolutions for adoption by the Domestic Committee:

Minute.

The Mission to the Chinese in California was undertaken by this Committee with strong faith and high hopes of great good, as well to the sacred cause of Missions, at home and abroad, as to the many thousands of Chinese upon our shores, and the millions of their countrymen in their distant and benighted realm. These hopes have not been realised. They have encountered difficulties which they knew not of; and new obstacles have arisen which they could not anticipate. In view, then, of these difficulties, and of this altered state of things, because of the degraded and inaccessible character of the Chinese in California; because of the inability of our Missionary to teach or preach in the Canton dialect, which they nearly all use and speak; because of the change of policy towards them, which now seeks their exclusion and extermination, and which must lead not only to a prohibition of future immigration of Chinese to the State, but the early withdrawal of the greater part of those now there, so that there will soon be found in no part of California congregated together a sufficient number of Chinese, either to call for or justify a special Mission to them ;but the few who may permanently remain will become merged in the several communities of their residence, and may, therefore, be more properly brought within the operation of general Missionary and other Christian agencies;—in view of these facts and considerations, and in conformity with the united judgment and request of the Missionary Bishop of California, and of our Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Syle, that the Mission in its present form should be abandoned, it is, therefore,

Resolved, That the Mission to the Chinese in California terminate with the close of the present year, December 31, 1855, and that the Missionary be released at that time from his connexion with this Committee.

Resolved, That in the event of the return of the Missionary to this country, or his transfer to the Mission at Shanghai, in China, the sum of \$— — be appropriated for his return, or his transfer, on conference with the Foreign Committee.

As to what Mr. Syle may do in the future, your Committee are not informed, except that he tells us of urgent letters from Shanghai, in China, urging him to return thither, and of his desire to do so, if

the way is open. We trust it may be through the concurrent action of Mr. Syle and the Foreign Committee. Respectfully submitted. (Signed,) R B. VAN KLEECK,²⁷

Report of Domestic Missionary at Oakland—Rev. J. W. Capen.

It is now about seven months since Mr. Syle left this place in which I think he labored seven months. Since he left the little Chapel which he occupied (a hired room) had been destroyed in a conflagration.²⁸

Episcopal Mission to Chinese in California a “total failure.”

The Rev. Mr. Syle, who has been a Missionary at Shanghae in China, is about to return to that country, and to be a Missionary there again. About three years since, Mr. Syle came to this country to recruit his health; and whilst here, he was induced by the Committee of Foreign Missionaries to go to San Francisco, California, to see if he could do any good to the Chinese there, of whom some thirty thousand were in and about San Francisco. From various causes,, in no way implicating the Rev. Missionary, his mission to California has proved a total failure, and he now will return to his old post in Shanghae, greatly to the delight of Bishop Boone, who has charge of the missions in China, but is in very bad health.²⁹

27 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 20, No 11-12, November-December 1855, pp 515-521

28 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 22, No 1, January 1857, p. 16.

29 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York), 5 April 1856.

12. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—8.

1866. NOVEMBER, Sacramento.
Chinese Celebrations.

HEATHENISM IN A CHRISTIAN LAND.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I sit down this morning to write you a brief account of a recent exhibition of heathen rites and mummeries in this Christian land of ours, and in this boasted nineteenth century, which equalled anything our foreign missionaries beheld. Some suggestions and questions that very naturally arise will be reserved to the end of my narrative.

First, a word or two preliminary, by way of explanation. You know that we have many thousands of Chinese in California. The number is variously estimated from fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand. The Pacific Rail Road Company, now engaged in making their road through and over the Sierra Nevada mountains—a gigantic undertaking—employ about twelve thousand of these "Celestials," or "Johns," as they are generally called, and intend to double the number next year. The rest are scattered throughout our cities, villages, and mining camps, and are engaged in mining, in gardening, in washing, as merchants, wholesale and retail, and as porters in warehouses, and house servants. In all these capacities they do well, and are generally preferred to Irish or the colored. They very soon acquire enough of the English language to understand what you say to them, and to talk to you in turn. The house servants and washermen are very neat in their persons, and generally honest and trustworthy. There are some hundreds of lads, from ten to sixteen years of age, who have recently come to our State, and are generally employed as house servants, at about the half price of an experienced cook. So far as I know, or have heard, all these men and boys can read and write in their own language. None intend making this their place of residence. Wherever contracts are made in China, the condition is that those sent over here shall be returned to China, dead or alive. And although the dead are buried here, with all the heathen rites of that people, yet from time to time the bodies are taken up and sent to China by hundreds in our packet ships. The Chinaman has no home in California. No one brings his wife or daughters here. All the Chinese women that do come—and I am sorry to say there are hundreds of them—are prostitutes, and the most degraded and disgusting of that loathsome class.

Such in brief are these heathen thousands in our midst. In our cities they live—I had almost said—burrow together. In Sacramento "I" street is our Chinadom, and through this street at present is laid the track of the Pacific Railroad. Near by is a slough, as we call it, or a pond, as you would say in New York. It is connected with our two rivers—the Sacramento and American—during our high water season, but in summer it is not. On its border hundreds of Chinamen have their washing stands, and it is amusing to a stranger to see their performances in this line. It would horrify your good matrons to witness the Chinese treatment of their clothes, but we are used to it, and have come to the conclusion that it is no worse than the common wash-board. As all this section of country is nearly a dead level, it is not surprising that in the fall, or towards the end of our dry season, chills and fever prevail, especially in the vicinity of the sloughs and marshy lands. This was particularly the case last year and this, and many scores of the Chinese were thus afflicted. Hence the performances which I am about to describe. I am told that the like were had last year, but as I was absent on my visit to the East, I did not witness them.

About one month since, the following petition—written of course by one of our people—was formally presented to our city authorities by the Chinese:

*To the Honorable President and Hoard of Trustees of the **City of Sacramento**:*

The undersigned, residents of the city of Sacramento, pray your honorable Board to grant tl permission to burn fire-crackers and otherwise celebrate, in accordance with the customs of t native country, for the period of three days, for the purpose of driving the devil from the city, particularly from that portion of it occupied by the Chinese.

Although no formal action was taken by our city authorities, yet a tacit consent was given, and for five instead of three days was "I" street the scene of the strangest performances I ever witnessed. I am told, and have no reason to doubt the fact, that two thousand dollars in gold was raised by voluntary subscription from the Chinese and expended in the heathen rites of these five days. Lanterns and papers of various hues were suspended in front of nearly every house. But the centre of attraction was at the corner of Third and I streets. In front of a brick store a wooden screen was erected, covering the side-walk, and about thirty feet in length. At one end of this was the orchestra, and such an orchestra must be seen and heard both, before any idea can be obtained of what the Chinese call music. I will only say that their ideas of melody and harmony differ most essentially from ours. I can only describe their vocal and instrumental performances as hideous.

Next to the orchestra, was a figure representing the devil. It was of pasteboard, of the size of a man, looking as much like an angry or half drunken negro, as like any-thing else. To white men, it was simply ludicrous; to most of the Chinese it was evidently an object of terror. It was stuffed with fire crackers preparatory to the final blowing up. In front of this figure was a table with offerings of meat and fruit, intended, as I suppose, to appease his satanic majesty.

In the next apartment—all this, be it remembered, being in the open air—were two gigantic figures, representing some Chinese demi-gods, but whom, I could not ascertain. They were about ten feet in height, were covered with gilt paper and small looking-glasses, and each stood upon a paper dragon. These were Chinese in features, and were, as I suppose, the warriors who were to overcome the devil in this fight. In front of them, and hanging up in frames or cages, were a number of smaller figures in every variety and posture, but what intended to represent, I could not find out. Inside the building, in front of which were what I have described, Chinese art and invention seemed to be exhausted. I suppose it was the representation of one of their temples, or "Joss" houses, as they are called.

“Joss-House” or Chinese Temple, Auburn, Sacramento, California, c2012.



I cannot begin to describe it. The walls were decorated with hideous Chinese paintings; there were hundreds of Chinese figures, of all sizes and sexes, and seemingly engaged in all kinds of actions. All looked to me like a large paper-doll shop. About six feet from the door, a railing separated the back from the front part of the room. Behind this were other images, and a table set with fruits and confectionaries, on which lights were constantly burning. There were also books written in Chinese

on the tables, which seemed to be objects of curiosity to the visitors. I saw very little reverence manifested in this room. The Chinese were jabbering as if in traffic, and when they wished to smoke, lit their cigarettes at these sacred lights.

Such is a very imperfect description of the apparatus resorted to to "drive the devil from the city." As to the performances of the five days, I must be still more brief. Most of the Chinamen gave themselves a holiday, and were dressed in their best, as upon their New Year festivities, and better than the miserable courtezans I have alluded to. Most of these last had shrines in their houses, with burning lights before them. Several priests were sent for from San Francisco. They were dressed in different colored silks, and in their perambulations and incantations, reminded me of somethings I had read of the doings of Romanists in the dark ages. They would bow down to the ground before the "devil" and the other images, and howl out chants that were dolefully terrific [sic]. Then they would march up and down the street, their orchestra preceding them. At different places they would stop and go through with their proscribed bowings and chantings. Bunches of fire-crackers were let off without number. They beat their gongs and made day and night hideous with their noises. One night they placed two rows of torches on the railroad track, and the priest and others marched up and down this illuminated pottery, going through with their various incantations. They also went out in boats upon the slough, and there fired off crackers, beat gongs, and chanted furiously. Hundreds of white people visited their temple and looked on at their performances. All closed on the fifth day, a little past midnight, by a repetition of nearly all that had previously been done, by extra processions and music, and gong-beating, and cracker-firing; when, as a finale, fire was set to the image of the devil, and he was blown up, carrying with him, as the Chinese suppose, all the chills and fevers to which they had been subject. And so all became quiet again in Chinadom upon the Sacramento.

Such, my dear Doctor, was an exhibition of heathenism in our Christian country in the year of our Lord, 1866. As I looked thereon, and have thought about it since, many thoughts and questions have come to my mind. But as I have already trespassed upon time and space, I will defer them for another article. Yours, &c., W. H. H. SACRAMENTO, November, 1866.³⁰

30 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 32 No 1, January 1867, pp 18-20.

13. CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—9.

1866. NOVEMBER, Sacramento.
Chinese Celebrations.

HEATHENISM IN A CHRISTIAN LAND.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I sent for publication in the January Number of THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS, an account of a recent exhibition of heathenism by the Chinese of our city. When that article was commenced, it was my intention to say all that was in my mind in that one communication. But the narration itself "grew on apace" to such a length that I feared the patience of your readers would be exhausted if more than the simple story of the actual occurrence were attempted. So all the reflections and questions that came to mind, as I looked upon or thought of this strange exhibition of pure heathenism, in the midst of a Christian community, in this boasted nineteenth century, were deferred, and with your permission I will occupy a page or two additional in your welcome and useful periodical in giving them utterance.

I know not whether other minds revolved the name thoughts and queries as my own did, but I trust that such considerations as will be submitted will at least suggest profitable and practical thoughts to others. And if what I have to say shall seem out of place to any of my brethren, clerical or lay, I hope they will give their opposing views with the same freedom and candor. Their criticisms and suggestions will be most kindly received by the writer, whose only prayer is that the Spirit of Grace will guide him and his brethren unto all truth.

The first question which naturally arose in my mind, and was actually asked by hundreds, was: "Do these Chinamen actually believe that all this ridiculous mummerly will 'drive the devil away from the city, or abate the sickness that prevails?" It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily. The readiness with which so many gave their \$5 and \$10 gold pieces—all earned by hard labor—to make up the sum of \$2,000, which these proceedings cost, would seem to indicate an affirmative reply. But if the "human face divine" be any indication of the thoughts within, I have my doubts whether more than one-half the Chinamen cared any more about the whole affair than to be pleased with the excitement and the semi-military display. Some of the more intelligent washermen, I have reason to know, disapproved of the proceedings, and refused to give a dime of their money, or a holiday of their time. "Why not ask the question direct?" some of my readers may suggest. It was done, and often, but—do not think me severe or uncharitable, for I only say what you and all others would, after a ten years' experience, or rather watching, of their habits and peculiarities—no one would know whether to believe what he was told by a Chinaman or not. I said in my last that, as a general thing, the Chinese servants and washermen, and even laborers, were honest, while in your employ. But, alas, my brethren, as to their veracity! If you will look at Titus i. and 12, and substitute "Chinese" for "Cretians," you will get the sober truth about this strange people. I mention this fact now, for it will bear more or less directly on what may be said presently on another topic. The unbelievers on the point under consideration were not influenced by any leanings towards or belief in Christianity, for they are, without exception, "Gallios" on that subject. I suppose they would be called infidels, and that would be enough. I think the poor, miserable women were the most devout believers, if I may use such a word in this connection. They certainly gave more outward demonstrations that way than, did their masculine neighbors. Perhaps I cannot better answer my question than by giving, as nearly literally as possible, the actual reply of a Chinaman when asked, "Do you Chinamen believe that this will drive the devil away, and stop the chills and fever?" "Some Chinamen, yes; some Chinamen, no; pretty much the same as in white man's Church!" And this I suppose to be the truth. What a quiet satire was that of "John" upon the indecision and unbelief of professing Christians! Stupid as he may appear at times, his eyes and ears are always wide open to what is passing around him.

Second. Can these Chinese be Christianized in California? An important question, truly. We have now, as I stated in my last, from 50,000 to 75,000 in our State, and the prospect is that the number will be doubled within the next five years. Many ardent Christians have believed and said that, in the course of Providence, these heathen have been brought here, and in contact with Christian Churches and Christian ordinances and influences, that they might be converted to Christianity and become successful missionaries to their own people at home. I wish I could believe the same. Far be it from me to limit the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, or to attempt to say that such will not be the result "when the Lord speaks the word." But, my brother, I am sure that you, and Brother DENISON, and the most ardent lover of the cause of Foreign Missions (the good Lord bless them all, and give them to see the abundant fruits of their labors and prayers) would feel and speak as I do, were you brought in constant daily contact with these people, and could but observe the seemingly insurmountable obstacles which make such an expectation as nearly hopeless as one can conceive. In 1854, our Board sent Rev. Mr. SYLE to California to minister to these Chinese. He had the advantage of many years' experience in China, was favorably known to the Chinese, and, as it always seemed to me, could have succeeded had it been possible. Yet I heard him say, substantially, at our Convention in 1855, that Shanghai and Hong-Kong and China generally, were the places to labor for the conversion of the Chinese with any hope of success; that in San Francisco and California there was scarcely a gleam of hope. And he gave good and abundant reasons for his opinion, which my experience and observation for the eleven years since has only confirmed. I wish, from the bottom of my heart, that it were otherwise. Perhaps some of my zealous friends at the East may think, and say, that we Christian ministers do not try, as we should and might; that this people must be accessible, and that faithful preaching, visiting, and praying, would be productive of glorious results to the Chinamen here and at home. Far be it from us to claim any works of supererogation in this, or in our labors for the conversion of our own people. Few of us can say, "We have done all that we could." May the Lord forgive us, and increase our faith and zeal. But, my good brother objector,—let me personify for a moment—will you take my arm, and on a Sunday, or any other day of the week, walk with me through "I" street, the Chinadom of San Francisco, or any other city or town in the State. One sample will serve for all. When you have seen and heard all that will be manifest, and know that so it is "all days" and nights, if you will then tell me, how these strange beings can be approached with any hopeful, practical mode of making them Christians, I shall be most happy to hear your suggestion, and follow it out faithfully. I fear you would become almost as faithless as the Thomas who is now writing. I am not alone in my despair. Others besides our own missionary have tried faithfully and perseveringly, but all has been failure. I have been sometimes pained at the "*suppressio veri*" which has marked some of the accounts sent home from California, as to the results of labor among the Chinese. It is scarcely a twelvemonth since I read in the SPIRIT OF MISSIONS (copied from some other print) a glowing and somewhat extended account of the Baptist experiment in this city—of the church built, the congregation collected, the members converted, &c., &c. How I wished that I could point the world at that serene moment to that very chapel, and to the first results of that experiment. Yet I know not how any denomination could have tried it under more favorable auspices than marked this attempt of the Baptists. Their minister had been a missionary in various parts of China for twenty-one years before coming to California, He spoke their language fluently, was an earnest, energetic man, was very popular among the Chinese here, being, in fact, their chosen referee in almost every transaction with the white people, as well as their interpreter in all judicial proceedings. I have often thought and said that if any man could succeed as a missionary to the Chinese in California, the **Rev. Mr. SHUCK** would be the one. He labored faithfully in Sacramento and elsewhere for about seven years. He built this chapel, which is within pistol shot of my own residence. For a while he gathered a few. But there is not even the ghost of a congregation or church left. The building has passed into other hands, is wretchedly dilapidated, and has not been used for a half dozen years for any kind of religious worship, unless the ravings of a rival band of Mormons be worthy of that name. And even they have abandoned it. Such were the actual facts at the time that I read the glowing account in your Magazine, to which I referred. I hope the comments suggested and made were neither

unclerical nor unchristian.

But my reader may say that this was but one isolated case. True, and yet the most promising of all in this State. Every other denomination that has tried has also failed. The Chinaman will not believe in or care for the Christians' God and Savior, even if he ridicules the superstitions of his own people. At the present writing, the Methodists of this city have a Sunday-school for the Chinese, conducted by some zealous men and women of that denomination. About thirty attend. They are anxious to learn, speak and read English, because that will bring them higher prices for their services, but the moment a word is said on religious subjects, they become as stoically indifferent as if they were literally statues. I have no hope of greater success in this experiment than has marked all its predecessors.

I am therefore, my dear Doctor, constrained, much against my wishes, to answer my question in the negative. I am forced to believe with Bro SYLE that China, and not America, is the place for missions to that people, if one would have any hope of their conversion.

"*Why are they not accessible in California?* Must these tens of thousands be lost in their heathenism and no effort be made for their conversion?" So, methinks, I hear your readers ask me. I will try to answer as briefly, and yet as fully, as is possible. To the last gentleman I say, keep on trying and working, if men and means can be had; perhaps the future may not be as the past. I have only given you the facts, and am no prophet or adviser as to the future. No one would rejoice more than myself to see a good and great work begun and carried on among the Chinese. I only express my fears. I would dampen no brother's zeal or hopes.

In answer to the other gentleman, I will give a reason or two why I think that, as a mass, they are inaccessible in California, and why, therefore, the efforts of past years have been such admitted failures.

1. The Chinese are not an ignorant people. The most of them, at least of their leaders, can read and write their own language fluently. It is perverted intelligence, therefore, instead of Pagan ignorance, with which we have to contend. And although now, as in Corinth and Athens in the days of the Apostles, the Gospel can conquer this enemy as well as others, I believe it is the opinion of all missionaries that it is harder to bring the influence of our holy religion to bear upon a people like the Chinese, or Hindoos, or Japanese, than upon the benighted African.

2. There is a species of slavery among these emigrants which is known to exist, and yet is intangible to our laws and influence. There is a cunning about all the transactions relating thereto, that baffles all efforts to ameliorate the condition of these slaves. The bargains are made in China, and they begin and end there, it being, as I said in my last, an absolute condition that "John" shall be carried back to China, "dead or alive." Of course no one of these bound slaves would dare do anything that their masters or agents disapproved of, or for which they could be punished by China laws, written or unwritten. I need hardly add, after what I have said, that to become a Christian would be one of those forbidden acts.

3. The Chinaman has no home here, and never expects or wishes to have. If he has a wife or daughters, they are all left behind in China. No woman, unless she be of the prostitute class (and these last can never rise above that fate) is allowed to leave China. Some of the boys are brought here, but only to be hired out as servants or to take care of little children. "Marriages of convenience" are sometimes made between the men and the women here, but they are not considered as binding. The only object is to obtain a legal control over the person by American laws. The man almost always has another wife in China, and only intends to keep the California one until he returns, or can sell her to some of his countrymen. Knowing this fact (and it is as notorious as the day), I have questioned much whether it is right for our clergymen or magistrates to sanction such "marriages of convenience," for such only are they. But I will not wander off into a discussion of that question. The fact being, then, that "John" has no home here, and wishes none, the very natural result follows that he cares not for any of the institutions of his temporary dwelling-place,

except so far as they will "put money in his purse." Our religion being one of those institutions, he is as indifferent to it as he is to our music or elections. Unless it is made to pay, he will not even hear about it if he can help it.

But the 4th, and principal reason, is that which Brother SYLE had in his mind when he said that "Shanghai was a more promising place for a mission to the Chinese than San Francisco." It is the *example* of Christianity which is presented here, and which, I am sorry to say, has very little attraction to an outside barbarian. We can make the proper discrimination, and are very far from reckoning the drunken, swearing, gambling, licentious, fighting, thievish white men as *Christians*. But to the Chinaman they are such, as much as are the worthy, and the ministers and professors of our respective churches. Can we blame them for such a conclusion? We call all the Chinese *idolaters and heathens*. They call us all *Christians*, which, to them, is but another word for the "outside barbarian" which they consider all mankind, except themselves, to be. Here, then, is a fact, and however groundless may appear to us the conclusions which are deduced therefrom, it is a grievous obstacle to every attempt to Christianize the Chinese in California. For what has "John" seen in that Christianity to commend it to his favor? He is better treated now, as a general theory, than he was eight and ten years ago. Then he was the victim of ruffian-like abuse, everywhere, and at all times. He was kicked and cuffed about like a dog. He was cheated out of his hard-earned wages. He was taxed when all others were exempt, and often made to pay his tax again and again, by brute force. He literally had no right which these bad white men felt bound to respect. Yet all these were *Christians* in "John's" vocabulary! Can we wonder that there was no form nor comeliness in a religion that produced such results? Having been taught at home to despise *all* outsiders as barbarians and beneath him, socially and religiously, would the witnessing of such conduct as marked our wild Californians, and the experience of such treatment as he endured from them, commend their religion, as he would deem it, to his favorable notice? Reverse the case, and suppose that fifty thousand Americans should emigrate to China, and be treated for nearly a score of years as the Chinese have been in California. Would their priests and teachers have much prospect of success in their attempts to convert those Americans to their religion? I apprehend not. And knowing and seeing all these things, my dear brother, I am almost as hopeless in relation to these Chinese in California. God grant that the future may not be as unpromising as the past.

I have written freely, and as I feel. Pardon me if I have crossed the cherished feelings and hopes of any of your readers. I have only spoken of stubborn facts. None can wish more than myself that their very opposite were true.

One other thought suggests itself. I will mention it. May every Christian feel the reproof and profit thereby. The Chinamen of Sacramento gave two thousand dollars for this one attempt to conquer the devil. What have all the Christians in California, or the United States, given for the spread of the Gospel, in proportion to that contribution? Oh! if Tyre and Sidon will rise in the judgment and condemn the Jews of our Saviour's trial, what shall we say when we meet these heathens in that solemn day?³¹

31 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 32 No 3, March 1867, pp 180-184.

14. ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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There were more than 150 anti-Chinese events in more than a dozen states in the United States and similar problems in Canada.

1853	California	State Supreme Court rules that Chinese are “an inferior caste of people who are not citizens,” provoking widespread stealing of Chinese mining sites.
1853	Washington	Adopted Californian poll-tax on Chinese immigrants.
1858	California	Chinese immigration restriction laws introduced.
1862	California	Chinese monthly worker permit introduced.
1865	California	Central Pacific Railroad hires Chinese as strike-breakers.
1866	Oregon	Owyhee River. 40 Chinese killed by Piute Indians.
1867-April	Oregon	Chinese Massacre Cove. Snake River. Indians attack Chinese.
1868	USA	Burlingame Treaty allows Chinese immigration to USA.
1871	California	Los Angeles. 19 Chinese killed.
1875	Washington	Columbia River. 5 Chinese killed by Indians.
1877	California	San Francisco. Property losses est \$1m. Chico. 25 Chinese houses burned. Some men shot.
1880	California	March 4 declared legal holiday for Anti-Chinese events.
1880	Colorado	Denver. Chinatown destroyed, 1 Chinese killed.
1881	Canada	17,000 Chinese immigrants to work on Canadian Pacific Railroad.
1882	California	San Francisco. Mass public meeting against Chinese immigration.
1885	Canada	Chinese Immigration Act 1885-1923. Imposed poll- tax on Chinese immigration. Similar to Australian restrictions imposed 1850s.
1885-Febr	California	Eureka. Chinese expelled. International Workingman’s Association believed involved.
1882-April	Idaho	Camas Creek, Lewiston. 3 Chinese killed.
1882-May	USA	Chinese Exclusion Act ends Chinese immigration.
1885	Idaho	Clearwater River area. 5 Chinese killed.
1885-April	Montana	Anaconda. 4 Chinese killed.
1885-June	California	Eureka. All Chinese residents expelled from town and their houses destroyed.
1885-July	California	Monterey. Chinese voter shot and killed by mob.
1885-July	California	Pasadena. Mob burns Chinatown district.
1885-Sept	Wyoming	Rock Springs Massacre. 28 Chinese killed, 16 injured. All Chinese expelled.
1885-Sept	Washington	Coal Creek. Chinese attacked.
1885-Sept	Washington	Black Diamond.
1885-Sept	Washington	Issaquah (Squak Valley). 3 Chinese killed.
1885-Sept	Washington	Newcastle. Chinese expelled from mining village.
1885-Sept	Washington	Newcastle. All Chinese expelled from town.
1885-Nov	Washington	Tacoma. 2-3 Chinese die of exposure after Chinese driven out.

1885-Dec	California	Truckee. Boycott to force Chinese to leave town.
1886-Jan	California	Redding. Chinatown burned.
1886-Feb	Oregon	Seattle. Chinese driven out of town.
1886-March	Oregon	Portland. Chinatown attacked.
1886-March	Oregon	Oregon City. Chinese expelled.
1886-March	Oregon	Mt Tabor. Chinese attacked.
1886-April	Oregon	Albina. Chinese expelled.
1886-April	Wyoming	Almy. Chinese attacked.
1886-June	Nevada	Truckee. Chinatown burned.
1886-August	Alaska-	Douglas Island. Chinese expelled.
1886-August	Alaska	Yreka-Chinatown burned.
1886-Nov	Sawyers Bar	Chinese houses burned.
1886	Millville	Chinese houses attacked.
1886	California	North San Juan. Chinatown burned.
1886	California	Millville. Chinese houses burned.
1886	Washington	Port Townsend. 2 Chinese killed.
1886	Washington	Chehalis. Mass murders of Chinese
1886	Washington	Olympia. Chinese expelled.
1886	Idaho	Orofino. 5 Chinese killed.
1887	British Columbia	Vancouver-Coal Harbour. Chinese homes burned.
1887	California	Colusa. Chinese lynched.
1887-May	Oregon	Deep Creek-Snake River. 31 Chinese killed.
1887	Washington.	11 Chinese murdered.
1887	Washington	Tacoma again expels 3000 Chinese.
1892	Alberta	Calgary, Chinese district attacked.
1892	USA	Chinese Exclusion Act extended for 10 years.
1903-Sept	Nevada	Chinatown attacked. 1 Chinese killed.
1907	British Columbia	
	Vancouver.	Anti-Oriental mob (5000-10000 people) attack Chinese and Japanese districts. One Chinese killed.

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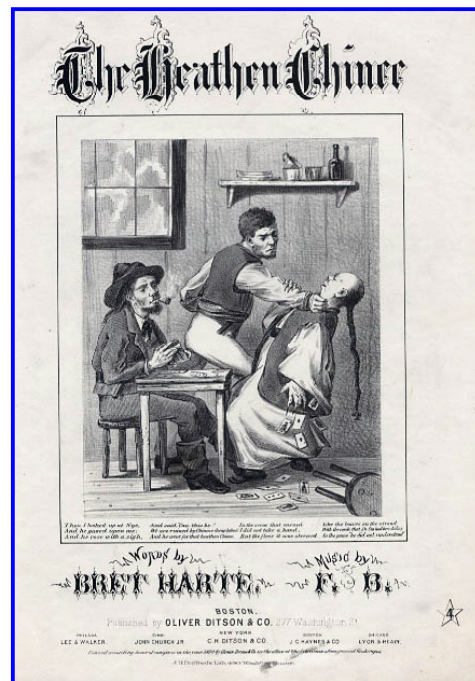
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15. GLIMPSES OF CHINESE LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Bret Harte: *The Heathen Chinee*. C 1870



Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,
Which the same I would rise to
explain.

Ah Sin was his name;
And I shall not deny,
In regard to the same,
What that name might imply;
But his smile it was pensive and
childlike,
As I frequent remarked to Bill Nye.

It was August the third,
And quite soft was the skies;
Which it might be inferred
That Ah Sin was likewise;
Yet he played it that day upon
William
And me in a way I despise.

Which we had a small game,
And Ah Sin took a hand:

It was Euchre. The same
He did not understand;
But he smiled as he sat by the
table,
With the smile that was childlike
and bland.

Yet the cards they were stocked
In a way that I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked
At the state of Nye's sleeve,
Which was stuffed full of aces and
bowers,
And the same with intent to
deceive.

But the hands that were played
By that heathen Chinee,
And the points that he made,
Were quite frightful to see, --
Till at last he put down a right bower,
Which the same Nye had dealt unto
me.

Then I looked up at Nye,
And he gazed upon me;

And he rose with a sigh,
And said, "Can this be?
We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor,"
--
And he went for that heathen Chinee.

In the scene that ensued
I did not take a hand,
But the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin had been
hiding,
In the game "he did not understand."

In his sleeves, which were long,
He had twenty-four packs, --
Which was coming it strong,
Yet I state but the facts;
And we found on his nails, which were
taper,
What is frequent in tapers, -- that's wax.

Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar, --
Which the same I am free to maintain.