MURDER ON FLOWER MOUNTAIN

PART TEN: ANTI-CHRISTIAN & ANTI-FOREIGN CARTOONS FROM HUNAN PROVINCE.
Chinese title:
Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the sacred edict.
A complete picture gallery.

English Title:
The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley:
A Complete Picture Gallery.
Hankow.
1891.

The Author:
Chou Han, a native of Ning-hiang.

There are at least twelve copies of this publication held in world libraries. See Worldcat for locations.
To the Editor of

Dear Sir,

Accompanying this, is a copy of the “Hunan Picture Gallery” which has been reproduced, translated, and annotated, in the hope of conducing to a better understanding of the causes of the late dreadful riots in China; and of leading to something effectual being done to prevent their recurrence.

Additional notes by Mr. Archibald relative to solutions to anti-foreign episodes that formed part of this covering letter have been omitted.

John Archibald, Superintendent, Hankow Mission Press
Hankow, July 25th, 1891.

INTRODUCTION

This [original version] book is an exact reproduction of one of the numerous publications at present being widely circulated in China by the antiforeign party; with what object an examination of its pages will best explain. This party is strongest in Hunan, but has its active sympathizers, amongst the official and literary classes, in very province of the Empire.

This class of literature is chiefly produced in Hunan, and nowhere in such variety or quantity as in Changsha, the capital of that province. From that centre it is sent in all directions by the boatload, in the shape of handbills, placards, posters, pamphlets, and books of various sizes. These are got up in styles to suit all tastes; in the most scholarly classical, and in the familiar mandarin colloquial; in poetry and in prose; with illustrations and without. But, whatever the shape or style may be, the subject matter is always of the same nature as that of this volume. Occasionally a production may be found which is a little less revolting, but there are others again even more so. Although Changsha is the chief centre of production, it is by no means the only one. The blocks of the more popular antiforeign works are frequently recut in various cities of other provinces, and fresh sources of supply are brought to light, from time to time, often in most unexpected quarters.

The dissemination of these books is carried on for the sake of making money. They are not produced in answer to any popular demand, nor are they kept on sale by the trade, but are printed to the order of certain individuals and associations, who also employ agents, to distributed them amongst the people in whatever districts they direct, and to post them on walls. This involves a very large expenditure of funds, which is met by the liberal contributions of the officials and gentry interested.

It cannot be said that the Chinese authorities are under any misapprehension as to the nature of the harvest which results from the sowing of such seed. The ministers of the Tsungli Yamen, in their memorial to the Throne regarding the riots in the Yangtsze Valley, states:—

The reason (of the riots) is this, … anonymous placards are posed for the purpose of agitating and misleading the minds of the people, so as to find a favourable opportunity to create disturbances. … The memorialists beg the Throne to order the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors of every province, to proclaim to the people, warning them to listen lightly to rumours, nor to make trouble. In case anonymous placards are written, and rumours are fabricated, to mislead the people, stringent and severe measures should be adopted to arrest and severely punish the authors.

The Throne, in the Imperial Edict of June the 13th, replies to this:—

The risings no doubt took their origin from the discontented class who fabricate groundless rumours, and create disturbances under false pretexts. Such cunning people are to be found in every place. Let the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors proclaim and notify the people never to listen lightly to floating rumours, and recklessly case troubles. Writers of anonymous placards, manufacturing rumours to mislead the people, are to be apprehended, and severely punished.
The memorial of H.E. Chang, viceroy of the Hu-kwang province, *Peking Gazette*, October 9th, is to the same effect:—

The memorialist would observe that the riots which have occurred with such frequency in the valley of the Yangtsze during the past few months, in connection with missionary establishments, have for the most part originated in the practice of receiving and bringing up young children¹, which gives seditious characters an opportunity of fabricating all sorts of false rumours to work upon the feelings of credulous and ignorant people. The memorialist has issued stringent instructions to the civil and military authorities, directing them to keep a careful watch from time, and in the event of their discovering any further anonymous placards, circulating baseless rumours, with the object of stirring up sedition, they are to offer rewards at once for the arrest of the culprits, who will be severely punished.

No one who studies this book, knowing that the very placards which it contains are being extensively circulated all the time, and knowing also that the credulous, dark and polluted, heathen minds of the people would accept as absolutely true the horrible things here depicted, will question the view taken by the authorities as to antiforeign placards being the main cause of the riots. As the authorities were perfectly well aware what the circulation of this literature meant, and naturally would have expected them to put forth most strenuous efforts to have the men engaged in it seized, and a stop put to their further labours. They did nothing of the kind, however, and this forms the most remarkable feature of the whole of this extraordinary business. By means of their police, their spies, and their system of rewards and punishments for the detection of crime, Chinese officials can generally find out most things they set their minds to; but who these antiforeign book men were, where they were, and whence they came, were matters which THEY could never discover. Now and again, foreigners stumbling upon them denounced them to the authorities, insisting on their being seized,— which was done,— and on their being adequately punished,— which was not done, for of their own accord they would not have even seized them.

In the beginning of last year the city of Wuchang was thrown into a ferment by some of these placards, particular Nos. 1, 3, and 13. The consuls urgently requested H. E. Chang, the viceroy, to take action in the matter, but it paid it not the least attention; he did not even consider it worth the formality of a proclamation. In the month of June of this year, a band of men were found distributing books and placards in Hankow. They were apprehended, but were shortly afterwards dismissed, because, although caught red-handed and with a large quantity of incendiary literature in their possession, there was no case against them! It transpired afterwards that their employer, H. E. Chou Han, a gentleman of high official rank (Taotai) in Hunan, had demanded their liberation of the Governor, and they were set free accordingly. In September, it was discovered that six wealthy pawn-brokering establishments in the city of Hwang-pi, twenty miles north of Hankow, were engaged in the distribution of this literature, and had recut the blocks of a most villainous book called *Kwei kiao kais sz*; “Death to the Devil Religion,” in order to keep up supplies. The six proprietors, all of them gentlemen of official rank, did not seek to deny the fact, so they were invited by the authorities to explain matters. Their explanation, after a long delay, was a payment in all of Tls4,000 or about £150 each.

But while at the open ports, and under the eye of foreigners, a measure of decency is observed, in Hunan, where foreigners cannot go, there is not even a pretence made of putting this literature under a ban. In Changsha these cartoons are posted everywhere, even alongside the very Imperial Edict and other proclamations which denounced them, and the authorities view the whole with the blind eye. In brief, while here and there some of the mere tools of this propaganda have got into trouble, there has not been a single case of a principal, some of whom are now well known, having been interfered with. Such, then, being the disease as diagnosed by the authorities themselves, and such their method of applying the cure, China can hardly be expected to prove a healthy country for Christians or foreigners to live in, until a change be brought about.

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¹ Almost all the missionary societies in China, Catholic and Protestant, followed Chinese tradition in establishing homes for abandoned children. The first major riot in 1871 involved accusations of abuse of children in a Catholic children’s home run by the French order, the Sisters of Charity, in Tientsin. The abandonment of girls is a long and continuing practice. Boys are abandoned less commonly and usually because of serious mental or physical disabilities.
In addition to stirring up the natives to attack foreigners, an attempt was, at the same time, made to set on class of foreigners against another—the secularly employed against the missionary. Just when the effects of the fury which had been excited against them was being most severely felt by the missionaries, a remarkable article entitled “Defensio populi et populos,” which was sufficiently striking to attract the attention of the English speaking world, appeared in the North China Daily News of July 21st.

In this the writer, one of the secretaries of H. E. Chang, the viceroy, a native gentleman who had received a liberal foreign education, endeavours to show that “the hatred of the people is just,” and that for all their troubles the missionaries had themselves to blame. He argues that their attempts to benefit the people morally are a fraud and a failure. None of the best men of the nation (the literati) had been attracted to them; their followers being only “the worst the weak, the ignorant, the needy, and the vicious among the Chinese.” Equal failure had attended their efforts to enlighten the people educationally, or to benefit them physically. Their presence in the country is an insult to the Chinese, and a menace to other foreigners, from the constant trouble they are creating. There can never be peace or security till foreign governments withdraw the missionary. The thoroughgoing character of this gentleman’s pleading is best shown by his justification of Wuseh murderers, who not only slew, but also mutilated their victims in a fashion which is nameless among civilized men. In his opinion, all they were guilty of was “what even the most hardened prosecutor in a court of justice could prove to be nothing worse than excusable ignorance.” The brutal murder and mutilation of unoffending Englishmen only excusable ignorance! This attack failed as regards China, although several home writers fell into the trap, and adopted the views of “the defensio.” The incident is related here because it is all of a piece with the rest of the antiforeign propaganda, and because it shows how, as the Imperial Edict puts it, “such cunning people are to be found in every place.”

To those who are unacquainted with the character of the Chinese, it may appear absolutely incredible that educated men of rank and position, could be associated with such proceedings. But it must be remembered that the feelings of men in Christian countries is no criterion of what may obtain in a heathen land. Things which would thrill all hearts with horror in the one, will call forth a smile in the other. Further, the insulting, reviling and tormenting of aliens has been a favourite pastime with the Chinese literati form ancient times, and one which they only forego when likely to entail unpleasant consequences.

During the month of September a series of articles, signed “F.,” appeared in the North China Daily News, in which it was shown that the officials themselves were solely to blame for the riots. F. reasons thus:—

Who is responsible? If we admit the principle that the man who sets fire to a house is to be held accountable for all consequences resulting from this action even though he was not present when the flames obtained complete mastery over the building, and when the worst mischief was done then we must maintain that the official and governing classes of China are accountable, both for the recent outbreaks, and also for other earlier attacks on foreigners and foreign property; and they must not be allowed now to pose as innocent men, and as the champions of peace and order. For several years, outrageous charges against foreigners, and especially against the Roman Catholic Missionaries, have been circulating in China with the cognisance, and even with the imprimatur, of some of the highest Mandarins in the Empire. The authors of the blasphemous and obscene Hunan placards, which have now become so notorious, have really done little more than put into a popular dress statements and charges which appear in books, and which have been described, more or less accurately, as ‘Chinese Blue Books,’ and in documents which are published side by side with memorials to the Throne from such men as Tseng Kuo-fan, Tao Tsung-tang, Chang Chih-tung, Li Hang-chang, P’eng Yu-lin, Shen Pao-cheng, Ting Jih-chang and other officials of the very highest standing. A collection of papers published in England bearing the names of the Duke of Argyll, Lords Salisbury, Ripon, Beaconsfield, Dufferin, Selborne, Granville, Coleridge, Hartington, and Messrs. Gladstone, Goschen, W. H. Smith, and other illustrious statesmen, would not carry more weight amongst Englishmen than the collection of papers now under consideration carries in China.

F. then proceeds to show that the work he is reviewing, the Huang chao king shih wen, suh pien, “Supplementary documents of State of the Imperial government,”—published in 1888, in 32 vols., containing 120 books, and to be found in every well appointed public or private library,—contains, expressed in the bluntest language, all the accusations against foreigners of gross licentiousness, scooping out eyes, abstracting brains, mutilating women and children, etc., portrayed and described in the Hunan placards, and all the threatenings also. If this indisputable fact does not prove the complicity of the officials
with the antiforeign propaganda, then there is no such thing as proof. It is this complicity of the officials which gives the foul charges their fatal force, and which makes it so difficult for them to deal satisfactorily with men whose crime consists in simply addressing to the public eye the self-same things which they address to their government.

But, in addition to hereditary bent of disposition, the effects of an education unfriendly to aliens, and the force of bad examples in high places, the official who would deal fairly by foreigners has still another serious difficulty to face. He knows it would not pay. He fears acquiring a reputation for being too friendly with the outer barbarian, than which nothing could be more fatal to his future advancement. On the other hand, it is patriotic to be antiforeign, and a cheap and easy method of attracting the favourable notice of superiors. Here is the very root and core of the whole matter. The supreme ruling power in China is, and ever has been since the present alien dynasty felt in secure possession of the throne, intensely antiforeign, a fact which none are better acquainted with than the repudiated, but all the same encouraged and rewarded, Hunanese.

The original, of which this book is a reproduction, was obtained last month from the first of Teng-Meu-hwa, printers in Changsha, along with a large selection of similar wares printed by two other Changsha firms styled Tseng Yiu-wea, and Chen Tsu-the respectively.

It has not been reproduced without much serious and prayerful thought. It was no pleasant task to have to do with, no matter with how good an object, the representation of our Adorable Redeemer as the filthiest of beasts, and his honoured servants as ghouls and vampires. It makes us feel as if we had been handling too-long-buried, leprous carrion. Its touch is pollution which no washing, though “with nitre and much sope,” can cleanse. But what is to be done? These insults to God and humanity must cease. The ministers and consuls of foreign powers have often most strongly represented the matter to the native authorities, and to their own governments, without producing much effect in any quarter. The propaganda still does on. Shall nothing be done to stop it?

Desperate diseases demand desperate remedies. It may be that once this matter is brought, in all its naked hideousness, under the eyes of those in authority, and the leaders of public opinion in the home lands, some Christian state will be stirred up to demand, with an emphasis sufficiently pronounced that China will not dare to disregard it, the total suppression of this class of literature. If this is not done, then the years to come will be years of blood. The minds of a harmless people, who if left to themselves would readily enter into friendly relations with strangers, are being poisoned. They are being changed into fiends who will yet perpetrate, on the unfortunate Europeans within their reach, atrocities more horrible than even the Indian Mutiny saw.

The antiforeign party who issue these books are in grim earnest. They never intended them for the foreign eye, but for the eyes of men who are quite capable of carrying out to the letter the treatment here laid down for goats and pigs (foreigners and Christians), even to the eating of their flesh and liver. They are so much in earnest that, Imperial Edicts and proclamations of viceroys and governors having failed to discourage them, other plans must be tried.

While these riots were supposed to be work of rebels, or of secret societies hostile to the government, foreign Powers hardly know how to act. But now, since they are proved to have been caused by the emissaries of men of official standing, who were perfectly well known to the authorities all along, and are on most intimate terms with some of the highest of them, action becomes easier. It is sincerely to be hoped that the greater publicity now given to this matter, and the clear understanding of it, will induce to something being done.

But, while appealing to the Christian Magistrate to have this pernicious literature put a stop to, it is also an appeal to the Christian Church. It is a most remarkable fact that this attack on Christianity comes from the province where least is known about it. There are no Protestant missionaries living in Hunan, and there never were any. Of Roman Catholics there is but one slender establishment, which obtained a footing in the province over two hundred years ago, and which has since maintained it, in spite of several burnings and bitter persecutions. Thus, while the existence of such literature must be mainly set down to the wickedness of its authors and supporters, their great ignorance must not be overlooked. Our Saviour’s prayer for the literati of Jerusalem may well be offered on their behalf, “Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.” At present, while treaties are not regarded in Hunan, it is not possible to do much for their enlightenment. The
only available means for benefitting them is the same by which they mean to injure us, namely, by the press. Amongst its twenty millions of people there is abundant scope for using this, and through such agencies as the home Bible Societies, the Religious Tract Societies or the Central China Tract Society of Hankow, it is within the power of all to take advantage of it. This Picture Gallery was distributed gratuitously to the thousands of B. As., who assembled at Changsha for the triennial examination in September. A list of eight of the antiforeign party is published, each of whom was at the expense of circulating 100,000 copies of “Death to the Devil’s Religion,” or 800,000 copies of a twenty-six page pamphlet. Were an equal zeal displayed by the Christian Church in showing them what the religion they persecute really teaches, there would be hope for even the Hunan literati.

Hankow, December 31st, 1891.

NOTE.

This reproduction of the Picture Gallery being intended for the thoughtful few, and not at all for the multitude, no attempt has been made to gloss over its extreme grossness in picture and language. It is not the production of illiterate men. The Hunan antichristian publications, almost without exception, have scholars for their authors, and thee can be no doubt about this one. This being the case, it has been deemed best to reproduce The Gallery just as it stands, in all its obscenity and vileness; for in no other way would it be possible to convey a right idea of the unreasoning and blasphemous nature of the Chinese attack on Christianity, of the low mental and moral condition of the Chinese literati, and of the deep need of all classes in China of the very faith which not a few among them are seeking to destroy.

This version is intended for an audience accustomed
to reading print from left to right in books bound from left front to right back.
The sequencing of the images is accordingly adjusted so that the
first picture in the set is that which appeared first in the original,
reading from right to left.
A REVIEW.

A short review of the history of foreign intercourse with China, and more particularly with regard to Missionary matters, is calculated to throw a good deal of light on the present situations.

This account is not an official statement, nor are the facts necessarily as stated, but it is a reflection of the opinion of a well-informed British missionary on Chinese attitudes towards foreigners that emerged during the last quarter of the 19th century. It may assist in understanding the intense feelings of foreigners found throughout the collection about promises made by Chinese officials and the trials and punishments of Chinese offenders.

The first English expedition to China, of which we have an account, was dispatched by the East India Company, in the year 1647. It consisted of the good ships Dragon, Sun, Catherine, and Ann, under the command of stout Captain Weddel. On arrival in the mouth of the Canton river it anchored in the neighbourhood of the Bogue forts, and, at the request of the Mandarins, quietly waited there the promised completion of arrangements for opening a trade. Meanwhile the forts were armed by the Chinese; “with forty six of iron cast ordnance, each piece between six and seven hundredweight,” and at the end of four days they unexpectedly open fire upon the ship’s barges.” Herewith,” says the narrator, “the whole fleet being instantly incensed did, on the sudden, display their bloody ensigns,” and, in brief, sailed in, returned the fire, landed their crews, and captured the forts. The result of this was the immediate establishment of a good understanding with the Mandarins, and the obtaining of the desired cargoes.

The incident was prophetic. All foreign intercourse in following years might be regarded as simply a repetition of this story in three chapters. Chapter first: — the outer barbarians negotiate, and quietly await the non-fulfilment of the Mandarin’s promises. Chapter second: — the wily Mandarins mature their plans, and proceed to make it uncomfortable for the trustful barbarians. Chapter third: — a sudden explosion of barbarian wrath, which is followed by a period of mutual good understanding and friendship, and then all is gone through afresh.

During the 200 years’ experience of trade and intercourse with foreigners, which followed the above incident, the Chinese officials never learned any different or better method of acting. Up to the time when Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria ascended the throne, her subjects in China were kept closely cooped up within the Canton factory. They were the victims of constant insult, and vexatious interference, on the part of the Mandarins. Forbidden to have their wives and families with them. Forbidden to go into the country, to enter the city, to be taught the language, to have intercourse with any save officially appointed natives, etc., etc. In every way they were circumscribed, restricted, and tormented. As best showing the spirit which then animated the officials, and the existence of the same spirit to the present day, one matter may be mentioned. As far back as 1754, foreign residents made bitter complaint that:

“injurious affiches [posters, placards] were annually put up by the Government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace.”

See Davis: The Chinese, Chap. II. The accusations of taking out eyes and mutilating women and children, constantly persisted in by the Chinese, are not due to misrepresentations of medical mission work, as some have supposed, but date from a time when medical missions had not yet been dreamed of.

By the Treaty of Nanking, signed in 1842, at the close of the so-called opium war, a great change was made for the better. But the same insulting, injurious, and high-handed method of dealing with foreigners and their affairs, which was the chief factor in bringing about the first war, being persisted in, the result was a second war, the lorcha Arrow war, and the signing of the Tientsin Treaty in 1858.

These wars have frequently been condemned as unjust wars of aggression, undertaken in order to force upon China a trade and a religion which she had a perfect right to shut out if so disposed. But there is another

2 Bigelow, Poultney, "Missions and Missionaries in China." In The North American Review, Vol 171 No 524, pp 26-40. Bigelow copies this reference almost word for word at pp 36-27, suggesting that he was familiar with this publication that in turn drew upon the following.

3 Davis, John Francis, The Chinese, A General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants, (London, Charles Knight, 1840) pp 41-44. Davis makes a point of emphasizing that the hostility of the Chinese reflected the animosity of the already entrenched Portuguese merchants.
side to the question. It is not possible in these days to force upon any nation, or individual even, a trade, or a religion. A willing seller must find an equally willing buyer or there can be trade; a willing preacher must meet with an equally willing hearer or there can be no convert. That the people of China, a nation of traders, were eager to do business with the foreigner, to the great advantage of both, was perfectly well known, and that they were equally willing to consider the claims of Christianity had been also abundantly proved. Their rulers, out of mere pride, conceit and class selfishness undoubtedly desired to shut out, and drive out, all foreign influences, good and bad alike, but the means they adopted to that end were such as no independent power could possible give way to; hence the conflict. It was Mandarin aggression which brought on the wars.  

Article VIII. of the Tientsin Treaty is the Magna Charta of the Christian in China. It reads:—

The Christian religion as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with.

Further in Art. IX the privilege of travelling in China under passport “for pleasure or purpose of trade, in all parts of the interior,” is provided for:  while Art. XII reads:—

British subjects, whether at the ports or other places, desiring to build and open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require at the rates prevailing amongst the people, a stipulation which seems broad enough to cover the right of residence in the interior. With the right of protection, the right of travel, and the right of residence in the interior granted, the missionary has obtained all the rights which he asks for from any Government. Thus the Tientsin treaty was entirely satisfactory to the missionary body.

Unfortunately the British Authorities refused to construe the treaty, as conferring the right of residence in the interior, with its necessary accompaniments, the rights of renting or purchasing houses and land. Whatever privileges in this respect British Missionaries at present enjoy—and there are many hundreds of them living in the interior—are claimed under the French treaty through the most favoured nation clause. The application of Art. XII is held to be limited to the open ports.

After ten years the treaty was to be open for revisal, and, as the time grew nearer, merchants and missionaries alike began to make their wishes known. The privilege desired by the latter was the right of residence in the interior. Unfortunately Sir R. [Rutherford] Alcock, and Sir T. [Thomas] Wade, were fully persuaded that to grant this would be highly dangerous to the missionaries themselves, and fatal to the good understanding then existing between Great Britain and China. Writing in December 1868, Sir t. Wade reasons that:—

The appearance in China of Christian Missionaries, backed by the power and prestige of their respective Governments, must be simply as offensive as an invasion, similarly supported by Buddhist or Confucian teachers would be to ourselves.” Blue Book, page 432.

A year later Sir R. Alcock lays it down that:—

Beyond the circuit of the ports it would be impossible to give them (the missionaries) efficacious protection, even if Her Majesty’s Government were as willing as they are averse to the employment of force. Blue Book, page 27.

These errors in judgment were serious ones, and fated to entail endless evils. It might have been foreseen that Missionaries would insist on taking up their abode in the interior, and to leave their right to do so a dubious one could only work mischief. It ought to have been known that the Chinese, seeing how willing Great Britain was to give up a right which it might have claimed, and which no doubt it was expected to claim, would be thereby emboldened to request further givings up. It was natural to suppose that the presence of a Missionary would be obnoxious to the people, but it was by no means a wise lesson to teach the Mandarins that, if the people objected to such a thing, it would not be insisted on. It was natural to

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4 This argument would not be conceded by majority historical opinion. There is certainly some justice in the irrational desire of the Ming Dynasty to exclude foreign trade, including nominal bans on Chinese merchants travelling abroad.

5 But not for the purpose of religious activity nor residence to undertake religious activity.
suppose that, beyond the circuit of the ports, a missionary could not have “efficacious protection,” but this was by no means a valid reason why he should be forbidden to try. As a matter of fact, the premises in both cases were false, as the experiences of this year, and many another year, have abundantly proved. There is no place where the missionary is so obnoxious to the people as that in which he has never been,—in Changsha for instance. There is no place where “efficacious protection” is oftener not obtainable than “within the circuit of the ports.” All the great riots take place there.6

The Chinese government in order to make up their minds as to what they would demand, or grant, in the way of treaty revision, requested the advice of some of its most powerful officers on the whole foreign question. Of the secret memorials sent in reply, that of the great Viceroy Tseng Kwo-fan, then resident at Nanking, fell into foreign hands and was translated. It clearly showed that the old mandarin hatred of foreigners was as strong as ever. Foreign trade, he said, was permitted only because it could not be kept out, and foreign friendship retained only because it was less objectionable than foreign enmity. But he warned the Government that if further concessions favourable to foreigners were granted, he and his fellow governors would repudiate them, and take no pains to restrain the wrath of the people,—in other words they would resort to their favourite weapon of mob violence. It must of course be borne in mind that the Viceroy would know the kind of memorial which would meet with approval at Peking just then.

Now here was a treaty to be revised, and one of the parties desiring fresh concessions, only their ministers had let it be understood that they feared to press for them lest it should lead to riot and murder. On the other side there was a full determination to concede nothing, but rather to withdraw concessions already given, if a passable excuse were forthcoming. China is China, and no prophet was required to forestall what was about to happen next.

In the autumn of 1868, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, the now well known principal and director of the China Inland Mission, was, with a few others, quietly living in Yang-chow, one of the largest cities in the Viceroyalty of H.E. Tseng Kwo-fan. It was admitted that they had done nothing whatever to excite or irritate the people in any way, and yet a mob was collected which cruelly assaulted them, burned their houses, and drove them from the city, glad to escape with their lives. The mob was stirred up in this action by the circulation of the usual rumours about the missionaries killing children in order to obtain their eyes and hearts. Previous to this, however, it was known that meetings had been held by the local gentry at which it was resolved the foreigners should be expelled, and apparently wellfounded accusations of complicity on the part of the Mandarins, and even of the Viceroy himself, were not wanting. There were also serious antiforeign troubles in Formosa that year.

In the following year, 1869, the Rev. James Williamson of the London Mission was murdered at a place thirty five miles from Tientsin. The murderers were never arrested, no anything done in the matter, although the proper representations were duly made in the proper quarter. Next, it came to light that the notorious Death from Corrupt Doctrines was being circulated by Yamen officials in the Shantung province, and there was a general feeling of apprehension in all the foreign communities in China. Unfortunately the gentlemen in charge of British interests at Peking did not, in spite of all the influence that could be brought to bear upon them through the press and otherwise, consider action necessary beyond mildly remonstrating with the Tsungli Yamen. However, it was now becoming apparent that it would be an utterly unreasonable proceeding to ask for further concessions for foreigners, by way of treaty revision, from a nation whose people so bitterly hated them; but, less anyone should doubt this, the next event was calculated to convince the most skeptical.

In the spring of the next year, 1870, the populace of several cities widely distant from each other were wrought up into a state of great excitement by rumours of the misdeeds of Missionaries. It was the old stock stories of kidnapping, taking out eyes, Etc., Etc., but by whom they were being propagated does not seem to have been ascertained. At Tientsin this excitement was further intensified by two acts of one of the magistrates, the Chi-fu. He issued a proclamation in which his belief in the rumours was implied, and executed by the lin-chi process (cutting in ten thousand pieces, the severest method of capital punishment in China) two men who were said to have been kidnappers. There was no longer any doubt in the minds of the

6 It is true that anti-foreign riots were rare in the interior prior to the 1890s but that is simply because it was in that decade that the expansion of missionary work into the interior generated the antiforeign riots of the 1890s which occurred, for the greater part, after this text was written.
natives of Tientsin as to the absolute truth of every rumour. It was the month of June. There was then no gunboat of any foreign power in the river. The passions of the mob seemed thoroughly aroused, and the coming outbreak was clearly foreseen. The French and English Consuls did all in their power to induce the native authorities to take adequate action in the matter, but in vain.

The storm burst on the 21st, and the result was a massacre of innocent unoffending Europeans, half of whom were helpless, holy women whose lives were devoted to the service of God and China—a massacre carried out by means of such revolting brutalities as leave it without a parallel in the bloodstained annals of Asia. There were twenty foreign victims; ten of them Sisters of Mercy, two French ladies, one Russian lady—only sixteen years of age and married but two days previously—two Russian gentlemen, the French Consul, his clerk and others. The English settlement was two miles distant from the scene of the massacre, and was not attacked. The mob proceeded in that direction, but the Mandarins turned it back.

When the news of this appalling tragedy reached Pekin, the seven foreign ministers presented a joint note demanding that immediate and vigorous measures should be taken by the Imperial government, and were assured that everything necessary should be done. But the Imperial government found that it had no troops that could be depended upon to punish the rioters, and that it was thus unable to coerce the turbulent population of Tientsin. Pictorial fans depicting foreigners being brutally murdered by Chinese were being freely sold in the streets, and it was beyond its power to stop even that outrage, so helpless had it all at once become.

Judicial investigations were commenced at Tientsin, but, owing to the great difficulties in the way of the presiding judges, they were conducted in a most dilatory manner. At length, about four months after the massacre, certain parties were found guilty, and sentence was pronounced. Two Mandarins, the prefect and the district magistrate, were banished to Manchuria. Twenty criminals, of the lowest class of the people, were sentenced to death, and twenty-one more condemned to banishment. A sum of Tls. 400,000 was also paid to the French government for the loss of life and property.

Foreigners in China freely asserted that all this was a mere travesty of justice. That the real culprits were such men as Chung How, who had it fully in his power to have presented the massacre had he chosen, but paid no attention to the earnest appeals of the English and the French consuls. The latter indeed was cut down and murdered in the streets while returning from his Yamen, to which he had personally gone in a vain effort to induce him to take action. Instead of being punished, this gentleman was appointed Imperial Commissioner to proceed to France and present a formal apology.

Another of the accused was Chen Kwo-shwai, an adopted son of the celebrated general San-kwo-lin-sin, who arrived in Tientsin three days before the massacre, and who was said to have been the real leader on the occasion. He was also said to have been at the bottom of the Yangchow riot. From Tientsin he proceeded to Peking where he was received in audience by the Emperor, and returned to Tientsin in high favour. As to the men who were executed it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether they were guilty or not. At all events the Russian Minister refused to allow the execution of four of them as satisfaction for the lives of the Russians killed, because not satisfied of their direct complicity in the crime. Thus only sixteen of the twenty were beheaded. The late Dr. Williamson has put it upon record that:—

The Government paid a large monetary compensation to the families of the men who were executed, permitted them to be feasted during the preceding night, afterwards decapitated in grand robes said to be a present from the Government, and buried with honours. Then the two chief Mandarins, who were to have been banished to Manchuria, were allowed to return to their own homes, while the greatest criminal of all, the general who urged the rabble on, was never touched.

It has been necessary to dwell somewhat minutely on the events of those years, because in every particular the recent experiences of foreigners in China are an exact repetition of what took place twenty years ago, as will be shown. The preceding statements of fact are made on the authority of Williams’ Middle Kingdom; Thin’s Tientsin Massacre; Chinese Recorder; Introduction to Translation of ‘Death Blow’; Report to English Presbyterian Mission, etc., and may be accepted as trustworthy. There can be no doubt that the persons on whose heads the guilt of the Tientsin Massacre really rested were never punished. Nor was it possible in any way to bring them to account, for they were none other than the high officials themselves who at that time dictated the Imperial policy with regard to foreign affairs. The reason why there were anti-foreign troubles throughout the Empire was because the Government wanted them, and had an object to
serve by means of them. On no other hypothesis can the events of that time be so clearly explained, or those of the present day.

Four months after the execution of the sixteen coolies, when thealarm and tension caused by the massacre had somewhat subsided, that was in February 1871, the next move in the fame was made by their Excellencies Wan Siang and Shan Kwei-fan, communicating to the foreign ministers the famous Eight Articles in relation to the Missionary question. This important document has been somewhat lost sight of by the foreigners concerned of late, but it does not seem to have been for a moment absent from the minds of the Chinese officials all these years. In nearly every case where a Missionary and a Mandarin have come into conflict it has been through the latter applying to the former some one or other of the provisions of the Eight Articles. They were professedly proposed in the interests of the Missionaries and native Christians, as a means of preventing such deplorable outbreaks against them as had recently taken place; and, could they have been agreed to and carried out, they would, doubtless, have accomplished this desirable object, for their operations would, in a short time, have shut up every Missionary institution, closed every Missionary’s mouth, prevented the joining of new converts, and have delivered the old to the unavenged mercies of their bitterest enemies.

In the preamble to these articles, it was asserted that trade had given rise to no differences between China and foreign Powers—which was a considerable stretch of the truth—but that “Mrissions engendered ever-increasing abuses.” The abuses were not specified, but the curious could find full particulars of them in the Death Blow, and such like books. As a consequence:—“At this moment the animosity of the people, already deep, degenerates gradually into hate, which at length reaches its paroxysm.” Nothing was said, however, as to how the paroxysm was worked up, or by whom. In brief, it showed how the Missionaries and native Christians were utterly bad, how the people justly and righteously enraged, while they, the virtuous Mandarins, were only anxious to fulfil their obligations and promote peace, as witness: the zeal of the government in punishing the Tientsin murders, and arranging the affair.”

Art. I demanded that foreign orphanages should be abolished, or that only the children of necessitous Christians should be received. This was a demand which is being constantly renewed. H. E. Chang chi-tung in his memorial on the Wusueh riot stated that the riots had, for the most part, originated in the practice of receiving and bringing up young children, hence he had instructed the Taotai at Hankow to communicate with the Consuls asking them to direct the Missionaries to cease, for a time, receiving young children into their establishments. Of all others the orphanages is the institution which is represented as the chief cause of the animosity of the people, all the blood curdling atrocities, said to be perpetrated by foreigners, have the orphanage for their scene. As a matter of fact there is no institution which China, beyond all countries, so piteously needs. So many children are destroyed in infancy, and so many more are done to death through neglect and want, that the benevolent will always be impelled to establish orphanages so as to save some. And why not? The officials know perfectly everything which passes within the walls of an orphanage, as indeed is the case with regard to all foreign houses to an extent rarely dreamed of. The information is wormed out of the natives who are employed on the premises. The special attack made on the orphanage is due to the fact that the suspicions and passions of the mob are most easily aroused with regard to it. The heathen mind simply cannot believe in the purity of intention of foreigners who undertake the trouble and expense of bringing up children, not their own. They are persuaded there must be some ulterior and sinister motive.

Art. II demanded that women should not be allowed to enter the churches, nor Sisters of Charity to live in China, or to teach religion. The “abuse” it was intended to prevent by this article will be understood by a glance at Cartoon III in the Picture Gallery. Its effect would have been to cripple Christianity by limiting the efforts of its teachers to the one sex.

Art. III demanded that Missionaries must conform to the law and customs of China, that they should submit themselves to the authority of the magistrates of China, and that they should be forbidden to make themselves independent. Further, that they should not be permitted to asperse the doctrines of Confucius. The effect of this article would have been to put the Missionary entirely into the hands of the local Mandarins who would soon have tided him up head, and foot, and tongue. No act of his but could be easily construed by them into a breach of the customs of China, and no word he could utter but might be twisted into an aspersion of the doctrines of Confucius.
Art. IV demanded that, since the individuals who committed disorders ordinarily belonged to the lowest class of people, and when they were guilty of a crime they were seized and punished, accusations must not be brought against the literati to exact from them large indemnities. Punishments once inflicted (on the lowest class of the people) they, (the complaining foreigners) must not come and claim large indemnities. This seems to have been a provision for having riots on the cheap. Damages were to be paid for in coolies heads, and no accusations against the Mandarin class allowed. Its effects would have been to secure the destruction of all Mission establishments within a very short time after the articles came into force.

The same article dealt with the native Christians, and demanded that, if a Christian conducted himself contrary to the laws, the local authority was to take evidence, and if anyone accused a Christian, he, the Christian, was to be seized and judged; but (in such a case) the Missionary must not come forth to defend him, or to exculpate him. This seems to have been designed to secure a free hand for the prosecutor. False accusations, charging the native Christians with horrible crimes as well as the Missionaries, are only too common everywhere. Under this provision, in spite of Art. VIII of the Tientsin Treaty, it would have been competent of any Mandarin, on account of these vile accusations, to seize any native Christian, and to take evidence and judge him without anyone being allowed to interfere. Taking evidence and judging in China often means beating men to death, or still worse allowing them to rot in prison.

Art. V dealt with passports, and provided that they were not to be granted to districts where there were rebels, and that missionaries must not avail themselves of their passports to go elsewhere. There was no great fault to be found with this, save for the implication that missionaries were disloyal and traitorous.

Art. VI demanded that before a man was permitted to become a Christian he must be examined as to whether he had undergone any sentence, or committed any crime. Notice must also be given to the authorities who will take note and ascertain if he has ever undergone any sentence. Every month, or at least every three months, the authorities were to be advised of the number of conversions; and every month, or at least every three months, they were to go and inspect the missions. The design of this seems to have been to get the missions and the converts entirely under the Mandarin's thumb, and its effect would have been most detrimental. Few natives, in their desire to become Christians, would have the courage to face an examination before the magistrate, while the constant inspection of the Mission premises, by the criminal authorities, would soon scare all the people away.

In proof that the Government policy with regard to missions is till on the old lines of the Eight Articles, it may be pointed out that such an inspection of Missions was demanded and arranged for at Hankow by H.E. Chang Chih-tung during the time of the riots. In the memorial already quoted from, His Excellency says:—

The consuls having all agreed to the proposal (namely to request the orphanage to cease receiving children) the Taotai was further directed to draw up, in consultation with the Consuls, regulations for the periodical inspection, every month, of Missionary institutions by officials and gentry deputed for the purpose.”

On the face of it this appears a very innocent proposal, and some may think a very necessary one under the circumstances. But it must be remembered that none were better aware of all that went on in Missionary institutions than the officials. Further, that these institutions were open to them, orphanages included, every day at reasonable hours, for them to come quietly and unannounced to see all there was to be seen, if so disposed. Further still, granting that such malpractices as were asserted were carried on in orphanages, the authorities are hardly simple-minded as to suppose the damning evidences, in the shape of eyes or bones, would be left lying around for them to discover in the course of a prearranged, periodical, official visit. The fact is such inspections answer no such purpose as is pretended; they are most needless, most insulting, and the carrying of them out most dangerous to the Missions. The only effect they have is to confirm the people in their worst suspicions. This is no mere theory. The first of the official inspections, arranged for as indicated above, was carried out on the afternoon of September 7th by the Taotai with a great retinue at the R. C. Roman Catholic orphanage, Hankow, just after the Ichang riot. The excitement in the native town was intense. The gunboats in port had to land their men and guns. Nothing but the presence and promptitude of the foreign forces prevented a repetition of the Tientsin tragedy at Hankow. For long after, the orphanage had to be guarded nightly by men-of-war’s men. Such was the first, and for the time being, the last of the official inspections of Missions, but the demand is still persisted in.

As a still further proof, it is a remarkable fact that the other demand made under Art. VI, namely for the
registration of Missions and converts by the authorities in the Yamen, was renewed this year, and not by a viceroy or governor, but by the Central Government itself.7 During the troubles, orders were issued from Peking for a census to be taken of all Missions and Converts in the Empire, under the pretence that it was necessary in order to protect them from the rebels and the Kolao-hwei [Gelaohui]. These orders were carried out as far as the district authorities were able. This is the first census undertaken by China in recent times, and the Central Government has taken much credit to itself for the thoughtfulness, and care for Missions, manifested by the step. Seeing, however that none knew better than the Government itself how little either rebellion or Kolao-hwei had to do with the riots, it is permissible to doubt if its intentions were so praiseworthy after all. At all events, these things prove that the Ruling Powers in China, central and provincial alike, are still holding on to the demands laid down in the Eight Articles.

Art. VII demanded that the Missionaries should be kept in their place, and if they visited a great Mandarin they must observe the same ceremonies as those exacted from the literati. If they visited a Mandarin of inferior rank, they must also conform to the customary ceremonies. Under this article, the Missionary would have had to perform the Kotow, and various other methods of obeisance peculiar to the East. Its object seems to have been to exalt the Mandarin, and abase the Missionary.8

Art. VIII laid down the regulations which were to be observed by Missionaries in buying a piece of land, or hiring a house. It demanded that, before concluding an agreement, the Missionary must go with the real proprietor and make a declaration before the local authority, who would examine whether the Fung-shui presented any obstacle. If no inconvenience arose to the Fung-shui, it would then be necessary to ask the consent of the inhabitants of the place. This obtained, it would be necessary to declare that the land belonged, with full rights to Chinese Christians; and finally, (in purchasing property) it would not be allowed, in making a transfer, to use any other name than the real purchaser. Had these proposals been agreed to, they would have proved to have been just so many contrivances for preventing the Missionary from getting a fresh footing anywhere. To insist on the real proprietor appearing before the Mandarin, as an indisputable preliminary to leasing or selling his property to a Missionary, would practically be found to mean that nine out of every ten landlords would point-blank refuse to go near the Yamen, while the tenth, when he went, would be scared out of his bargain. But, supposing this difficulty to be safely surmounted, the Fung-shui stipulation would certainly prove fatal. The presence of a Missionary could not but be found to have a baleful effect on the Fung-shui (geomantic influences) of a neighborhood. But, granting it to be possible it might be thought otherwise, some of the people would be sure to withhold their consent.

However, let it be granted that all these apparently insuperable difficulties could somehow be overcome, the poor Missionary would still be as far from gaining a lodgment as ever, for, as is finally provided, he is absolutely forbidden to buy, save in the name of the Chinese Christians, while the seller is, at the same time, absolutely forbidden to transfer his property to any name save to that of the real purchaser. Had these proposals been agreed to, they would have proved to have been just so many contrivances for preventing the Missionary from getting a fresh footing anywhere. To insist on the real proprietor appearing before the Mandarin, as an indisputable preliminary to leasing or selling his property to a Missionary, would practically be found to mean that nine out of every ten landlords would point-blank refuse to go near the Yamen, while the tenth, when he went, would be scared out of his bargain. But, supposing this difficulty to be safely surmounted, the Fung-shui stipulation would certainly prove fatal. The presence of a Missionary could not but be found to have a baleful effect on the Fung-shui (geomantic influences) of a neighborhood. But, granting it to be possible it might be thought otherwise, some of the people would be sure to withhold their consent.

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Such were the salient, and more objectionable points of the Eight Articles. They were largely regarded, b many Missionaries as well as others, as being what they professed to be, namely a proof of the good will of the Government towards Missions, and a token of its deep desire for their wellbeing; while, of a truth, a more impudent, hypocritical, slanderous, evil-intentioned document was never hatched by state craft. The Articles were not agreed to by the Foreign Powers, notwithstanding that, in them, the Tientsin massacre was frequently referred to, and held up in terrorem, as an eventuality which was certain to occur again if they were rejected. They were simply discussed for a time, and then laid aside and forgotten by a

7 A reference to an attempt to impose this practice during the Huashan trials is reported by U.S. Consul Hixson and the Rev. William Banister.

8 The formalities of interviews between the Viceroy in Foochow and the U.S. Consul is a constant theme in Consul Hixson's Report on the Huashan Massacre and its aftermath.
The very next time distasteful demands were being made on the Peking Government, by a Foreign Power, they wee got rid of, not by a massacre, but by a murder which would have been a massacre also, had the party attacked been incapable of self-defence. It does not all within the scope of this review to relate the history of the murder of Mr. Margary and the repulse of Colonel Browne’s expedition on the borders of Yunan, in Feby, 1875, with the resulting abandonment, by the British Government, of the right it had obtained to send a mission into that region; but the fact that this murder and attack were undoubtedly official has an important bearing on other murders and attacks of which the causes are subjects of enquiry. That Mr. Margary did not meet his death by accident, or through some merely local disturbance, as the Chinese Government pretended, is now admitted by all. Even the judicious Williams, who may be depended upon to sum up in favour of China whenever the facts will allow, states that: — “The weight of evidence obtained at Yunan-fu went to prove that the repulse of the British party was countenanced, if not planned, by the Governor-general, and carried into effect with the cognizance of Brigadier Li.” Middle Kingdom, vol II< pg. 724.

Local riots against foreigners occurred from time to time in various places, but the next extensive outbreak was in the Canton province, during the war with France, in the autumn of 1884. At such a time an antiforeign outbreak was full to be expected, were one to reason from what would probably happen under like circumstances in the West. But nothing could show more clearly how fallacious the reasoning may be, which takes it for granted that the Chinese may be expected to act just as Westerners would act under like circumstances, than the fact that throughout all China, during the war, the people remained apathetic and indifferent, save in such places as the officials put forth special effort to stir them up. This was done in the Canton province. H.E. Chang Chi-tung was Viceroy of the Liang-Kwang [the two Kwangs-Kwangsi and Kwantung] at the time, and H.E. P’eng Yu-lin, the admiral of the Yangtse, was sent as Imperial Commissioner to aid him in keeping the French at bay. H.E. P’eng was madly antiforeign, and the reputed author of the notorious Death blow to Corrupt Doctrines. On his arrival at Canton, reports were at once circulated that Christianity was to be suppressed. He issued a rabid proclamation in which he said China would not hold herself responsible for any losses which might ensue from the destruction of buildings belonging to foreigners by popular violence. This was construed by the mob as permission to destroy Chapels, etc. Within a few weeks, eighteen Protestant places of worship were either destroyed or robbed, whilst an almost clean sweep was made of R.C. Chapels. Native Christians were attacked with clubs and swords, robbed of their property and clothes, driven from their houses and villages, subjected to endless annoyances and cruel privations; their women having to endure still worse indignities. As to the authorities, it is stated they had received secret instructions, couched in eight characters, which read: — “Provoke not the people, delay all cases.” As a consequence they professed themselves powerless to interfere with the mob, or to give the Christians any redress.

In addition to setting this work going, H.E. P’eng addressed a memorial to the Throne in which he spoke of the chapels as the “Heavenly Lord’s Devil Halls,” and did not hesitate to recommend their destruction, and the massacre of the Missionaries and native Converts. He requested that orders should be given to the Viceroy’s and Governors to have certain provisions like those of the Middle Kingdom. He issued a proclamation in which he said China would not hold herself responsible for any losses which might ensue from the destruction of buildings belonging to foreigners by popular violence. This was construed by the mob as permission to destroy Chapels, etc. Within a few weeks, eighteen Protestant places of worship were either destroyed or robbed, whilst an almost clean sweep was made of R.C. Chapels. Native Christians were attacked with clubs and swords, robbed of their property and clothes, driven from their houses and villages, subjected to endless annoyances and cruel privations; their women having to endure still worse indignities. As to the authorities, it is stated they had received secret instructions, couched in eight characters, which read: — “Provoke not the people, delay all cases.” As a consequence they professed themselves powerless to interfere with the mob, or to give the Christians any redress.

Of course Peking repudiated all this: — “but it is a common custom for the Court of Peking to issue double sets of instructions for the provincial Governors. One set, appearing in the Gazette, is intended for the eyes of the foreign ministers, and so is couched in general language which suggests no infringement of treaty rights; but it is the other set, often widely differing in terms, and not so submitted to public inspection, which represents the real policy of the Chinese Government. See Memorandum on Persecutions in China; issued by the Shanghai and Hankow Committees of the Evangelical Alliance, 1885. At all events H.E. P’eng was never found fault with on account of these transactions, but remained in high favor with the Central Government till his death, which took place in May 1890, at his ancestral home in Heng-chow, Hunan. This fanatical firebrand, all his life, was a terror to the people, and an object of bitter hatred to his fellow officials, but notwithstanding was a Mandarin such as is highly esteemed by the Court of Peking.
Before proceeding to point out the close parallel between the recent troubles, and those experienced by foreigners in China former years, and to show that only in one way can they be satisfactorily accounted for, the cleverness of the Chinese Government in starting a false explanation of the riots, and the good service it did them, may be alluded to. When the riots attracted attention in England the Chinese Minister was instructed to explain to the British Government, that they were due to an anti-dynastic movement, and that there was a secret society called the Kolao-hwie [Gelaohui] which had adopted this plan of involving China in a war with some foreign power as a means of overthrowing the Government. The same information was furnished to a learned and talented gentleman in Shanghai who is the trusted adviser of the Chinese high officials in all difficult matters, and by him communicated to the foreign press. He, no doubt, was fully persuaded of its truth, as most people were when the idea was first propounded. The effect of it was that the fear of helping to pull down the Central Government, and of throwing a vast Empire into a state of anarchy, induced the Powers to hold their hand, and promised to give China full freedom in the matter of rioting without being called to account.

It was soon observed, however, that the facts hardly substantiated the ingenious theory. But one rebel, in all, was discovered in the Yangtse valley, and he was a foreigner, but by whom he was hired did not transpire. As to the Kolao-hwei, which seems to be a secret Society established mainly for the purpose of benefiting its members at the expense of their neighbours, although many of them have been caught and executed in provincial capitals, in consequence of the hue and cry against them, participation in antiforeign riots is not one of the crime which has been brought home to their door. The evidence that the riots were caused by means of antiforeign rumours and placards is complete, and the discovery of the actual authors of these, together with the agents employed in disseminating them clears all others of suspicion. The only question which now remains to be enquired into is how far the Government itself has been implicated in causing these troubles. It is with regard to this that the light from past history is so valuable.

Some of the striking parallels between present and past antiforeign experiences, and the inferences they necessarily suggest are as follows:—

1st. For several years preceding the Tientsin Massacre Foreign Powers had got into the habit of allowing the Chinese Authorities to have it all their own way. Treaty rights were mistakenly abandoned; the idea of ever again having resort to force abjured; and an honest effort made instead to gain influence with the Mandarins by complacently humouring them. The same feeble policy at Peking has been the chief characteristic of recent years also. The impossibility of having foreign business attended to there has passed into a proverb; while amongst the rights which have been weakly surrendered may be instanced that of sending a Mission into Tibet, and of the steam navigation of the upper Yangtse. It is a sad pity, but nevertheless an indisputable fact, that giving in to China is but another name for inviting aggression. How it works is well exemplified in the Tibet expedition incident. The Macaulay Mission was kept out of that country but exactly the same tactics as were used to keep the Browne Mission out of Yunan. Then, China having got the idea of sending a Mission to Tibet abandoned in favour of a market in Darjeeling, now insists that the idea of having a market for Tibetans in Darjeeling shall also be abandoned, unless she receives control of it! A feeble policy at Peking, on the part of the Foreign Powers, is the fruitful parent of all antiforeign aggression whether by Mandarin or by mob; and since it is only the Government, and not the mob, which can be aware of the existence of this, mob action, when produced, is due to Government inspiration.

2nd. Another characteristic of the period previous to the Tientsin Massacre was the official circulation of antiforeign literature. The book chiefly distributed then was the infamous Death blow to Corrupt Doctrines. This book was translated into English at the time, and in the preface to the translation it is stated thus:—’In every instance in which it (the Death Blow) ahs been heard of, the parties possessing it have asserted that it was obtained from the Yamen.’ It is by officials that the distribution of antiforeign literature is carried on, but on a vastly grander scale. Then, but one book was known of; now, over a hundred

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9 See Introduction, pp 24-25 and discussion of exactly the same idea of a provincial rebellion underlying the Huashan Massacre which took place within ten years of the mention of the Gelaohui in this item. It should also be noted that a similar link has been made in regard to the antimissionary riots in Chengtu, Sichuan Province, June 1895.
have been collected. Then, the circulation was by the hundreds or thousands; now it is by the tens and hundreds of thousands. Then, that one book was anonymous; now, some are actually signed by the author, or his name is but thinly veiled. How these things can be done without the cognizance and approval of the Government it is hard to see.

3\textsuperscript{rd}. A striking feature of the Tientsin Massacre, and the Canton persecutions, was the apathy with which these outbreaks were regarded by the responsible authorities. They would either do nothing at all, like Chung How, or do nothing to the purpose. This was also a marked characteristic of every recent riot from that of Wuhu to that of Ichang. Stronger still, the Central Government itself was found to be under the influence of a similar apathy. Sir John Walsham has placed it upon record that the Imperial Edict against the rioting was obtained with the greatest difficulty. When it was obtained, the government sent it forward to the scene of the disturbances as slowly as it could, and then, when it arrived, the Edict proved, as was shown at Ichang, to be of almost no use. Only one inference can be drawn from this, namely, it was the will of the Government that the riots should go on.

4\textsuperscript{th}. It was a cause of great complaint and indignation amongst foreigners, at the massacre time, that the really guilty and responsible parties could not be brought to justice. Twenty Europeans had been foully murdered, and twenty coolies’ heads were offered in satisfaction. This is still the rule. For the two Europeans murdered at Wusueh two heads were taken off. But to offer the head of an insignificant and possible innocent native in exchange for a European life, while the real murderers are screened and protected, is hardly what is known in the West as doing justice. None of the placard men, authors, printers, or distributors, have been interfered with, except when denounced by foreigners, and even then they have been generally allowed to escape scot-free. The authorities will not punish these instigators to deeds of violence though they have been discovered for them, not discover for themselves the active rioters who with their own hands burn and slay. Further, the officials who failed to give protection to assaulted foreigners are shielded, while those who shielded foreigners are assaulted. This refusing to punish the guilty is not a matter for which the provincial authorities alone can be held responsible. It was from Peking that the instructions were sent to the Chinese Minister in England, to explain to the British Government that antiforeign rioters must not be punished lest it might encourage them! Similar instructions about not punishing rioters were doubtless sent down to the provinces also. But one inference can be drawn from this befriending of the rioters by the authorities, and that is—the Government wish them well. In marked contrast to the above is the way in which disturbers of the peace are dealt with in cases where foreigners are not concerned. Then the heads fall like leaves in autumn.

5\textsuperscript{th}. Another feature of both past and present antiforeign outbreaks is the professed inability of the authorities to control the people, or to depend upon their soldiers. That they could not do so was feely asserted by them in connection with every riot, and fully demonstrated at Ichang where the soldiers did all the mischief. But that this is all a pretence is absolutely certain. Soldiers, even in China, cannot be allowed to mutiny without being called to account. That none have been found fault with at Ichang is proof that there they disobeyed no orders when they rioted. Besides, the uncontrollable ones have, in several instances, become tractable enough when it was the will of their superiors that they should. A Wuchang resident states:—“I never believed the riots were an official movement till I saw how they were put down in our city. First, we had the antiforeign literature circulated, and the rumours. The people were greatly excited by them; crowds collected and stoned the Roman Catholic establishment, and the authorities said they could not prevent it. Then, we had the splendid joint proclamation by the Viceroy and Governor, but the people tore it down. Then, soldiers were brought into the city in great numbers, and strong guards were placed over the Missions, but this only made matters worse. After that came the Imperial Edict, which was also torn down, and then proclamation after proclamation, but they did no good. This went on for months. All the ladies had been removed, and the Viceroy had several times warned the Missionaries also to leave as they could not be protected. Amongst others this message was repeatedly sent to a missionary who lived close to his own Yamen, while his own European employees who lived in the next street received no such warning. We felt we were living on the mouth of a volcano, and many a sleepless night did I pass waiting for those rioters whom we were warned on all hands to expect. But, just when it seemed as if the outbreak could not be staved off another day, there came a great change. On leaving my house one morning I became conscious that something had taken place. The people looked pleasant and agreeable again; the very dogs seemed friendly. I
learned that on the previous evening the Viceroy had summoned the Mandarins to his Yamen, and that they had been rushing about all night in consequence. Next, I was told of a remarkable interview which the British Consul and the commander of the Archer had had with the Viceroy in the afternoon. They had gone and told him plainly that the firing of a single Missionary establishment would be the signal for instant retaliation, on the part of the warships in the river. His Excellency, it was said, had manifested great incredulity, and pointed out that such an unwarrantable proceeding would be quite contrary to international law. However, he was fortunately convinced they were in earnest, so he called for his subordinates, issued his instructions, and all was changed in a night. From that time not only has there been no more trouble threatened, and no more talk of uncontrollable soldiers and people, but there has hardly been a hostile rumour even to be heard. This was what convinced me the whole movement was under official control all the time.

The above is a truthful description of the matter as seen at Wuchang. It was just like when, in a great workshop, at one moment all seems uproar, commotion, excitement and confusion. A bell rings; the next instant there is perfect quietness and peace. The whole machinery comes to a stand still, and each bustling workman puts on his coat and quietly walks away. The stopping hour has come, and the engineer cuts off the steam.

When soldiers or people get beyond control it is due either to their being in distress, or the victims of gross oppression on the part of the Mandarins. It is generally to the latter, and then the responsible authorities will be the very last to admit the existence of insubordination as it would involve serious punishment. The only inference that can be drawn from the keeping up of this farce is that China is playing a game.

6th. Another feature of the Tientsin Massacre time was that the troubles were simply preliminary to, and intended to emphasize, certain hostile proposals of the Government called the Eight Articles. Such it seems is the case again. The Peking correspondent of the Times writing under the date of August 28th says:—

In all the earlier stages, when the foreign Ministers in Peking made their remonstrances to the Tsungli Yamen, they were received with something more than indifference by the Chinese Ministers. In fact, the evasions and insolence of the Yamen ‘broke the record’ .... Some proposals had been made by the Chinese Ministers for deliberation on the future status of Missionaries, with a view to devising some better modus Vivendi than the unsatisfactory one heretofore in force. But the foreign Ministers distinctly refused to exchange a word on any such question.

It will be very interesting to learn what the new proposals on the Missionary question were which the Yamen then brought forward, but probably they did not differ very much from the old familiar Eight Articles. The inference which may be drawn from this is that the Chinese Government adopts means for attaining its ends such as would disgrace untutored savages. It had certain anti-missionary proposals to make, and intended carrying them by means of anti-missionary disturbances. Thus it is directly responsible for the whole infernal enginery of the riots — rumours, placards, books, burning and blood — it and none other.

The matter may be left here. The last line expresses the writer’s most solemn and deliberate conviction. To his mind the proofs that the Government itself is the guilty one are absolutely irresistible, but the reader can judge. It is no new idea. In the old Canton factory days it was always the Governing Power which was the foreigner’s great enemy. In the Tientsin massacre times those whose opinion was of the highest value blamed the Government. The Canton persecutions were due to the action of the representatives of the Government, and it is still the same unchanging, proud, suspicious, unscrupulous, callous, cunning, treacherous, antiforeign Institution which is at the bottom of all the mischief.

By taking a narrow view some regard the present movement as exclusively anti-missionary, while others, taking a still narrower view, consider it to be simply anti-orphanage. It is both of these, and a great deal more; it is antiforeign. It is pure policy which leads to the orphanage being selected, of all the various Missionary establishments, as the chief point of attack. The assistance of the natives is most easily enlisted against that institution. To a similar politic reason is due the fact that it is against the Missionary and not the merchant or any other class of foreigners, that this agitation is mainly carried on. It is supposed that a measure of foreign help and countenance can always be depended upon in attacking Missionaries. But, let the orphanages be suppressed to-morrow, the only result would be fresh demands; let the Missionaries be

10 The same pattern of the Chinese Government seeking to remove missionary issues from the diplomatic realm to the local provincial and district administrations emerged in the period after the Huashan Massacre.
expelled the day after, and still China would be unsatisfied. Nothing short of the total expulsion and exclusion of the hated foreigner will meet the views of the vast majority of the ruling class. This was their first idea, and it is their last.

This is not the place to debate what ought to be done, but in concluding the writer would quote, and most heartily endorse, the following extract from Dr. Thin’s *Tientsin Massacre* written twenty years ago:—

It is evident that a system is wrong under which perpetual appeals to force are necessary in order to secure safety of lives and property, and under which the slaughter of foreigners is always possible by a superstitious mob. Unless it is contemplated to withdraw foreigners from China altogether—a retrograde measure which the civilisation of the century can never contemplate—then it is the duty of the Governments whose subjects reside in China to take such measures as will enable business to be carried on in freedom and safety. That this freedom and safety are *easily attainable* I firmly believe.
TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

TRANSLATION OF TITLE PAGE.
Hereby exposed in respectful obedience to the
Sacred Edict. A Complete Picture Gallery.

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

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

The chapter made use of as an introduction to the Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines is the seventh, and has for its theme:— “Suppress strange religions for the purpose of exalting orthodox doctrine.” In this chapter, Christianity is classed among the strange religions which are not to be followed by the Chinese people. The following extract from this Chapter will give the reader some idea of its bearing on the antichristian literature which has been flooding the country of late. The extract is taken almost verbatim from the translation given by the translators of the Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines. It reads thus:—

With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundation of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines, which must be suppressed and exterminated.

… From ancient times the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism, … There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers who under the pretence of teaching these systems (Buddhism and Taoism) bring them into the greatest discredit, making false parade of what is propitious and what is unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. … … The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblages treacherous, depraved, and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations, and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperial their lives; sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. … … Such is the Pen-tien, the Wen-hiang, and similar religions. They should be a beacon of warning to you. Such also is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of Heaven, T’ien Chu. It also is not regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers are well versed in mathematics, our Government made use of them, of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them; for false and corrupt teachers our Government has fixed punishments.

The above extract will suffice to show what a powerful weapon the antichristian agitation finds in the Sheng-Yu. In the Hunan publications, it is frequently referred to in justification of the antichristian movement. The very title page of this pictorial work tells us in what light the author regards his attack on the foreigner and the foreign religion. He looks upon himself as simply acting in compliance with the Imperial
Commands, as given in *The Sacred Edict*. Has the time not come when the Chinese government should be asked by the Foreign Powers to expunge from the *Sheng-Yu* its every hostile reference to Christianity, and to bring it into harmony with the Imperial Edict issued this year? If Christianity is allowed to continue to appear as a proscribed religion in the *Sheng-Yu*, the recent Imperial Edict will soon become a dead letter, so far as the people are concerned.

The author of this pictorial work is probably *Chou Han*, and expectant Taotai, and a native of Ning-hiang in Hunan. He is Imperially honoured with the second rank, and wears a red button. He seems to be the leader in the present antichristian agitation. For further information concerning him see *North China Herald* of October 30th and December 18th, 1891.

The Roman Catholic Church is the Christian group most addressed in these Cartoons. There is a long-standing difference between Catholics and Protestants, and between Protestants, over the best way of expressing "God: in Chinese. The early Catholics chose “Tien Chu” (Tian-di) — Lord of Heaven. Kau is the term for religion, and Christianity was often referred to as the religion of the Lord of Heaven — Tien chu kau.”

Protestants, generally, adopted and continue to use an ancient Chinese term Shang Di as closer to the English meaning of God.

In Chinese, the character for chu, when pronounced differently, also means Pig. Similarly kiau can mean "squeak" so that Tien chu kau can mean Squeak of the Celestical (or Heavenly) Pig.
PICTURE I

TRANSLATION.

TOP:—THE DEVILS (Foreigners) WORSHIPPING THE PIG (Jesus).
COLUMN RIGHT. This is the beast which the foreign devils follow; the pig’s skin and bristles are still on him.
COLUMN LEFT. If human beings will take the celestial pig for Lord, how will they retain a human appearance.
MIDDLE TEXT. Special Notice. Jesus, heir apparent (to the throne of Judea) was a metamorphosis of the celestial pig. His nature was extremely lascivious. All the wives and daughters of the high officials of Judea were debauched by him. Having debauched all the concubines of the sovereign, and having plotted to seize the throne, the high officials sent up a report of his crimes as a memorial. He was then bound, placed on a cross, and nailed to it with red hot nails. He uttered a number of cries, revealed his pig-form and died. After this he constantly entered the houses of the high officials, doing strange and committing lewdness. The moment married women and girls heard the pig’s squeal, their dress would unfasten itself, and not until he had satisfied his lust
would they wake up. This is the reason why the disciples of the pig exhort people to come and worship; it is that they may avail themselves of the opportunity to seek for gain and indulge in lust. If a cross is cut on a doorsill and doorsteps the pig and his disciples will be seized with fear and keep away. This is a special notice for the information of everyone, so that they may know, and be on their guard.

NOTES.
The Celestial Pig. The term used for God by the Roman Catholics is T’ien Chu.
It is also used for our Lord Jesus Christ.

In these Hunan publications, Chu, for Lord, is changed into chu, for pig, and thus T’ien Chu, the Lord of Heaven, becomes T’ien chu, the Celestial Pig.

The characters on the pig are Ye-su, the term used in China for Jesus.
The crouching figures are two foreigners, the one marked Teacher, and the other Disciple. Both are worshipping the pig.

Green hat is a name in China for a cuckold, Wang-pah, i.e., one who forgets all the eight virtues. Hence the green hats worn by the two foreigners. For the same reason all words referring to the foreigners, the foreign religion, and the Christian convert, are printed in green ink. To call a man a Wang-pah or Luh-mau (green hat), is the greatest insult you can offer him in China.

Devils. In China foreigners are often called Kuei.

Williams in his Syllabic Dictionary defines the word thus:—“The spirit of a dead man before it is enshrined in the hall; a manes, that which the soul turns to at death; a ghost, a goblin, an apparition, a spectre, a devil; a horrid repulsive object; a sordid wretch. Foreigners are so stigmatized because (so the Cantonese say), their blue eyes suggested the malice, and their shrill voices the plaintive cry of ghosts.” As applied to foreigners it is a term of extreme hatred and contempt.
PICTURE II

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE PIG-GOAT BASTARDS.
COLUMN RIGHT: Some have pig-heads and goat-bodies; some have goat-heads and pig-bodies. Cannot tell which is devil male and which is devil-female.
COLUMN LEFT: Some have wolf-hearts and dog-lungs; some have dog-hearts and wolf-lungs. What nonsense they talk about Heavenly Father, and Heavenly elder brother.

NOTES.

Foreigners in China are called Yang-jen—ocean men.

In the Hunan publications, Yang for ocean, is changed into Yang for goat; thus ocean man becomes goat man.
As foreigners we are in contempt called goats, and as Christians we are called pigs.
PICTURE III

TRANSLATION.

TOP: PROPAGATING RELIGION IN THE CHAPELS.
COLUMN RIGHT: The intolerable stench has flowed down two thousand years. People who, for the most part are strangers to each other, meet from all quarters, and couple and pair just as they please; human beings and devils, male and female, sleep together on the same pillow.
COLUMN LEFT: This pictorial representation is to inform the people of the nineteen provinces (all China), in order that they may thoroughly know (the facts); and that all who are related to each other as kindred and neighbours may combine together, and diligently guard against cuckolds, lest of the brothers of the Celestial Pig should enter their doors.
NOTES.

PROPAGATING RELIGION IN THE CHAPELS, literally “propagating the squeak in the squeak halls.” The term T'en Chu 天主教 Kiau 天主教 the Religion of the Lord of heaven, is the term adopted by the Roman Catholics for the Christian religion.

In these publications, 主 chu for Lord, is changed into 猪 chu, for pig, and 教 Kiau, for Religion is changed into 教 Kiau, for squeaks; thus 天主教 T'ien-Chu 天主教 Kiau, the squeak of the Celestial Pig.

2. The characters on the crucified pig are Ye-su 耶稣 Jesus. Those over the lewd (sexually offensive) figures are Chuen 誠 Kiau and may be translated:—“This is the way they propagate their religion.”

3. In the Hunanese publications, the worship of Jesus is represented as the worship of licentiousness. Here our Lord is portrayed as a pig, crucified on account of his licentiousness. He is surrounded by male and female worshippers, some on their knees, and some indulging in licentious merriment.

Every Sabbath day they perform worship which they call the mass. All work is suspended and old and young, men and women, assemble in the church. The leader of the service takes the principal seat, and extols the virtues of the head of the religion, the whole crowd also muttering prayers. When the ceremony is over, they give themselves up to indiscriminate sexual intercourse. This is the height of their enjoyment. They call it the Great-communion, or the Love gathering.

So wrote the author of Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines more than twenty years ago. In the Blue Books, a collection of public documents on all state questions, we read:—

When the medicine (given by the teacher) begins to work, they (the converts), conduct themselves like madmen. They even go so far as to split up and destroy the spirit tablets of their ancestors. When the medicine gets a real hold of them, their minds become frenzied and they behave themselves like demons. Not only will they worship and fast, but joyfully obey the teacher’s order in all things; even if told to strip and expose their nakedness they will do so gladly—simply something monstrous must possess them.

I have also heard that propagators of the religion travel over every province: they find their ways among the hills and valleys, however deep and hollow. It anyone refuses to believe their religion then when he visits their chapels they secretly put medicine into his tea or cakes. Instantly the man’s natural disposition is changed, and he follows them without the beast hesitation or doubt. As to men and women spending the night together in the same chapel, how do they manage to convey their feelings to each other? They do it thus. The teacher fixes his eyes upon the good-looking among the married women. When the time comes he gives her a cake with medicine in it. The woman unconscious of its nature swallows it. The medicine is able to excite thoughts natural to the spring (sexual desires), and like the pheasant she begins to call for her mate. It is probably a sort of love-potion, and may be called “poison acting as a go between.”
PICTURE IV

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE PIG SECT EXTRACTING THE FOETUS.

COLUMN RIGHT: All men are anxious in regard to the three things which are unfilial; they amass good deeds and pray to the gods in order that they may be blessed with sons.

COLUMN LEFT: Everyone hates the conscienceless cuckold. Hasten to sweep away the heresty, and exterminate the devils; be on your guard and do not let the Pig Sect insult Heaven.

NOTES.

1. One of the charges brought against foreigners, in these Hunanese publications, is that they extract the placenta and the fetus for medicinal purposes. In Death to the Devil’s Religion, it is stated that the Devil-sect has a black-art by which the foetus can be extracted, the nipples cut off, and the testicles removed. These are sold to devil-merchants, and used by photographers for chemical purposes. They are also compounded with lead in order to obtains silver. Here the foreigners are pictured as actually engaged in their evil work.

2. Mencius said:— “There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.” The reference here is to the greatest.
PICTURE V.

Translation.

Top: The Pig Sect Cutting The Nipples.
Column Right: Suddenly does the knife fly in the dark. Alas! The mother’s breast is sadly bruised, and the child’s heart (bowels) is broken with crying.
Column Left: What can evade the punishment (excape the net) of High Heaven? In vain to you (foreigners) destroy your human feelings; the cleverness of your devil-hands is useless.

Note.

See notes to Picture 4.
PICTURE VI

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE PIG SECT GOUGING THE EYES.
COLUMN RIGHT: You foreigners would deceive the gods, but the gods truly know; you scoop out the eyes of men, and men will scoop out your eyes.
COLUMN LEFT: Dead devils (native converts) who have just joined the devil-sect! Be it known to you that those who have sight may seek blindness, but in vain will the blind seek sight.

NOTES.

1. Native converts are called Dead Devils because they are regarded as dead to all virtue, and to be worthy of death.

2. The cartoon shows two foreigners gouging out the eyes of a man. The crouching figures in foreground are two blind men whose eyes have been scooped out, and are now in the possession of the two foreigners, after whom they are crawling.
3. In the Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines we read:—

In case of funerals the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house, the doors are closed and the corpse is put into the coffin. Both eyes are secretly taken out, and the opening sealed up with plaster. This is what is called, “sealing the eyes for the western journey.” … …

The reason for stealing the eyes is this. From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead, eight pounds of silver can be extracted, and the remaining ninety two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost. But the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinamen. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose, hence they do not take out the eyes of their own people, but only those of the Chinese. The method by which the silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here.

In the *Blue Books*, a collection of public documents on all State questions, we read:— …

When any of them dies, the priest sends someone to enshroud the body. He drives away all the kindred of the deceased, and when everyone has gone out he closes the door, and the enshrouding takes place. When that is finished, two plasters are sued to cover the eyes of the corpse. It is then wrapped up in a red cloth bag, which is sown up round the neck, and put into a coffin. It is said that they use this enshrouding process as a blind for scooping out the eyes of the dead, which are used in refining silver. When the converts are alive, they receive four taels in silver, with this object in view. The above extracts speak of the gouging of dead men’s eyes only. In the more recent of the Hunan publications the foreigners are spoken of as gouging the eyes of living men also. See Notes on Picture IV.
PICTURE VII.

Detail from above.
TRANSLATIONS.

TOP: A LITTLE BOY LOSING HIS TESTICLES.
COLUMN RIGHT: With one stroke of the knife posterity’s root is cut off; if all within the Four Seas are not summoned to unite their hearts, it is to be feared that the seed of the Chinese race will be exterminated.
COLUMN RIGHT: Both sleeves are saturated with the tears of husband and wife; it is vain to regret the thoughtlessness of the entire family in allowing the devils of the depraved religion to enter the door.

NOTES.

1. In Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines, we read:—
   They even cut out the ovaries of girls, emasculate boys, and use different methods to obtain the brains, hearts, livers, etc., of children. It is impossible to enumerate all these practices. If we seek for the general motive which leads them to do this, it is a fixed determination to completely deceive our people, and under false religion try to exterminate them. Thus they wish to take possession of the Middle Kingdom.

2. In the Blue Books of China, already referred to, we read:—
   In my opinion the depraved sects in making charms and medicines use certain parts of the human body and mix them with brains. … They begin by taking what they want from the dead, but if that does not do they take it from the living; therefore they stupify children and mutilate them while the life is in their bodies.
   Of the foreign missionaries who come to China since the repeal of regulations prohibiting Christianity, the greater part was Frenchmen. Of late years the rumours of their taking out the brains of infants and mutilating girls have been scattered abroad, for in addition to building churches they have now opened orphanages.
   These Blue Books are deeply responsible for creating and fostering the antiforeign sentiment in China.

3. IN Death to the Devil’s Religion we read:—
   The Christian sect mince the testicles of boys. Many are the children that have been minced to death. Let all the children be on their guard, lest by one stroke of the knife they be sent to see the King of Hades.

4. This cartoon represents the deed as having been accomplished, and the whole family is in deep sorrow over the event. See Cartoon Iv for notes on the use of boys’ testicles.
TRANSLATION.

TOP: DILGENTLY GUARD AGAINST THE DEVIL'S PLOT.

COLUMN RIGHT: The Pig has placed his Yellow Turbans in ambush; let the officials, gentry, scholars, and common people be united in heart, and each one have his sword in readiness alongside his pillow.

COLUMN LEFT: The devils (foreigners) have filled the boat with green hats; let the cities, towns, and villages unite their strength, and instantly cut the figure of the cross in front of their doorsteps.

NOTES.

1. The indent referred to in the text is this:—
Chang Kioh, a native of North China, having gained a large following over many years practising the occult arts of Taoism, raised the standard of rebellion in A.D. 184, along with his brother, Chang Pao, and in just one month controlled all the Northern provinces. His supporters, divided into 36 commands, wore yellow turbans, and for a time were all-victorious; but after months of bloody warfare the insurrection was defeated and the leaders killed.
The Pig has his Yellow Turbans also, and so the necessity for watchfulness and preparation. There is here also a prophecy of the final overthrow of the Pig and his followers.

2. Green Hats. Cuckolds are called green hats. Missionaries are shown going about selling these hats or making cuckolds by their teachings. In *Death to the Devil’s Religion*, husbands are exhorted as follows:—
The Christian sect bewitch men’s wives; the disgrace is terrible and not to be mentioned; let all husbands keep their eyes open; let men be on guard, lest their hats change their colour. Thus to become a convert is to become a cuckold.

3. Cut the figure of a cross in front of the doorsteps. The Chinese have an idea that no Roman Catholic dares to tread on an image of a cross and a Roman Catholic priest and his emissaries can be kept out of a house but cutting the image in front of the door. See Cartoon I.
PICTURE IX.

TRANSLATION.


COLUMN RIGHT: Mere dog fart they call books: it is hateful that the stinking name of Jesus should last a thousand generations.

COLUMN LEFT: The Pig (Jesus) feeds only rice-rinsed water; we present his devil followers with one well flavoured meal.

NOTES.

1. This Cartoon represents foreigners being punished. They are first whipped and then dosed. It is a punishment prescribed for native converts as well, in order to induce them to give up their faith. *Death to the Devil’s Religion* gives the following advice in regard to native converts. Members of the Christian sect are easily recognised. They do not reverence heaven, earth, prince, or parents; they do not burn incense at the temples, not set up halls for the worship of ancestors. Should there be at any place a man who acts thus, the members of his family are surely devil’s children (converts). Let him be bound instantly and force to drink human dung N.B. See man holding his nose in lower left of cartoon). Then search his house thoroughly. Should the devils’ books be found, let
them be thrown in the fire and burned. Draw the figure of a cross on the ground, make a likeness of the devil Jesus and place it on the cross. Then tell him (the convert) to make water and void excrement on the Crucifix, and if he obeys, let him go. Should he refuse, take him the rivers’ brink, and see if members of the devils’ sect will not be struck with terror.

2. It will be observed that the braves are led by a red-buttoned mandarin, and that the punishment is ordered and regulated by him. This figure may be intended to represent the famous Chou Han.
PICTURE X.

TRANSLATION.

COLUMN RIGHT: The depraved religion of the Pig (Jesus) is propagated from foreign lands. Its followers insult heaven and exterminate ancestors; ten thousand arrows and a thousand swords would not expiate their crimes.
COLUMN LEFT: Their dog-fart magical books stink like dung; they slander the holy men and sages; the vilify the Genii and Buddhas; all within the Nine Provinces and the Four Seas hate them intensely.

NOTE.

The Nine Provinces were the nine divisions of China in the days of China in the says of Yu. The Four Seas is a synonym for the Chinese Empire. The two terms are often used to describe the whole Empire. The Devils are the foreigners. The Books are all Christian books and include the Bible.
Detail from above showing a native Christian being bambooed.
TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE CLAN LAW ADMINISTERED TO THE DEVILS.
COLUMN RIGHT: If one family in a clan is found secretly worshipping the Pig, all the members of the clan are to be taken for cuckolds.
COLUMN LEFT: Let all within the Four Seas unite together and eject the devil-faction, so that each of the four classes of Society (scholars, husbandmen, artisans and merchants) may avoid contracting the eternal stench.

NOTES.

The Hunan manifesto, first article, reads:—
Each Clan shall investigate its own Clan. Should any person, whether a scholar, an agriculturalist, an artisan, or merchant, be found who does not sacrifice to the spirit of the most perfect, most holy, ancient teacher, Confucius, and to the spirit tablets of his own ancestors, it is certain that he is one who has been bewitched by the spirit of the goat (foreign) devils, and has entered the religion of the Pig, Jesus. He is to be dragged instantly to the ancestral temple, to be severely dealt with by the clan, and to be compelled to forsake his depraved heresy and return to the right way. Should he dare disobey, the whole clan shall take the entire family for pig-goat devil (native convert), young and old, male and female, and drive them out of the place. Moreover, the names and number of them shall be printed, and the list shall be sent to all over the surrounding districts, prefectures, and and sub-prefectures, so that everywhere they shall be driven out.11 They shall not be allowed to live within the borders of Hunan. The names of the pig-goat devils shall be erased from the family registers.

This Cartoon is a pictorial illustration of the above article. The clansmen are met in the ancestral hall, in the presence of the ancestral spirit tablet. The elders of the clan sit in judgment, and the native Christians are being examined and punished according to the “Agreement entered into by Heaven.”

11 This principle helps to understand why the Committee of Investigation at Kucheng demanded, as a matter of urgency, the repeal of a proclamation that sought to list all Christians in the district.
Detail of above showing the Pig (Jesus) lying on his back and helpless.
TRANSLATION.

*The figures at top floating on clouds is a Chinese artistic convention representing heavenly beings.*

**TOP:** THE PRIESTS OF BUDDHA AND TAOU CHASING THE DEVILS.

**COLUMN RIGHT:** Though Buddhist and Taoist Priests do not have wives, yet their parental homes are among the laity; they naturally have their fears lest the Monasteries and Temples should share in the odium of having something to do with the Green-hats.

**COLUMN LEFT:** Who are they who reverence T’ai Shang and Shih Kia as the founders of their creeds? Let them unite together and eject the foreign devils, lest the monstrous demons utterly destroy the golden bodies (images) of the gods.

**NOTE.**

Tai Shang is Lao Tse, the founder of Taoism. Shih Kia is Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism. Here both are called upon to combine their strength and drive the devils out. On the middle pig are the characters Ye-Su, Jesus. On the right corner pig are the characters Kiau-Sze, Teacher. On the left corner pig are the characters Kiau-t’u, Disciple.

The Cartoon represents the priests of the two religions as united in the work of expelling the Foreign Teachers and Native Converts. Jesus (Christianity) is represented as lying on his back, dead and helpless.
PICTURE XIII

TRANSLATION.

TOP: SHOOTING THE PIG AND BEHEADING THE GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: The Pig is pierced with ten thousand arrows. See if the Elf dare squeat kagain.
COLUMN LEFT: The goat’s neck is severed with one stroke of the sword. Ask the beasts if they still think of coming.

NOTE.

On the pierced pig are the characters Ye-su, Jesus. On the slain goats is the character Si, Westerns. The red-buttoned Mandarin may be Chou Han. See Cartoon IX.
PICTURE XIV

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE IRON HALBERT SPLITTING UP HERESY.
COLUMN RIGHT: Why allow these monsters to have their way? Iron horns, iron claws, and iron teeth cannot withstand the iron halberd.
COLUMN LEFT: Look at this hero! He is truly public spirited, truly loyal, and truly brave; he is surely assisting the Immortals.

NOTES:
This Cartoon is intended to represent the attitude of the Immortal Genii in regard to the foreigner and his religion. On the pig-headed monster (bottom left) are the characters Ye-Su, Jesus; on the goat-headed monster are the characters Kiu-Sze, Teacher. Both have been wounded by one of the Genii, who is riding on a panther, and is still in hot pursuit, and seeking their destruction.

On the flag is the character Chou, and in the text is the character Han. The two characters form Chou Han 周漢

The name of the red-buttoned Mandarin of Cartoons IX and XIII. In the text he speaks of himself as being able and worthy of assisting the Immortal Genii in an anti-Christian crusade.
PICTURE XV

TOP: HASTEN ON THE FATTENING OF THE PIGS.

COLUMN RIGHT: The marriage between the young man and maiden is arranged; the second moon is fixed upon for the event; the son is taking a wife, and the parents are busy making the preparations.

COLUMN LEFT: The old people and children are merrymaking and chatting; three days hence (they say to each other) the feasting will begin, and we must have the pig well fattened, to slaughter for the entertainment of our guests.

NOTES.

1. The cartoon implies that Chinese customs should prevail over the teachings of Pigs. The pig on the left is marked Ye-Su, Jesus; and the one on the right Kiu-Sze, Teacher; and the two in the middle, Kiu T'u, Disciples. All are being fed to be eaten at the forthcoming marriage, to the amusement of old and young.
2. Cartoons XV to Xx form a group, intended to heap contempt on foreigners and their religion. They are intended also as a prophecy of the fate that awaits both. The following extracts from one of the Hunan publications, called K‘ing-Tien-Chu, (A pillar that bears the sky), help in understanding the Cartoons.

K‘ing-Tien-Chu contains a petition presented to the Zongli Yamen (Foreign Office) at Peking by some Hunan scholars and a letter by a Governor of Hunan to the Viceroy of Chihli. Whether the Governor’s letter is authentic or not, there is no doubt as to K‘ing-Tien-Chu being one of the best known publications in Changsha, the capital of Hunan. Having acknowledged the receipt of a despatch from the Chihli Viceroy, communicating the orders of the Zongli Yamen that the Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines should be suppressed, the Governor reports that the book is in every family and every monastery and temple throughout Hunan,

There is not a city, not a village, not a book shop, not a printing shop, in which the book is not to be found. The destruction of it is impossible. Besides it has, for its first chapter, the seventh section of the Emperor’s Sacred Instructions (Sheng-Yu). Who among the officials of the Great Pure Dynasty would dare burn it? Who would have the moral character for burn it? When I first bought the book, just as I was beginning to read, I saw that the Treatise was headed with the words Sacred Instructions (Sheng-Yu). I thereupon burnt incense, knelt down, and began to chant: then I got up, sat down and read. Having turned the leaves over and over again, and carefully examined it, I saw that its noble words and perfect reasoning were simply an expansion of the Sacred Instructions. It commanded my most profound respect. As soon as my official duties were over, I knelt down and chanted the Sacred Instructions; then I got up, sat down and read the book. I dared not treat it with the least disrespect.

The Governor goes on that orders for the destruction of Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines must reflect ignorance of its true nature by the higher officials.

As for me, having bought and read this book, and knowing perfectly that is a helpful commentary of the Sacred Instructions, were I immediately … to order the officials under my jurisdiction to act according to your orders, then, what sort of a man would the officials and the people under my charge take me to be? And what sort of a man would I take myself to be? To gladden the hearts of the barbarians, by feeding the flames of depraved doctrines, destroying the Sacred Instructions, injuring the dignity of the Empire, opposing propriety and throwing into confusion the five cardinal virtues, corrupting public morals and injuring good manners, and thus sin against the renowned doctrines (of Confucius), and hand down a stinking reputation to all future ages—this certainly what I dare not do and cannot do, though it would cost me my life. Moreover, there are printed and circulated in Hunan, several hundred different kinds of antichristian books, ballads and cartoons: Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines is not the only book. Married women, maidens, and little children three years old, all hate the Pig Jesus. When they call the pigs, they use the word Ye-Su (Jesus); eating pork they call “eating the flesh of Jesus;” in transacting business at the butcher shop, they all use the expressions “selling Jesus,” “buying Jesus.” This is attacking the depraved religion to the utmost. Though the books and the blocks of this one book should be burned, how can the depraved religion of the Celestial Pig enter Hunan.?

Another quotation states: Priests (Roman Catholic) are, for the most part, educated from their childhood. They are castrated. Converts practise sodomy with the priests without restraint, this is called “adding to knowledge.” They are not allowed to marry two wives, because they say that God originally created but one man and one woman, so they have neither second wives not concubines, though they practise adultery without restraint. When a wife dies, they take another. When a father dies, his son may marry his mother; when a son dies, his father may marry his daughter— in-law. A man may also marry his own daughter, They marry the widows of deceased brothers, uncles or nephews; they also marry their own sisters. …  Brothers and friends seldom see each other, but when they meet, they give themselves up to licentious intercourse; they call this “reunion of original elements.” (Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines, Teng Chou translation.)
PICTURE XVI

TRANSLATION.

TOP:  HASTEN ON THE FATTENING OF THE GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: You know that the young lady is going to her future home. Make ready a merry feast for the worthy reception of the son-in-law.
COLUMN LEFT: Why do the shepherds dream? Quickly seek rich pastures, and fatten the goats.

NOTE.

This cartoon might be entitled, “Celebrate the coming of the bridegroom with the slaughter of the goats.” On each of the goats is the character _si_, meaning a Westerner or Foreigner. The old man is supposed to be waking up the sleeping, dreaming, shepherd. The message is that the foreigners are being prepared for slaughter and that everything ought to be done to speed up their deaths.
PICTURE XVII.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: WHEN A SON IS BORN SLAUGHTER THE PIGS AND GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: When the child is three days old we will kill you.
COLUMN LEFT: When the child is one year old we will eat them.

NOTES.

You and them refer to the pigs and goats, i.e., Chinese Christians and foreigners. The cartoon might be labeled “Celebrate births with the slaughter of pigs and goats.” The pig is marked with the characters for e-Su, Jesus, and the goat with the character Si, a Westerner or Foreigner.
PICTURE XVIII

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE COOKS BEHEADING THE PIGS AND GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: The tortoise and the stork are symbols of long life and refer to aged parents. They are to be congratulated on their longevity. Give timely orders to the cooks, and tell them that the minced meat to be presented to Father and Mother must be cut quite small.
COLUMN LEFT: These pigs and goats come from foreign lands. We have no other dainties to feed our guests. Please excuse the rancid food.

NOTES:
1. This cartoon might be labeled “Congratulate Old Age with the slaughter of pigs and goats.” In traditional China birthdays were not major celebrations until age Fifty. At age 60, 70, etc., special attention was given to the anniversary.
2. The kitchen is at lower left, where the cooks are beheading the pigs and goats and chopping up the meat. On the piece of meat is the character Ye-Su, Jesus. At left bottom are guests coming to the celebration.
3. Goat flesh and mutton are not popular foods for many Chinese and are often spoken of as strong and rancid. The reference of strong and rancid applies to foreigners who smell unpleasant to Chinese.
PICTURE XIX

TRANSLATION.

TOP: WHEN PARENTS DIE SLAUGHTER THE PIGS AND GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: Be careful not to forget the family sacrifice. Let the sons transmit the rite to the grandsons, and the grandsons again to the great grandsons. Every clan, year by year, must slaughter the beast (Foreigners and Chinese Christians), and present them in sacrifice to their ancestors.
COLUMN LEFT: The Emperor’s kindness must be everlastingly repaid. Living men hate the devils (Foreigners), and the spirits of dead men hate the devils. Always and everywhere let not the knife and hatchet spare them.

NOTES.
This drawing might be labeled “Sacrifice to the dead with the slaughter of the pigs and goats.” i.e., Native Christians and Foreigners.
An ancestral temple with a shrine and Spirit Tablet at top centre-right. In front of the shrine is a table with candles, incense and offerings. A Mandarin is kneeling before the shrine and behind him two carcasses (goat and pig) are being offered in sacrifice. The pig is, as usual, labelled Ye-Sir, Jesus, and the goat is labeled Si, Foreigner. The sacrifice is accompanied by music and fire-crackers (bottom left) with great rejoicing.
THE BUTCHERS EXTERMINATING THE PIGS AND GOATS.

Govern the Empire with impartial justice. Chen Ju-tsze was careful not to neglect this.

Confucius had his fears in regard to the cleanliness of meat brought in the market. Do you suppose he would eat that thing?

Chen Ju-tsze was a celebrated adherent, and afterwards minister, of the founder of the Han Dynasty. From humble beginnings he raised himself, by devotion to study and superior talent, to leadership in his native village, where a wealthy man voluntarily bestowed his daughter upon him in marriage. He had the duty of dividing the flesh of animals slaughtered among the villagers, he performed his duties with impartiality and they wished that he might rise to be the chief minister of the Empire. The word to govern or rule is Tsai, which also refers to the slaughter and preparation of animals. The butchers are called upon to perform their work with impartial justice.

2. In the Lun Yu it is written that Confucius did not eat wine or dried meat bought in the market. If he did not eat food bought in the market, would he have eaten this filthy stuff?
3. There are two butcher shops. On one there are the characters *Ye-Su ch’u mai*, Jesus is sold here; and on the other the characters *Si Yang Ch’u mai*, Foreign goat sold here. The pork is all marked *Ye-Su*, Jesus; the goat meat is marked *si*, Westerner or Foreigner.
PICTURE XXI

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE BOAT AND FAN UNITED IN HEART.
COLUMN RIGHT: The boat comes flying from heaven; the water thieves have all perished in the fire.
COLUMN LEFT: The fan comes brandishing from Lung Chung, the east wind goes puff-puff towards the West, burning up the ships.

NOTES.

1. On the left is a foreign ship, on the right are two Chinese gunboats, one bearing the flag of yoh Fie, and the other carries the flag of Chu Ko Liang. The foreign ship is set on fire and completely destroyed.

Yoh Fei, A.D. 1103-1141, was a famous commander during the struggles in the reign of Sung Kau Tsung against internal rebellion and the aggression of the Tartars of the Kin Dynasty. He was rigidly opposed to any policy of making peace with the “barbarians” and for this is praised by Chinese historians along with his courage and military skill. Second, the notorious pirate Yang Yau was killed by him on Tung-ting lake in Hunan. Yuh Fei brought peace to the whole region of the Tung-ting lake and the Siang River.
The spirit of Yoh Fie still lives, and the doom of the water thieves (Foreigners-who came by ship) will be the same should they visit Hunan.

*Chu Ko Liang*, A.D. 181-234, was the great counselor of Liu Pei, the founder of the Shuh Han Dynasty. Liu Pei owed much of his success in establishing himself on the throne to the sagacity and military skill of Chu Ko Liang. When sought out by Liu Pei, he was living (A.D. 207) in a small hut at Lung Chung. After serving Liu Pei with great faithfulness until the latter's death, he continued to be the counselor and general to his son. It is said that on one occasion Dheu Yu wished to attack Ts’au Ts’au, but could not do so for lack of East wind. Chu Ko Liang built an altar and sacrificed whereupon all Cheu Yu’s banners caught the East wind and defeated the enemy.

4. The cartoon represents Chu Ko Liang, with his magic fan in hand, directing the attack on the foreign ship. His fan symbolizes his control of the winds. With both Yoh Fie and Chu Ko Liang helping Hunan, the province has nothing to fear from foreigners.
PICTURE XXII

TRANSLATION.

TOP: ALL THE TIGERS EXTERMINATING THE GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: To withstand one tiger is difficult. When all the tigers rise in awful majesty, who can approach them.
COLUMN LEFT: Henceforth all the goats will be no more. Though all you goats have been getting your wish hitherto, what will you do now?

NOTES.

All the goats are marked Si, Westerners or Foreigners. The goats are being killed by the Hunanese braves.
PICTURE XXIII

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE WATCHMAN OF THE BAMBOO SHOOTS EXTERMINATING THE PIGS.
COLUMN RIGHT: The planted bamboo grove attracts pigs from everywhere who secretly steal the bamboo shoots.
COLUMN LEFT: The watchman strikes his clapper and in one night the hunting dogs destroy the pigs entirely.

NOTE.

Hunan is famous for the prolific quantity of bamboo grown in the province. Foreigners are the pigs who want to steal the wealth and trade, represented by the bamboo shoots but the Hunanese are on guard. The fate of the foreigners trying to enter Hunan is shown. The big pig at left has the characters Ye-Su, Jesus. The others are marked Kiau-sze Teacher and Kiau-i’u, Disciple.
TOP: RETURN THE GOAT-GOODS TO THE PIGS.
COLUMN RIGHT: Do you suppose that your goat-goods are used in the palace of the Great Pure Dynasty?
COLUMN LEFT: In the kitchen of the most holy ancient teacher (Confucius) they do not cook such a pig-elf as this.

NOTE.

Goat-goods means Foreign Goods. Here is the reference, through the pig, is to the Christian religion. Over the door at which the foreigner is knocking are the two characters *Hing Tan*, (Apricot Altar), the name of a place where Confucius had a school.

Two foreigners, directed by a third, are carrying the Pig to the door and offering to sell it to Confucius. It is rejected with anger and scorn, indicating that “The Confucianists will have nothing of your Christianity”
PICTURE XXV.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: SLEEPING ON SKINS AND TASTING GALL.
COLUMN RIGHT: In the summer take in the skins (for the winter). Who among the flesh eaters of today can equal Wen Chung in counsel?
COLUMN LEFT: At home he constantly drank gall. His heart was firm in the resolve to have his revenge on the enemies of Yueh Wang.

NOTES:

1. Wen Chung, Yueh Wang. Yueh Wang is Keu Tsien, a prince of the state of Yueh, who ascended the throne iB.C. 496. Wen Chung was one of his ministers. Yueh Wang was defeated in battle by the prince of Wu; and retired into his own state, and with great self abnegation, much toil, and hardship of many kinds, prepared himself and his people for another struggle. His courteous bearing towards the worthy among the scholars, his great liberality to strangers, and constant kindness to the poor, won all hearts. After more than twenty years training, his people were prepared for the fight. He led them against the prince of Wu, and won a complete victory. He added the state of Wu to his dominions, and gave his allegiance to the dynasty of Chou, then ruling north of the river Yang-tsze.
2. The cartoon shows him as sipping gall, and Wen Chung sitting opposite, both nursing their revenge. The moral is, “Let us wait patiently like Yueh Wang; though we may have to wait long, the day of vengeance will come.” Both men are shown sitting on skins. On the one are the characters Ye-Su p’i, the skin of Jesus, and on the other Si Yang p’I, the skin of the Western goat (foreigners). On each side of the footstools is a cross. Yueh Wang and his minister sit on the skins and tread on the cross, pouring contempt on the foreigners and the Jesus they worship. In the Tso Chuen there is the expression, “As to those two they are like beasts whose flesh I will eat, and then sleep upon their skins.” The author of the Picture Gallery had that passage in mind when drawing this Cartoon.

3. The flesh eaters. This has a hidden meaning. In the Tso Chuen there is the expression, “the flesh eaters are poor creatures, and cannot form any fear reaching plans.” The flesh eaters are the useless officials who are partial to foreigners or who lack the brains and courage to actively work for their expulsion.

4. In the summer take in the skins (or furs) for the winter, meaning wait for the propitious moment. Don’t let winter come upon you without being prepared for the cold. These worthless officials say, “It will be time enough by and bye.” But the men who say this are mere flesh-eaters, bread and butter ministers, utterly devoid of foresight, skill, and daring.

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12 Hixson, Report. Hixson points to the extreme patience of Chinese officials in pursuing their goals even when apparently having to yield for a time to foreign pressures.
PICTURE XXVI.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: EXTERMINATING THE MONSTERS AND OFFERING UP THE CAPTIVES.
COLUMN RIGHT: The holy man (the Emperor) has a strong city. He gives peace to those within and expels those from without (the barbarians).
COLUMN LEFT: Our flourishing Dynasty lacks nothing. Its fame is glorious, its power is great.

NOTES.

On the banners is the character Chou. The Mandarin on horseback is probably Chou Han himself. He has been fighting the foreigners and now returns in triumph. The heads over the city gates are those of goats and pigs (foreigners) slain by him. Two captives in the shape of a goat and a pig are being carried before him. This is a grand triumphal procession.
PICTURE XXVII.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE GOD OF THUNDER DESTROYING THE PIGS AND GOATS.
COLUMN RIGHT: With one angry clap of thunder from the court of heaven the lethargic insects are excited and the spring returns.
COLUMN LEFT: The wandering ghosts of the ugly crowd are gathered into hell. The term of life allotted to the pigs and goats is exhausted. From all within the four seas (China) the monsters have been driven out.

NOTES.

The goat is labeled Ta Si Great West, and the pigs are marked Ye-Su Jesus, and Kiau-Tu, Disciple. The God of Thunder is shown actively exterminating the foreigners and all Christians, whether they are Missionaries or converts. The Missionaries say that the God of Thunder is a myth, and that thunder is a natural phenomenon. The God is greatly angered and determined to have his revenge. “You Christians are against the God of Thunder, and the God of Thunder is against you—which do you think will win?”
PICTURE XXVIII.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: HUNAN EXTERMINATING THE MONSTERS.
COLUMN RIGHT: The awe-inspiring Celestial soldiers are armed and mailed. When the tigers and panthers open their mouths who dares oppose them?
COLUMN LEFT: Hunan sends forth with a thunder clap the precious ones of Ts’u. The bones of the pigs and goats are smashed and their voices will never be heard again.

NOTES:

1. In the middle of the mailed figures at top is Nan-yoh Tu Ti, the great god of the Southern Mountain. China venerates the five sacred mountains of the ancient emperors. The Southern mountain is Heng-Shan, in Hunan. The supreme god of Heng Shan is shown, sword in hand, exterminating the pigs and goats. His ministers are on his left and right offering the heads of a pig and a goat. At left the Celestial soldiers are shown eating the raw flesh of the pigs and goats. The legs and shoulders held by the soldiers are marked with the characters Ye-Su Jesus, and Si, Westerners or foreigners.

2. In Ta Hioh, The Great Learning, Chap. X, we read, “The kingdom of Ts’u (Hupeh and Hunan) does not consider that (a famous girdle of Ts’u) to be valuable. It values instead its goodmen.” The reference is the text is to that passage. The precious ones of Ts’u are its virtuous ministers and brave men, whom Hunan is prepared to send out to fight and exterminate the barbarians.
PICTURE XXIX.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE IRON PENCIL SWEEPING AWAY HERESY.
COLUMN RIGHT: The priests of Tau are endowed with supernatural faculties. Please look at this cloud. How deftly does he sprinkle the vermilion drops from the tip of his pencil.
COLUMN LEFT: This hero is able, single handed, to exterminate the devilish monsters. All under heaven are informed that a great feast of a thousand dishes is about to be spread.

NOTES.

Here we have a Tauist priest exterminating the Christians by means of his magic art. Reading from the top the animals are marked Teacher, Jesus, Disciple, Converts. In the text is the characters for Hau-Tsze, a hero. The hero is probably again Chou Han, who appears here in the character of a Tauist priest. The pigs and goats are to be slaughtered and out of their flesh a great feast is to be provided for all China.
PICTURE XXX.

TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE LION DESTROYING THE PIGS AND GOATS.

COLUMN RIGHT: Let the troops arise in unusual majesty: then this doctrine (Confucianism) will brightly shine forth, and this people (the Chinese) will delight in what they (the ancient kings) delighted, and be benefited by their beneficial arrangements.

COLUMN LEFT: Carriages and writing will come under one rule; all that is foreign will be exterminated, and all the monsters will flee and hide themselves.

NOTES.

1. The lion symbolizes the military power of China. The goats are marked Si, Westerns, and the pigs with the characters Kiau-Sze, Teacher, Kiau-tu, Disciples, and Ye-Su, Jesus. The goats and pigs are running away as best they can; but Jesus is on his back, dead and helpless.

2. In the Chung Yung, The Doctrine of the Mean, Chap XXVIII, we read:-

To no one but the Emperor does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the characters. Now, over the Empire carriages all have wheels of the same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

The sentence “carriages and writings will come under the same rule,” has a special reference to this passage in the Chung Yung. Foreigners have brought in confusion in regard to carriages, writings, and manners. All this shall be done away with when the lion shall rise in his might. Then China will be free from all Western innovations—Western religions, Western languages, Western manners, and Western men.
PICTURE XXXI

**TRANSLATION.**

**TOP:** THE PUNISHMENT OF THE PIG IN HADES.

**COLUMN RIGHT:** Let them look at the sawing (left bottom), pounding (right bottom), boiling, and grinding, in dark hell’s eighteen places of torment, then will the devils (foreigners) in this life know the bitterness that the devils (foreigners) know in the place of the dead.

**COLUMN LEFT:** You who have on earth committed a thousand times ten thousand wicked deeds—castrating boys, extracting the fetus, gouging out eyes, and cutting off the nipples—do you suppose that the cruel mind will be allowed to insult the divine mind?

**NOTES.**

The scene is set in one of the Chinese hells. Some of the cuckolds and pigs are caged (upper left), waiting for their punishment. One of the pigs is being sawn in half, and the other is being pounded in a stone mortar. On the former are the characters ye-Su, Jesus, and on the latter Kiuau-Sze, Teacher. Three demons are at work sawing and pounding. The horse-headed and ox-headed demons are supervising the work. Behind the ox-headed demon is one of the kings of hades sitting on his judgment seat. In *Death to the Devils’ Religion* we read:—
Everywhere the spirits of holy men have come to the table, and their communications are printed and published. They all state clearly that Jesus was an incarnation of the Celestial Pig; that he was, whilst on earth, most crafty, most wicked, and most lascivious in his conduct; that he plotted the death of his father with the view of usurping the throne; and that he was on this account put to death by crucifixion by the old devil-king of Judea. The kings of hades, hating him with deepest hatred, have imprisoned his soul in darkest hell. Every day he is brought before the kings of hades to receive the bitterest punishment. It is now nearly two thousand years since he has suffered thus. He is doomed never to see Heaven. When he was nailed to the cross, not the least injustice was done to him. The devils’ children, the devils’ grandchildren, and the devils’ wives (i.e. converts), when they die, are all, without exception, imprisoned in hell. Since those who die have thus to suffer, will those who are still living go on dreaming, and talk about the depraved devil Jesus, and the devils of his depraved religion (converts), as having gone to heaven? Would that not be to show themselves more stupid than pigs.

The Chinese are firm believers in Spiritualism. It would seem that the scholars of Hunan have been consulting the spirits as to the fate of Jesus and his followers. What is above is the reply of the spirits.
TRANSLATION.

TOP: THE PIGS AND GOATS SUBMITTING THEMSELVES TO THE EMPEROR’S TRANSFORMING SWAY.

COLUMN RIGHT: The intelligent kings have paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side have willingly acknowledged subjection to them.

COLUMN LEFT: All the chiefs of the officers are truly harmonious, and all kinds of animals lead on one another to jump about playfully.

NOTES.

1. These two passages are taken from the *Xhih-King* the Book of Poetry. The large beast at centre is supposed to be the *K’i-lin*, a fabulous monster, and chief of the quadrapeds [four legged beasts]. The pigs are marked with the characters for Jesus, Teacher, and Disciple. The Goats are marked with the character for West, i.e. foreigner. Both the pigs and goats are all on their knees before the *K’i-lin*.

2. Let the *K’i-lin* stand for the Emperor of China, or the Imperial Rule, and the idea of the cartoon becomes clear. All the refractory, or unmanageable, foreigners, and all the inflexible Christians, have been
exterminated in the various ways already illustrated. Those who remain now acknowledge the supremacy of China and the superiority of Chinese civilization. Christianity bows before Confucianism, and the inhabitants of all lands gladly submit themselves to the kindly rule of the Son of Heaven.

3. This concludes the Picture Gallery. Whatever opinions may be formed of the work, there can be no doubt as to its value in one respect. It displays faithfully the antichristian argument in China. It is supposed by some that the antichristian writers in China have studied the nature and claims of the religion which they attack, and that the arguments employed are based on knowledge and reason. Christians would not accept this view. The argument, in all its height and depth, length and breadth, is presented here. From a Christian perspective, anything more false, more foul, and more blasphemous, would be difficult to conceive; but it is exactly the kind of argument in which Chinese scholars excel and by which the Chinese mob is moved.