

@

Justus DOOLITTLE

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHINESE

with some accounts of their
RELIGIOUS, GOVERNMENTAL, EDUCATIONAL
AND BUSINESS CUSTOMS AND OPINIONS

with special but not exclusive reference to Fuhchau

I

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

à partir de :

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHINESE,
with some accounts of their religious, governmental,
educational and business customs and opinions
with special but not exclusive reference to Fuhchau,

Volume I

par Rev. Justus DOOLITTLE (1824-1880)

Harper & Brothers, New York, 1865.
Volume I de deux volumes, XXXIV+460 et 490 pages + 150 illustrations.
Réimpression par Kessinger Publishing's rare reprints.

Édition en format texte par
Pierre Palpant

www.chineancienne.fr
avril 2022

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Scenery of the Min, west of the southern suburbs of Fuhchau

@

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

[Table of illustrations](#)

[Explanation of terms](#)

[Preface — Introduction](#)

Chapter

- I. [Agricultural and domestic matters.](#)
- II. [Betrothal and marriage](#) : Manner of Betrothal — Customs observed between Betrothal and the Day of Marriage — Ceremonies observed on the Day of Marriage.
- III. [Betrothal and marriage — continued](#) : Customs observed subsequent to the Wedding-day — Miscellaneous Practices and Sentiments relating to Betrothal and Marriage.
- IV. [Married Life and Children](#) : Superstitious Customs observed by Married Women, or relating to them — Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Children the first year of their lives — Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Children after they are one Year old.
- V. [Superstitious treatment of disease](#) : Miscellaneous Superstitions to cure the Sick — They implore the Aid of certain Divinities in curing Small-pox and Measles — They employ novel Methods for curing and preventing Cholera and other epidemic Diseases — They engage in Idol Processions as a Token of Gratitude, for the Recovery of their Parents from Sickness, or to promote their Longevity.
- VI. [Death, Mourning, and Burial](#) : Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Mourning and the unburied Dead — Meritorious Ceremonies performed for the Benefit of the Dead.
- VII. [Death, Mourning, and Burial — continued](#) : Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Burial — Miscellaneous Practices and Opinions relating to the Dead.
- VIII. [Ancestral Tablet and ancestral Halls](#) : The ancestral Tablet used in private Houses — Worship of Ancestors in ancestral Halls — Visit to an ancestral Hall.
- IX. [Priests of the three religions](#) : Priests of Buddhism — Priests of Tauism, or the Sect of Rationalism — Priests of Confucianism, or the Sect of the Learned.
- X. [Popular Gods and Goddesses.](#)
- XI. [Popular Gods and Goddesses — continued.](#)
- XII. [Mandarins and their Subordinates.](#)
- XIII. [Mandarins and their Subordinates — continued](#) : Legal Modes of Torture and of Punishment — Illegal Modes of Torture and of Punishment — Common but unlawful Practices.
- XIV. [The State religion](#) : Enumeration of some of the Objects worshiped by Mandarins — Worship of Confucius, illustrating the State Religion — Manner of national Mourning for the Death of Hien Fung, also illustrating the State Religion.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

- XV. Competitive literary examinations : Primary Schools and Government Colleges — Examination of Undergraduates before the District Magistrate and the Prefect — Examination of Undergraduates before the Literary Chancellor for the First Degree.
- XVI. Competitive literary examinations — continued : Examination of Graduates of the first Degree before the Imperial Commissioners for the second Degree — Rejoicing, Festivities, and Honors in View of successful Competition.
- XVII. Competitive literary examinations — continued : Just and legal Measures used to prevent Deception — Unjust and unlawful Expedients used by Examiners — Unjust and unlawful Expedients to succeed used by Competitors — Military competitive Examinations.
- XVIII. Chinese anecdotes : Precocious Youth — Indigent Students — Filial and Dutiful Children.

@

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

ILLUSTRATIONS

@

Introduction : Scenery of the Min, west of the southern suburbs of Fuhchau — Bridge of the cloudy hills — View of the southern suburbs of Fuhchau — Gentleman riding in a sedan, with a servant on foot — Pagoda.

- I. Plowing with the domesticated buffalo — Carrying bundles of grain — Threshing grain — Hulling rice — Irrigation by means of an endless chain-pump — Fishing with cormorants — Country scene near Fuhchau.
- II. Bridal sedan — Part of a bridal procession *en route* to the house of the bridegroom on the wedding-day — Bride and bridegroom worshiping the tablets of his deceased ancestors — Bride and bridegroom drinking samshu together — Bride and bridegroom taking their wedding dinner.
- III. Charm to ward off evil spirits from a bride — Honorary stone portal to the memory of virtuous and filial widows.
- IV. Shaving a child's head when one month old — Child sitting on a chair when four months old — Grasping playthings when one year old — Father teaching his child to worship — Passing through the door.
- V. Bringing back the soul of the sick into his clothes on the bamboo — Priest ascending a ladder of knives — Goddess of small-pox — Tall white devil — Short black devil — Worshiping with incense and stool — Wearing the cangue as a token of gratitude.
- VI. Turning around the bridge-ladder — Eldest son dressed in mourning and carrying the filial staff.
- VII. Part of a funeral procession — White cock on a coffin luring home one of the spirits of the dead.
- VIII. Ancestral tablet representing one person — Worshiping the ancestral tablet in its niche — Censer.
- IX. Distant view of Kushan, i.e., drum mountain — Buddhist priest — The three precious ones — The three pure ones — Professor of ceremony — Buddhist nun with cap and rosary.
- X. Ma Chu, the goddess of sailors, and her two assistants — Kuang Tä, chinese god of war — Kue Sing, a god of literature.
- XI. God of thieves — Boat carried in procession on men's shoulders — Carrying the happy buckets — Carrying instruments of punishment and of torture — Buffalo-headed assistant — Horse-faced assistant — Tiger grasping a large cash : a god of gambling — Goddess of midwifery and children sitting on a tiger — One of the nine genii shooting a dog in the heavens.
- XII. Mandarin and his wife in robes of state — Lictor with whip in hand — Bearer of fan of state — Bearer of umbrella of state — Lictor dragging along the half of a bamboo — Executioner — Mandarin saving the sun when eclipsed.
- XIII. Squeezing the fingers — Squeezing the ankles — Carrying forth to the place of execution — Just before decapitation — Fastened on a bedstead — Three kinds of tortures (taken from canton pith-paper pictures) — Monkey grasping a peach (culprit suspended by the arm-pit) — Standing on tiptoe in a cage — Hot-water snake.
- XIV. Flag-bearer, or god of the flag — Traditional likeness of Confucius — Traditional likeness of Mencius — Traditional likeness of Chufutze — Chinese gentleman, or one of the gentry.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

- XV. School-boy with fan and parcel of books — Pupil 'backing his book', i. e., reciting his lesson — Literary undergraduate or student.
- XVI. A kujin, or literary graduate of the second degree.
- XVII. Military candidates competing with the bow and arrow.

@

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

TO THE
OFFICERS AND PATRONS
OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONARY SOCIETIES
ENGAGED IN THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE CHINESE,

AND

TO THE PERSONAL FRIENDS
OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES LABORING IN CHINA,

These Volumes are dedicated by
THE AUTHOR

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

PREFACE

@

The reader is invited to the perusal of an original work on the inner life of the most ancient and populous, but least understood and appreciated of nations. In it an attempt is made to describe many of their singular customs and opinions relating to almost all subjects of interest, and also to give their own explanation of the origin or the *rationale* of some of them. If an undue coloring or prominence has been given to any custom, or a false statement has been made in regard to any subject, no one will regret it more sincerely than the author.

Nearly two thirds of the contents of these volumes appeared in 1861–4 in the *China Mail*, a newspaper published at Hong Kong, in anonymous letters, headed '*Jottings about the Chinese*'. On the writer's temporarily returning to his native land last year, some of the oldest and most intelligent residents in China, both American and English, strongly recommended the republication of the letters they had seen in a permanent form, in order to supply a manifest want in the books already accessible relating to the Chinese, *viz.*, DETAILED AND RELIABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SENTIMENTS. The published and the unpublished '*Jottings*', accordingly, have been rearranged, abridged, and thrown into the form of chapters. Only three or four chapters — those at the commencement and the close — have been written in this country. If circumstances had favored, a more extensive pruning of words, phrases, and sentences could have been made to advantage. As the work appears, it makes no pretensions to a high literary style, but is a simple and unpolished account of some of the most singular, interesting, and important phases of Chinese life and manners.

Though specially relating to Fuhchau and vicinity, the description of many of the social and superstitious customs is generally applicable to other parts of the empire. Such customs in the different provinces

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sometimes vary as greatly as do the productions of the soil in different latitudes, or the customs prevalent in different countries in Europe; and a book which is equally true in regard to life and manners in all parts of the empire must deal only in vague generalities, and relate to only a few subjects. One of the grave faults of most writers on China is, that what they affirm in general terms of the Chinese is true only of the people living in the part of the country where they made their observations, not of the Chinese as a nation.

The illustrations are derived chiefly from photographic views, and from pen and ink sketches drawn by Chinese artists.

The spelling of Chinese terms is principally according to the system adopted at Fuhchau for writing the local dialect. The tonal marks are not always inserted ; the Mandarin sound is given in a few instances.

These volumes, it is believed, will reveal to the careful reader many phases of Chinese life and manners which he will admire and commend. But if he should tire with the senseless and useless opinions cherished, and the strange and superstitious customs practiced among all classes of society, let him reflect that for over twenty centuries China has been in bondage to the writings of Confucius and Mencius, and, for nearly the same period, to the religions of Tauism and Buddhism. This fact satisfactorily accounts for many of the absurd, superstitious, and stereotyped opinions and customs prevalent in that empire. Its people need, above all other things, the peculiar influences which the Bible — the great enlightener and enfranchiser — invariably exerts over those who make it their lamp and their law.

J. D.

RUTLAND (Middle Road), N. Y., July 20, 1865.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

@

Cangue. — A heavy wooden collar, three or four feet in diameter, put upon the neck of a culprit for a specified time, and thus exposed in the street as a punishment.

Cash. — The only Chinese coin in use, made of copper or brass. Modern cash have four Chinese characters upon the obverse. Two of these are the title of the emperor during whose reign it was coined. The other characters imply that the coin is current every where. It has a square hole in the centre, used for stringing it. Coins of the present dynasty have the name of the mint where they were coined in Manchu characters on the reverse.

Censer. — Utensil used for holding incense while burning before the object of worship, generally made of brass, iron, or earthenware.

Chopsticks — Small pieces of bamboo, six or eight inches long, and as large as a penholder, usually square, painted or unpainted, used in eating instead of knives and forks. Sometimes they are made of ivory or bone. They are held in the right hand between thumb and forefinger.

Classics. — Term applied to the writings of Confucius, Mencius, and other ancient Chinese. Also applied to the formulas and contents of Buddhist and Tauist books.

Compradore. — Chinese head manager. Steward for household matters.

Congee. — Rice porridge, or thick gruel made by boiling rice soft in water.

Coolie. — Common house laborer, porter, or sedan-bearer. One who does coarse and heavy work.

Cue — Braided tress of long hair, growing from the crown of the head, and dangling down the back.

Gobetween. — Agent or middle person, either male or female, employed in the transaction of important business.

Godown. — Usually a one-storied building where goods are kept. A warehouse.

Hong. — The building used for offices or counting-rooms, or where sales and purchases are made. Sometimes goods are stored in them. The term is occasionally applied to dwelling-houses.

Li. — Chinese mile, equal to about one third of an English mile.

Mandarin. — Common name among foreigners for Chinese officers. A word of Portuguese origin.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Mock Clothing. — Sheets of paper on which rude pictures of various kinds of clothing have been stamped. Also sheets of paper of various colors, representing materials for clothing, as pieces of silk, satins, and cotton goods. By the potency of a charm this paper is believed to become clothing, or materials for clothing, and may be used by these for whom it is designed in the world of spirits.

Mock Money. — Sheets of paper of various sizes, having tinfoil pasted upon them. If the tinfoil is colored yellow, it represents gold ; if uncolored, silver. Coarse paper, having holes in it, represents cash. Pieces of pasteboard, in size and appearance like Carolus dollars, with tinfoil on their sides, represent silver dollars. These are believed to become, when burned in idolatrous worship, silver, gold, cash, or dollars, according to color and shape, which may be used by the divinity or the deceased person for whom they are designed.

Samshu, or Chinese Wine. — Common name for Chinese distilled spirits or whisky, made usually out of rice, millet, or potatoes. The word wine is frequently used in speaking of this whisky.

Sedan. — A portable chair or seat, usually covered, and borne on the shoulders of two or more men by means of poles fastened to the sides.

Sycee. — Lumps or ingots of silver, weighing five, ten, twenty-five, or fifty taels, more or less.

Tablet. — Wooden or stone representative of the dead. An ancestral tablet represents one or more ancestors, according to its inscription and shape, and is made of wood.

Tael. — An ounce and a third of silver, value about one dollar and one third.

Tepaou. — A village or neighborhood officer, performing, in part, the duties of a policeman.

Tiffin. — Lunch, or slight repast between breakfast and dinner.

Yamun. — The official residence of mandarins.

@

Social life of the Chinese
Vol. I

SOCIAL LIFE
OF
THE CHINESE
VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION

@

p.017 Location of Fuhchau. — Size and Population. — Rank : Residence of high Officials. — Literary Centre. — Foreign Trade, when commenced. — Statistics of Tea Trade. — Imports. — Exports to Chinese Ports. — Manchu Tartars, their Character. — Faithful to the Peking Government. — Pagoda Anchorage. — Scenery of the Min. — Kushan, or Drum Mountain. — Approach to Fuhchau. — Middle Island. — Bridge of 10,000 Ages. — Bridge of the Cloudy Hills. — Scenery and Prospects. — Banian City. — Streets narrow. — Construction of Shops. — Goods, how transported. — Hills are Graveyards. — Horse-shoe, or Omega Graves. — How Traveling is performed. — Mission of American Board. — Mission of Methodist Episcopal Church. — Mission of English Church. — Distribution of Books and portions of Scripture at literary Examinations. — Swedish Mission. — Native Mohammedans. — Roman Catholic Church and Mission. — European Priests formerly persecuted. — Difference between Romish and Protestant Missionary Work. — Romanist Tracts not circulated in Public. — Religion of Heaven's Lord different from the American Religion. — Similarities between Romanism and Buddhism. — Various Sentiments.

Fuhchau, as the name of the city is known among foreigners, being according to the Mandarin pronunciation ; Hokchiu, as known to its inhabitants, according to the local pronunciation — the 'Happy Region' — is the capital of the province of Fuhkien. It is situated about thirty-five miles from the mouth of the River Min, and two and a half miles front its northern bank, in a valley fifteen miles in diameter from north to south. Its longitude is $119^{\circ} 20'$ East, and latitude $26^{\circ} 05'$ North, a little farther south than the most southern point of Florida. Of the five ports opened to foreign trade and residence at the close of the Opium War, by treaties made in 1842-'44 between China and England, France, and the United States, Fuhchau occupies the central position, being p.018 situated between Amoy on the south and Ningpo on the north, and about equally distant from Canton and Shanghai.

Fuhchau is a walled city, having seven massive gates, which are shut at nightfall and opened at daybreak. Over each of the gates are high towers, overlooking and commanding the approach to them. At intervals on the walls are built small guard-houses. The walls are from twenty to twenty-five feet high, and from twelve to twenty feet wide, composed of earth and stones. The inner and outer surfaces are faced with stone or brick, and the top is paved with granite flag-stones. The circuit of the walls is about seven

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

miles, and can be traversed on the top on foot, or in sedan-chairs, affording a variety of novel and interesting views in quick succession. Outside of each gate are suburbs. The southern suburb, known to the Chinese under the general name of Nantai, extends southward toward Amoy nearly four miles. Outside of the east, west, and southwestern gates there are also extensive suburbs. The suburbs outside of the three most northern gates, two of which lie on the eastern side of the city, are far less extensive and important than the other four.

The population of the city and suburbs has never been accurately, and therefore satisfactorily ascertained. The inhabitants of the seven suburbs are believed to be as numerous as the inhabitants of the city itself. The population of both has been estimated by residents and visitors at all figures, from 600,000 to 1,250,000. Including the people dwelling in boats, who are quite numerous, it probably would not be far out of the way to say that the population amounts to 1,000,000. A few years ago it was reported at Fuhchau that a certain mandarin had informed the English consul that the people within the city walls numbered 500,000.

Like Canton, Fuhchau is a city of the first rank, being not only the capital of Fuhkien province and the residence of its governor, but also the official and actual residence of a viceroy, or governor general, whose jurisdiction extends over Fuhkien and Chekiang, its adjacent northern province. The word fu, sometimes affixed to its name, as Fuhchau-fu, indicates that it is the chief city of a prefecture or department, and, so considered, it has the same rank as Ningpo. It is also the residence of two district magistrates, the boundary-line of whose ^{p.019} districts passes through the city from north to south. Besides, it is the residence of a large number of civil and military officers of high grade. Among them are the Tartar general, who is of the same rank as the viceroy, the provincial criminal judge, the provincial treasurer, the commissioners of the salt and the provision departments for the whole province, and the literary chancellor. It is the political, literary, and commercial centre of a province,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

whose area is over 53,000 square miles, and whose population, according to the census taken in 1812, was then more than 14,500,000. A census taken in 1842 makes its population over 25,000,000. There are always at this city a large number of expectants of office of high grade awaiting their actual appointments. Numerous gentry reside here, who have retired from office in other parts of the empire.

It is a great literary centre, not simply because it is the official residence of the imperial commissioner, the literary chancellor, but because there are many men living here of high literary attainments in a Chinese sense, and also because all of the literary graduates of the first degree over the province of Fuhkien, which includes the large island of Formosa, must appear at Fuhchau twice every five years to compete in the provincial examination hall for the second degree, if they desire to compete for that degree at all. Usually six or eight thousand of the educated talent of the whole province assemble here on these interesting and exciting occasions.

Legitimate foreign trade at Fuhchau was insignificant until 1853. The opium trade had been extensively carried on for several years previous to that period by means of receiving-ships stationed near the mouth of the Min. In 1853, Fuhchau came suddenly into importance as a market for black teas, mainly through the enterprise of Messrs. Russell & Co., an American firm. Previous to this year no teas were shipped directly from this port to any foreign country. In the spring of that year the American firm mentioned sent from Shanghai their Chinese agents into the tea districts lying near the western and northwestern borders of this province, and bought up large quantities of tea, and had it transported in small boats down the River Min to this city. By the time it was ready for shipment foreign vessels arrived, according to agreement, ^{p.020} and took the tea direct to foreign countries. In that year fourteen foreign vessels arrived at Fuhchau, and in 1856 one hundred and forty-eight vessels.

A few statistics will show the rapid growth of the tea trade at this place. The exports of tea to foreign countries in the year 1856-57, from April 30th,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

from *Canton*, was 21,359,865 lbs. ; from *Shanghai*, 36,919,064 lbs. ; and from *Fuhchau*, 34,019,000 lbs. ; and that only three years after the trade was commenced at the latter port. During the tea season, beginning with July, 1859, the exports of tea from *Canton* to the United States amounted to 3,558,424 lbs. ; from *Amoy*, 5,265,100 lbs. ; from *Shanghai*, 6,893,900 lbs. ; and from *Fuhchau*, 11,293,600 lbs. ; the quantity sent from *Fuhchau* being nearly one million pounds more than the combined amount sent from *Canton* and *Shanghai*. During the same period *Canton* sent to Great Britain 41,586,000 lbs. ; *Shanghai* sent 12,331,000 lbs. ; *Fuhchau* sent 36,085,000 lbs., or about two thirds as much as both *Shanghai* and *Canton*. In the tea season, 1863-64, ending with May 31st, *Fuhchau* sent to Great Britain 43,500,000 lbs. ; to Australia, 8,300,000 lbs. ; and to the United States, 7,000,000 lbs. ; in all amounting to more than fifty-eight millions of pounds. From these data the relative commercial importance of *Fuhchau* is easily seen. It has become by rapid strides one of the most important of the consular ports in China for the purchase of black teas. It was currently reported in 1850-'51 that the English government seriously contemplated giving it up, or at least exchanging it for some other port whenever an opportunity should occur, because it had no commercial importance.

In exchange for its tea, which is the principal export from *Fuhchau*, to foreign countries, it receives opium, cotton and woolen goods, silver, and a few unimportant articles. In the year ending December 31st, 1863, the imports into *Fuhchau* from foreign lands amounted to over ten and a half millions of dollars. Of this sum, the value of the opium imported was over five millions. Unlike *Shanghai* and *Canton*, it furnishes no silk for exportation.

It has a large trade with other ports on the sea-coast by means of native craft, as well as in foreign vessels, giving and receiving some of the luxuries and the necessaries of life. ^{p.021} Frequently rice is imported in large quantities from Formosa and from Siam. An immense amount of timber and paper is brought down the Min from the upper or western portions of the province, and taken to various ports north and south. It annually

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

exports large quantities of dried and preserved fruits. Twelve and fifteen years ago, not unfrequently there were several hundred Chinese junks in the harbor at the same time, discharging and receiving cargo. Of late years, many Chinese merchants charter foreign ships to carry away and bring back produce and merchandise, on account of their increased speed and safety compared with Chinese crafts. Native junks almost always come up the river and anchor opposite the city.

While the high native officials, civil and military, live within the city, the foreign consuls, vice-consuls, and interpreters reside two and a half miles outside the city, on the hill near the south bank of the Min. No foreign merchant lives in the city, nor is there any foreign hong or store inside the walls. The principal native wholesale merchants do their business in the immense suburbs surrounding the Great Temple Hill. The principal native banks are also in the southern suburbs.

A part of the eastern and southern sections of the city is devoted, though not exclusively, to the residence of Manchu Tartars. They are subject, not to Chinese, but to Tartar officers. There is no wall dividing them from the Chinese, as has been sometimes represented. A few Chinese live scattered about in the sections originally given up to the Tartar population. The Manchus number at present probably between ten and fifteen thousand. All of the males professedly belong to the army, though the number of those who actually receive pay in money, and rations in rice monthly, as soldiers, is said to be limited to one thousand. When any of their number dies, another Tartar takes his place on the roll of soldiers, and succeeds to his salary and perquisites. These soldiers are not called away from Fuhchau to serve in the army, but remain at home, assisting when called upon to guard and keep the city. They spend their time principally in the practice of archery, horsemanship, and shooting at a mark with matchlock guns. Until late years none of them engaged in any business for the sake of gain. But poverty has driven a few to open shops, where some of the commonest articles are offered for sale. ^{p.022} They generally speak

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

among themselves the Mandarin or court dialect, though some understand the Manchu language. Most or all are able to speak the colloquial dialect. They are not noted for their knowledge of Chinese literature. Within a few years, more have applied themselves to the study of Chinese books than formerly. As a class, they are indolent, ignorant, and proud.

They have the reputation of being overbearing and insolent toward the Chinese — a natural and almost inevitable consequence of their relative positions. They are the masters and the lords ; the Chinese are subjects. The Manchu and the Chinese men shave their heads and braid their cues alike ; the former having obliged the latter nearly two hundred years ago to adopt the Manchurian national costume of dressing their hair. The Manchu ladies do not compress their feet as do the upper class of Chinese ladies at this place, and in this respect compare favorably with them. They are of a large frame, more noble in appearance, and more independent in action, than are the Chinese females. The same remark is true of the Manchu men compared with the Chinese men. The two races are not allowed to intermarry.

The Tartars here are descendants of a colony of Tartars who came from Peking by the will of the emperor in the early part of the present dynasty. They regard themselves as distantly related to the imperial family, and all owe their support to the favor of the government. They may be always relied upon by the Peking government as faithful to it under all circumstances. In the result of a successful rebellion against the government, in case they should not be able to make their escape to the land of their forefathers, an extremely doubtful event, they would all lose not only their salaries and their property, but also their heads ; for no successful rebel emperor would allow any of the Tartars to live in the country.

Foreign vessels of large tonnage anchor about ten miles below the city of Fuhchau, at Pagoda Anchorage, so called on account of a pagoda built on a hill on an island in the vicinity. Above that anchorage the water is too shallow for large vessels to endeavor to proceed with safety. Here the mail

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

steamers, which arrive usually at least once in two weeks, come to anchor, sending the mails up to town in a small but p.023 well-manned boat. Not unfrequently are there twenty-five or thirty sailing vessels and steamers of several different nationalities to be found at Pagoda Anchorage, discharging and receiving their cargoes, where thirteen years ago there was not one foreign vessel. The vessels lie in the middle of the Min, and their cargoes are transferred into lighters, which ply between the town and the anchorage.

The entrance to the river is marked by bold peaks and high land — unlike the entrance to the Yang-tse-Kiang, *en route* to Shanghai from the China Sea, or the entrance of the White River at Taku, *en route* to Tientsin and Peking from the Gulf of Pechele. Foreign pilots usually take the charge of vessels until they have fairly entered the river, when they yield to native pilots, who navigate them until they reach Pagoda Anchorage. The banks of the Min are lined by lofty hills, generally destitute of thrifty trees. Many of the hills are terraced and cultivated to their tops, presenting in the spring and summer an interesting and unique appearance. The foreign visitor never fails to admire the charming and romantic scenery lying between the mouth of the Min and the anchorage. It has been thought by some European travelers to resemble the scenery of Switzerland in its picturesqueness and grandeur. Americans are more frequently reminded by it of the Highlands of the Hudson.

The Min having separated into two parts six or eight miles above Fuhchau, the branches unite not far above the anchorage, and their waters flow together into the ocean. The city of Fuhchau lies to the north of the northern branch. The southern branch passes nearly parallel with the northern, the two forming a narrow and fertile island, fifteen or sixteen miles in length, and three or four miles in width in its broadest part.

Following up the northern branch of the river from the Pagoda Anchorage, about half way to Fuhchau, on the right hand, is the mountain called Kushan, or Drum Mountain. Its peak is about half a mile high. A large and celebrated Buddhist monastery is situated half way up the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

mountain, a favorite place of resort with some foreigners and Chinese in the hot summer months. The temperature at the monastery is sometimes eight or ten degrees lower than in the city in the valley p.024 below. The monastery takes its name, the '*Bubbling Fountain*', from a spring of clear cold water in its vicinity. Several score of Buddhist priests are usually found at the monastery, where they spend their time in studying the rituals of their order, and in the performance of the regular religious rites and ceremonies. The landscape of the valley of the Min, viewed on a clear summer's day from the top of the mountain or from its side, is very fine, consisting of numerous small streams and canals running in all directions, several scores of hamlets dotting the country, and rice-fields in a high state of cultivation. These, once seen, are not soon forgotten.

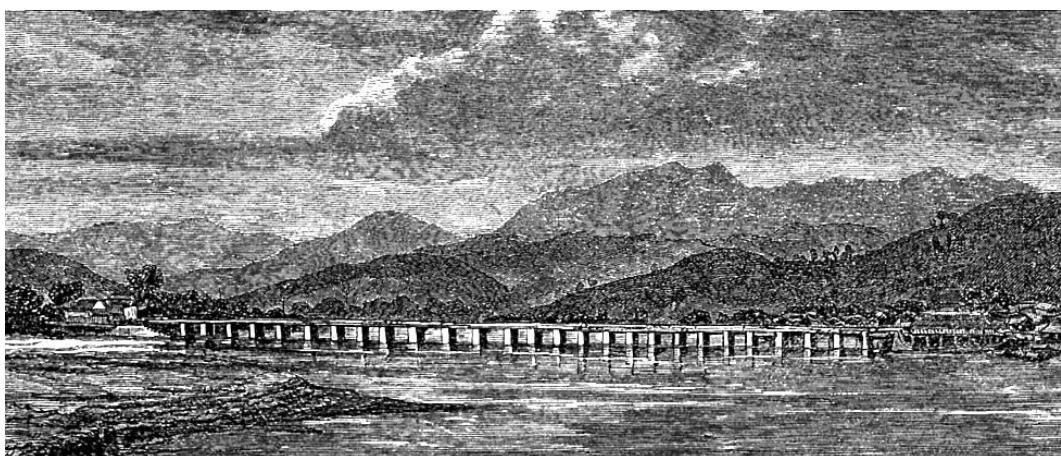
Soon after passing Kushan, proceeding up the river, [two lofty pagodas](#) become visible, three or four miles distant, situated on the right hand, and inside the city, near the southern gate. A lofty watch-tower marks the extreme northern angle of the City. The foreign hongs and the flag-staffs of the English, American, and other consuls, gradually become more and more distinct, lying principally on the left hand, on the southern bank of the Min. The hongs and residences of foreign merchants, missionaries, and officials, being built in foreign style, afford a pleasing and striking contrast to the shops and houses of the Chinese. From some parts of the river opposite the City, the brick chapel belonging to the Methodist Mission, and the stone church where a chaplain of the Church of England officiates, both located on the hill near the southern bank of the river, can be readily recognized by their belfries.

In the Min, abreast of the city, is a small, densely-populated island, called Chung Chau by foreign merchants, and Tong Chiu by the natives, i. e., 'Middle Island'. It is connected with the northern bank of the river by the celebrated '[Bridge of 10,000 Ages](#)', or the Big Bridge. This bridge is reported to have been built eight hundred years ago, and is about one quarter of a mile long, and thirteen or fourteen feet wide. It has nearly

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

forty solid buttresses, situated at unequal distances from each other, shaped like a wedge at the upper and lower ends, and built of hewn granite. Immense stones, some of them nearly three feet square, and forty-five feet long, extend from buttress to buttress, acting as sleepers. Above these stone sleepers a granite platform is made. On the sides of p.027 the bridge are strong stone railings, the stone rails being morticed into large stone pillars or posts. Until eight or nine years ago the top of the bridge was partly taken up with shops. Now the whole of the bridge is devoted to the use of passengers, and the conveyance of merchandise to and fro. The bridge connecting Middle Island with the south bank of the river, called the 'Bridge in front of the (salt) Granaries', is built in a similar manner, but is only about one fourth as long as the Big Bridge. Lighters and other boats which have movable masts pass under the Big Bridge, but the junks from Ningpo, Amoy, and other places, which come up the river, anchor below these bridges and Middle Island. There are no ferry-boats which ply regularly between the north and south banks of the Min, though there are numerous boats which can be hired for a few cents whenever necessary to cross the river above and below the bridges. From early dawn until nightfall these bridges are usually thronged by travelers on foot or in sedans, and by coolies carrying produce and merchandise back and forth.



Bridge of the cloudy hills
seven miles northwest of the Bridge of 10,000 Ages

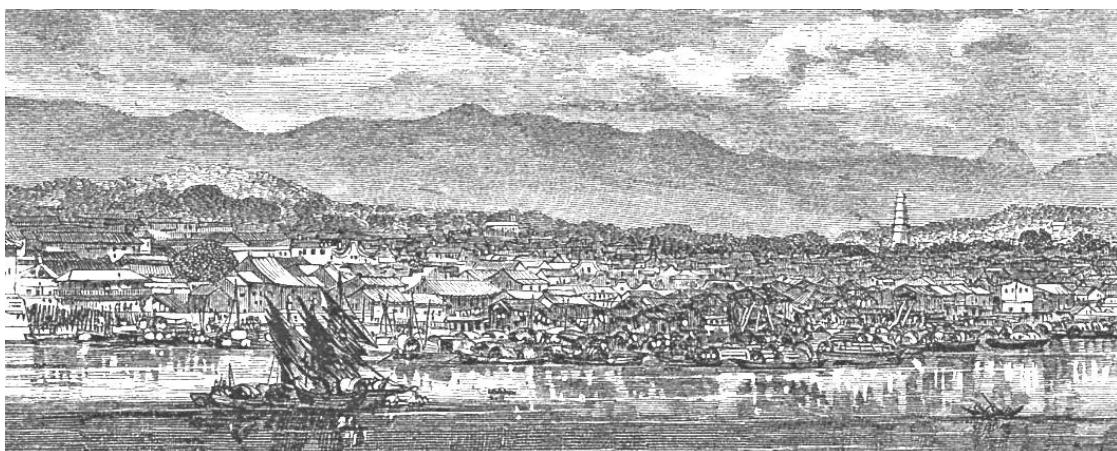
To the northwest, and distant six or seven miles across the Min, is another celebrated stone bridge, called sometimes the 'Bridge of the Cloudy

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Hills'. That and the Big Bridge are built in a similar manner. The scenery in its vicinity is mountainous and interesting.

The foreign residents live principally on the hill near the southern bank of the Min. Standing on that hill, and looking toward the east, north, and west, the scenery is beautiful. To the eastward, looming up five or six miles distant, is 'Drum Mountain'. Nearer is the river, with its multitude of junks and boats. As one glances in a more northern direction, parts of the city come within range. In it the white pagoda and the watch-tower are prominent objects. Between the city and the river, apparently about midway, may be seen the roof and belfry of a brick church belonging to the Mission of the American Board. In the city Black Rock Hill is conspicuous, and nearer, in the suburbs, are seen Great Temple Hill and several spacious foreign hongs. To the northwest and the west the numerous boats on the river and the distant hills present a diversified and striking appearance.



Black Rock Hill
(in the city)

Church of Am. Board
(in the suburbs)

White Pagoda
(in the city) **Hill of the 9 Genii**
(in the city)

View of the southern suburbs of Fuhchau
from a hill on the southern bank of the river

From the top of the Great Temple Hill, looking toward the ^{p.028} south, the prospect is also fine. Probably there is not a better stand-point in the suburbs than that hill for taking a view of the most prominent objects to be seen in the valley of the Min. The river, spread out to the west, south, and east, covered with its countless boats, the bridges on each side of Middle Island, with their passing throng, foreign hongs, the British consulate,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

flagstaffs and flags of various nationalities, etc., always interest the beholder. In the distance to the southward, the hills called the Five Tigers, and other ranges, add variety and picturesqueness to the scenery. To the east and to the west are highly-cultivated plains, villages, canals, etc. On the north the city is seen much more distinctly than from the hill on the southern bank of the river.

Fuhchau contains within its walls three principal hills, two in its southern and one in its northern quarter. On account of these hills it is sometimes called in writing and in books the *Three Hills*. It is also frequently styled the City of Banians, or the Banian City, on account of the great number of mock banian-trees which are growing every where in the city and vicinity. The branches of this species of banian seldom extend to the ground and take root, like the Indian banian, though they sometimes thus take root. The pendent branches look so much like whiskers that the common name for them among the Chinese is the *whiskers of the banian*. They hang down several feet from the main horizontal branches, and swing back and forth in the breeze. A single tree with its outstretched branches sometimes shades a space of ground from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in diameter.

The streets of the suburbs and the city are narrow and filthy. They oftentimes are not as wide as a medium-sized side-walk in cities in Western lands. Some of the principal streets in places are so narrow that two sedans can not pass each other. One must seek a wide spot and stop while the other passes along. Shop-keepers are in the practice of taking up part of the street in front of their establishments with their movable sign-boards, which are over a foot wide, placed in a perpendicular position, making the street actually allotted to the public so much the narrower. The eaves of the stores and native hongs are so arranged that, in case of rain, the water falls down into the middle of the street. There are no ^{p.031} eave-troughs in use. It is impossible in a hard shower for one to pass through the streets, even with an umbrella, and escape a thorough wetting.

There are no glass windows in the fronts or sides of shops and stores in

Social life of the Chinese

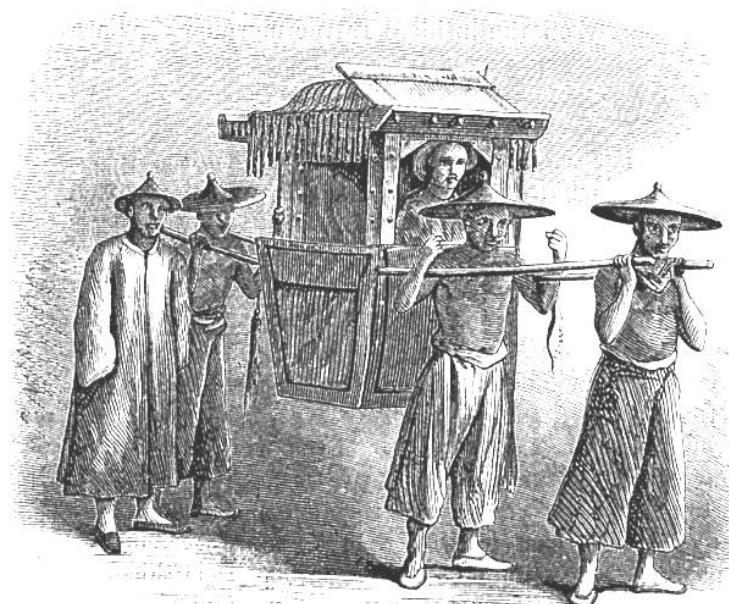
Vol. I

Fuhchau. The front part of stores, etc., is constructed of upright movable boards fitted into grooves in two pieces of timber, one fastened on or near the door-sill, and one put at the top of the front of the room. These boards are numbered, and may be taken down and put up again expeditiously. At night they are slipped into the grooves, and fastened securely on the inside. In the morning they are taken down, letting the passer-by see all that is transacted in the store, and furnishing all the light that is needed. In storms the wind oftentimes blows the rain into the establishment ; in cold weather the clerks and customers are exposed to chilling draughts of wind. Usually the whole front sides of the shops, facing the street, except a passage-way to the back, is occupied by a counter about four feet high.

The streets are paved with granite flag-stones. In case of a hill occurring in the street, it is ascended and descended by means of a flight of stone steps. On this account, even if the streets were wide enough, no wheeled vehicle could be used in them. Merchandise, furniture, etc., are carried to and fro through the streets by coolies. If the load is about a hundred pounds' weight, or less, and can be divided into two equal parts, not too bulky, each part is slung by means of ropes on the ends of a carrying-pole, four or five feet long, which is placed across the shoulder of the coolie. It is thus carried to its destination, one part coming before and the other part coming behind the bearer. It can not be carried crosswise or at right angles to the street, for that course would prevent oftentimes any one passing from an opposite direction ; it would generally occupy nearly all the street. Bulky and heavy articles, too bulky and too heavy to be thus carried by one man, are slung upon the centre of a strong carrying-pole, six or more feet in length. The ends of the pole are placed upon the shoulders of two or more men, and the load carried between them. Sometimes eight, or sixteen, or a greater number of persons are required to carry heavy articles in this manner. Occasionally a load is carried on the shoulder or the back, steadied by the hands of its bearer.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Gentleman riding in a sedan, with a servant on foot.

p.032 The roads in the country are narrow, and not adapted to traveling or transporting merchandise in carts or wagons. Oftentimes they are paved with granite, and only wide enough for two to walk abreast with ease and safety. Every five or ten li, on the most traveled roads, there are rest-houses, where the tired traveler or coolie may stop and refresh himself. There are no toll-gates in this section of the empire.

Traveling on land is performed on foot or by sedan-chairs, carried, in the case of a civilian, by two or three men. Officers of a certain grade may have four bearers. Those of the highest rank may have eight bearers. Military officers of a low rank, and a class of interpreters or assistants of high civil mandarins, sometimes ride through the streets on ponies, but the common people never ride on horseback. In case a horse is rode through the crowded streets, a boy or the groom precedes, crying out 'Horse !' 'horse !' and clears the way, else various accidents would often occur.

The hills in the vicinity of the city and suburbs of Fuhchau are devoted principally to burying the dead, the valleys and p.033 the level land to the residences of the living. While foreigners prefer to reside in elevated and airy positions, as on the sides or the summits of hills, the Chinese reserve these situations for the sepulchres of their honored dead : The graves of the poor

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

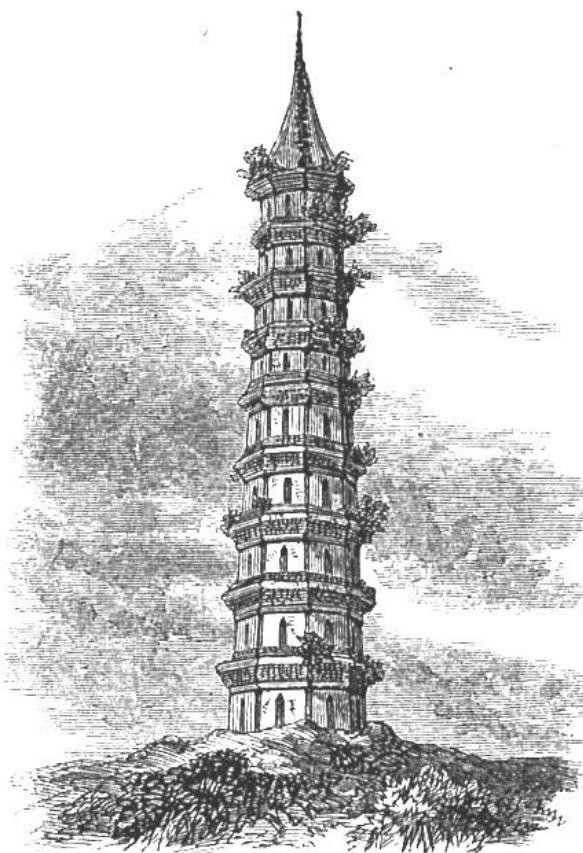
Chinese are made much at random on the hills, on spots where they succeed in securing the privilege of digging them ; while the sites for the graves of the wealthy are determined by the nice rules of the art of Geomancy, *à la Chinois*, having especial reference to the future good fortunes of the families of the living. No dead body may be buried inside the city, nor may a corpse be carried into any of the gates of the city. It may not enter the city on any consideration, no matter how high the rank of the deceased, or how influential and respected his family. The most fashionable form for a grave and its surroundings, considered as a whole, is what by foreigners is usually called the horse-shoe pattern, from its general resemblance to a horse-shoe. It is also called sometimes the Omega grave, from its resemblance to the Greek letter Omega. The rich spend a large sum of money in erecting the grave-stones, and in embellishing the sides and the front of the grave. In the case of high officers, there are often large granite images of a pair of horses, sheep, and other animals, arranged some distance in front of the spot on which the corpse is buried. One of each kind of animal is placed on the right and left hand sides, corresponding to each other. Occasionally there are two granite images or statues of men, arranged in like manner. These granite images, some of which are larger than life, seem to take the place of pillars and monuments, so common at the West, in connection with the tombs of the distinguished dead.

The first Protestant Mission at Fuhchau was established by a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in January, 1847. The Mission has averaged three or four families since its commencement. In April, 1856, occurred the first baptism of a Chinaman at this city in connection with Protestant Missions. In May, 1857, a brick church, called the 'Church of the Savior', built on the main street in the southern suburbs, and about one mile from the Big Bridge, was dedicated to the worship of God. Its first native church, consisting of four members, was ^{p.034} organized in October of the same year. In May, 1863, a church of seven members was formed at Chang-loh, distant seventeen miles from the city. In June of the same year a church of nine members was organized in the city of Fuhchau, having been dismissed from the church in the suburbs

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

to form the church in the city. For the first ten years of this Mission's existence only one was baptized. During the next five years twenty-two members were received into the first church formed. During the next two years twenty-three persons were baptized. Between 1853 and 1858 a small boarding-school, *i. e.*, a school where the pupils were boarded, clothed, and educated at the expense of the Mission, was sustained in this Mission. Among the pupils were four or five young men, who are now employed as native helpers, and three girls, all of whom became church members, and two of whom are wives of two of the native helpers. There are at present a training-school for native helpers, and a small boarding-school for boys, and a small boarding-school for girls connected with the Mission. It employs six or seven native helpers, and three or four country stations are occupied by it. Part of the members of this Mission live at Ponasang, not far from the Church of the Savior, and part live in the city, on a hill not far from the White Pagoda, in houses built and owned by the American Board.



Pagoda

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church was established in the fall of 1847. It has had an average number of four or five families. In 1857 it baptized the first convert in connection with its labors. In August, 1856, a brick church, called the 'Church of the True God', the first substantial church building erected at Fuhchau by Protestant Missions, was dedicated to the worship of God. It is located near Tating, on the main street, in the southern suburbs, about two thirds the way between the Big Bridge and the city. In the winter of the same year another brick church, located on the hill in the suburbs on the south bank of the Min, was finished and dedicated, called the 'Church of Heavenly Rest'. In the fall of 1864 this Mission erected a commodious brick church on East Street, in the city. Its members reside principally on the hill on which the Church of Heavenly Rest is built. One family lives at a country station ten or twelve ^{p.035} miles from Fuhchau. This Mission has received great and signal encouragement in several country villages and farming districts, as well as in the city and suburbs. It has some eight or ten country stations, which are more or less regularly visited by the foreign missionaries, and where native helpers are appointed to preach regularly. It has a flourishing boys' boarding-school, and a flourishing girls' boarding-school, and a printing-press. At the close of 1863 there were twenty-six probationary members of its native churches, and ninety-nine in full communion. It employs ten or twelve native helpers. It has established a system of regular quarterly meetings and an annual conference in conformity with the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The English Church Missionary Society established a Mission at Fuhchau in the spring of 1850. It has met with many ^{p.036} reverses, and has not averaged two families. Its members have always resided within the city on Black Rock Hill. It has two large chapels, located on South and on Back Streets, two of the most important streets in the city. It employs two or three native helpers, and has ten or fifteen baptized Chinese under its care and instruction.

Many of the small chapels, and some of the large church buildings, in connection with these three Missions, whether in the city, or in the suburbs,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

or at the country stations, are opened daily for preaching in Chinese. All who please to come in are welcomed.

All these Missions have in former years distributed, in large numbers, tracts and parts of the Scriptures prepared in the general language of the country. A considerable number, prepared in the local dialect, have also been published. The Methodist Mission in 1864 completed the translation and publication of the New Testament in the local dialect.

In some years, at the regular literary examinations of candidates for the first and for the second degree at Fuhchau, the opportunity has been embraced to distribute large numbers of volumes and tracts among the competitors — e. g., in 1859, about nine thousand graduates of the first degree, from all parts of the province, including the island of Formosa, assembled at this place to compete for the second degree. The English and some of the American missionaries availed themselves of the occasion to distribute to the competitors about seven thousand tracts and volumes, besides two thousand copies of portions of the Bible. The plan was to stand near the outside door, and give to the candidates as they came out of the places where the examinations had been held. Most of the volumes were distributed at the residence of the literary chancellor at the close of the supplementary examinations of some of the candidates preparatory to competition for the second degree. The rest were given away to them as they came out of the Provincial Examination Hall at the termination of their last general examination before the imperial commissioners. Only a few out of this immense crowd refused to accept the books ; the vast majority seemed glad to obtain them.

In 1850, two missionaries, sent by the Swedish Missionary Society, arrived at this place, intending to establish a Mission ; ^{p.037} but the untimely death of one, the result of an attack by pirates on the Min, near Kinpai Pass, in the fall of the same year, frustrated the enterprise. In 1852 his associate left China for his native land.

There is a small community of native Mohammedans at Fuhchau. In the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

western and north western parts of the empire they are very numerous and powerful. The resident priest, who lives on the premises on which the mosque is built, is reported to come from the western portion of China. These premises are on the west side of the main street in the city, running north and south, not far from the South Gate. On tablets put over the principal door and posts of the mosque are gilt inscriptions in Arabic. The Calendar, or list of days when fasts are observed or worship is performed, usually contain a few sentences in Chinese, which speak of several worthies mentioned in the Old Testament. Very little is known by the common people about the Mohammedans and their worship or creed. The Mohammedans are exceedingly uncommunicative on subjects relating to themselves.

Near the South Gate, outside the city, is a Roman Catholic church, built, according to report, since the treaties opening this port to foreign residence and tolerating Romanism in China were formed. The number of native converts to Romanism living in the city and suburbs is not known, but it has been vaguely estimated at several thousand. Some of the boat population are Roman Catholics. Masses are laid regularly every morning and evening during the week ; occasionally other religious services are held on week days. Worship is also conducted stately on the Sabbath. The Sabbath is not observed as a day of rest from labor, and there is nothing in the general conduct of the Chinese Catholics which distinguishes them from the pagans among whom they live. They do not worship the ancestral tablets in their houses.

Usually one or more European priests reside on the premises connected with the church. They dress in Chinese costume, shaving the head and braiding the cue. The priests and the Chinese Catholics shun the acquaintance of Protestant missionaries and converts connected with Protestant Missions, and are very wary and silent in regard to matters which concern the Roman Catholic Mission. A boarding-school for boys p.038 is sustained on the Mission premises. Some or all of the pupils are trained

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

thoroughly in the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church preparatory to entering on the functions of the Romish priesthood. Near the church is a new and convenient building, erected expressly, a few years ago, for the purpose of saving alive and bringing up the little girls found deserted by their parents, or who should be brought there by them. There is a very appropriate inscription, in large Chinese characters, over the front door of this asylum, saying, '*When thy father and thy mother forsake thee, the Lord will take thee up*'. This institution is under the oversight of several nuns, or Sisters of Mercy, from Manilla. It is reported as being in a flourishing state.

The church is well built. It has an inscription in large gilt characters upon its front, implying that it is erected in accordance with the especial permission of the emperor. Upon its roof is a large cross, which may be seen from a considerable distance. No seats are provided in the church for the worshipers, but mats on which they kneel. The men use one side of the church and women the other. Near the pulpit or altar is an image or picture of Mary, and an image of the Savior on the Cross, and on the walls are numerous pictures of Romish saints. A tablet to the emperor, having upon it the usual inscription which is applied only to him, several years ago was to be seen near the altar, in such a position that when the worshipers bowed toward the altar, and the images and pictures near it, they necessarily also bowed toward the tablet.

The Roman Catholic priests here operate secretly. Perhaps they labor principally among the descendants of Roman Catholics of former generations. During about two hundred years there have been native Romanists at this place. — Sometimes they have been severely persecuted by the government, and some have remained faithful to their professions through all their trials, and have brought up their children in the Romish faith.

The doors of the church are not open to all Chinese who desire to attend the worship, as all the Protestant missionaries open the doors of their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

chapels and churches to the public. Only members of the Romish community, or those who are properly introduced, are permitted to enter the church and p.039 remain during service. The foreign priests or their native assistants hold no public preaching service where their doctrines are explained and enforced. Here, as elsewhere, Romanism is evasive, and screens itself from observation, working in the dark and secretly. Protestantism boldly and openly solicits examination. Romish missionaries to the Chinese shut the door against all except the initiated and the well-disposed. Protestant missionaries throw open the churches and chapels to all, whether friendly, inimical, or indifferent, whether strangers or acquaintances.

The Romanists do not distribute the Bible, or even religious tracts, to the public nowadays. It is doubtful whether they have made into Chinese a complete translation of the Bible for the study of the native priests or for their own use. They have a large variety of tracts and books, which may be obtained by proper persons by applying at the proper quarters. Some of them were prepared over two hundred years ago by converts in high stations at court. The Catechisms and books used in schools by their catechumens and converts are intensely characteristic — e. g., in a certain Catechism, the second commandment is expunged from the Decalogue, in accordance with the practice in Western lands, and, to make up the requisite number, the tenth is divided into two.

Only one public distribution of Roman Catholic books is known as having occurred at this place between 1850 and 1863. Among the books which were given away on that occasion was one which had a singular stamp or imprint of six Chinese characters in red ink. These characters, taken in connection with other characters in red ink also stamped upon the book, informed the reader that *the religion of the Lord of Heaven was different from the religion of the kingdom of the Flowery Flag*. It is necessary to explain that the distinctive name in China for the Roman Catholic religion is the '*religion of the Lord of Heaven*', while the common name for the United

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

States of America is the '*kingdom of the Flowery Flag*', a term derived doubtless from the unique appearance of the stars and stripes of the national flag. The meaning intended to be conveyed by the imprints was that Romanism was different from Protestantism. It would seem that the Romanists had been aroused, by the zeal of Protestant ^{p.040} missionaries in distributing books, to an unwonted exhibition of zeal in the distribution of Roman Catholic books. But, in order to *protest* against Protestantism, and not knowing any better name to give it than the name denoting the nationality of the greatest number of Protestant missionaries at Fuhchau, they caused some or all of the books given away on the occasion referred to, to be stamped in a prominent place and in a color which would attract attention, with a sentence meaning *that the religion of Heaven's Lord was not the same as the American religion !*

There are many points of similarity between Roman Catholicism and Chinese Buddhism. The common people here do not discover many points of dissimilarity between the lives of the converts to Romanism and the native adherents of Buddhism. The prominent points of similarity are the vow of celibacy, monastic seclusion, monastic habit, holy water, counting beads, fasting, forbidden meats, masses for the dead, worship of relics, canonization of saints, use of incense and candles, bell and book, purgatory — from which prayers and ceremonies deliver — use of a dead language, and pretension to miracles.

Huc, the Lazarist, seems pleased with this striking similarity, and says, *Buddhism has an admixture of truth with holy Church.*

Premare, another distinguished Romanist, says, *the devil has imitated Mother Church to scandalize her.*

Protestants ask, Has not Romanism borrowed from paganism ?

@

1.CHAPTER I**Agricultural and domestic matters**

@

p.041 Characteristics of the People. — Houses. — No Glass Windows. — Cold and Heat. — Soil fertile. — Principal Crops. — Sorghum not Chinese Sugar-cane. — Fruits and Vegetables. — Principal Articles of Food. — Chinese at their Meals. — No promiscuous Mingling of the Sexes on festive Occasions. — Tea the common Beverage. — How prepared. — Trip to a Tea Plantation. — Description of Tea Shrub. — Transplanted. — Congo and Oolong made from the same Shrub. — Plucking the Leaves — Manner of preparing Congo and Oolong. — Practical Inference. — Fields how cultivated. — Threshing Grain. — Manner of Hulling Rice. — Flouring Mills. — No Fences. — Manner of Irrigation. — Artificial Ponds for raising Fish. — Hatching Duck Eggs by artificial Heat. — Fishing with Cormorants. — Fuel and Timber. — Vegetable Oils and Tallow. — Temples and Places Worth Visiting. — Charcoal Birds. — Native Poor-house. — Few labor-saving Machines used. — Manual Labor. — Wages of common Laborers. — Employment of Women. — Block Stereotyping and Printing. — A few Words about the Chinese Language.

The Chinese at Fuhchau are shorter than the generality of foreigners, mild in character, and timid in appearance. They are not as turbulent, bloodthirsty, and daring as are the Chinese of some of the more southern sections of the empire. They indulge oftentimes in angry scolding and violent quarreling in the streets, but seldom come to earnest blows. They are proud and self-relying, and look with disdain, as do other Chinese, on foreigners. They are in the habit of applying diminutive and derogatory expressions to them : none so bad, however, as 'fanqui' — 'foreign devil' — formerly used so constantly at Canton. The most common epithet applied at Fuhchau to foreigners is 'Huang kiang' — 'foreign children'. This they oftentimes ring out in most derisive and insulting tones. They, almost without exception, have black hair and eyes ; and, noticing the fact that most foreigners have hair and eyes not of the same color, frequently express this difference by calling them red-haired and blue-eyed, though their hair may be white and eyes gray. Foreigners all belong to p.042 the kingdom of red-haired people, while the Chinese style themselves men of the 'black-haired race'.

The houses of the Chinese are usually one story high, and built of wood.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Few substantial brick dwelling-houses are seen. The covering is earthen tiles burned in kilns — not shingles, or lead, or zinc. The flooring of most houses among the poorer classes is made of a cement composed of clay, sand, and lime, and is hard and smooth when properly prepared, or it is simply the earth pounded down. The wooden floors, even in the better kind of houses, are very poor, uneven, and unplaned. No carpets are used, and seldom is matting spread upon the flooring. Oftentimes there is no ceiling over head, the room extending to the roof. A large number of families live in boats about twenty or twenty-five feet long, and about six or eight feet wide. Here children are born, brought up, marry, and die.

Dwelling-houses usually have wooden windows, no glass being used even in wealthy families. Sometimes windows having a kind of semi-transparent shell ingeniously arranged in rows are found. When light is needed, the wooden windows are opened either partially or wholly. They are also opened for purposes of ventilation in the summer season.

The houses have no apparatus for heating them in the winter, like the fireplaces, furnaces, and stoves of Western lands. The doors and windows are poorly adapted to cold weather, not being fitted tightly. The Chinese at Fuhchau simply put on more garments than usual in the winter, the number being graduated by the intensity of the cold. In the absence of artificial means for heating their rooms, the people frequently carry around with them a portable furnace, containing embers or coals, with which they warm themselves from time to time.

At Fuhchau ice is very rarely seen, even as thin as a knife-blade. Frosty mornings seldom occur. Snow-storms are exceedingly uncommon. In February, 1864, snow fell two or three inches deep, and remained on the surrounding hills for several days, an event which had not taken place before, it was said, for thirty-eight years. Hail-storms are not so uncommon as snow-storms. The heat, in the shade, in the hottest months of summer, seldom exceeds 96° Fahrenheit. August and September are oftentimes felt to be the most ^{p.043} oppressive months, on account of the long-continued

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

heat previously experienced. Rain falls in all seasons of the year, though more falls in the spring than fall. Usually in April or May there is a freshet, covering the rice-fields in the vicinity, and flooding the ground on which many houses are built. Very few years pass when there is not such a freshet. When it comes late in the season it is apt to damage or destroy the rice crop, causing much suffering among the poor.

The soil of the valley of the Min is very fertile, and is kept in a state of excellent tillage. Night-soil is hoarded in the city and suburbs by the Chinese with the greatest care. It is sold to persons who transport it into the surrounding country for use as manure. On some low lands two crops of rice and one of wheat are annually produced. From other fields only one crop of rice and one crop of wheat are raised. From many gardens at least six or eight crops of vegetables are grown year after year. Two crops of the Irish or foreign potato, on the same land, can be cultivated, one coming to maturity in December, and the other in April.

Rice, of which there are several varieties, wheat, and sweet potatoes, are the most common crops. Barley, tobacco, and beans are produced in considerable quantities. A kind of sugar-cane, propagated by slips, and making inferior brown sugar, is also grown extensively. The best sugar used at Fuhchau among the Chinese is brought from a more southern section of the province, made from another species of cane. What is called in the United States the Chinese sugar-cane, or sorghum, is not produced extensively in Southern China, nor is it, properly speaking, Chinese sugar-cane ; for Chinese sugar-cane is the same as American sugar-cane, and, is propagated by slips or cuttings, not by seeds ¹.

¹ The so-called Chinese sugar-cane, or sorghum, is grown very extensively in Northern China, and is known among foreigners as a kind of millet — *the Barbadoes Millet*. The Chinese name for it is *Kauliang*. It is propagated like broom-corn, which it resembles in some respects — by its seeds, which grow on the top of its stalks. The Chinese do not express the juice from its stalks for the purpose of manufacturing molasses or sugar, and they manifest surprise when informed that such a use is made of it in the United States. They make a coarse kind of bread from the four of the seeds of the Kauliang, eaten principally by the poorer classes. The best kind of Chinese whisky, oftentimes called Chinese wine, is distilled from the seeds. The stalks are used for fuel, for lathing in the partitions of houses, for slight and temporary fences, etc.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

p.044 Fruits are plenty during all the year, but they are picked before ripe, very frequently when quite green, so that, as a general remark, they are not well flavored. At the close of the season for each species, ripe fruits are found in market. They are often brought on men's shoulders a great distance in baskets, and if picked only when ripe, they would spoil or be very badly damaged before they could reach the market. There are no railroads by which ripe fruit and other produce can be transported without injury and with speed ; nor are steamers available for transporting fruit, etc., except between a very few places along the sea-coast. Junks and sailing vessels are usually too slow and uncertain a mode of conveyance for fruit, unless picked before fully ripe. Peaches, plums, pears, and several varieties of the orange, abound in their season. One kind of orange, which is called the Mandarin orange, has a loose jacket or skin, and the inside is divided into ten or twelve lobes. There are no lemons, cherries, or currants raised at Fuhchau, and no berries of any kind, as strawberry, gooseberry, whortleberry, blackberry, raspberry, etc. The pine-apple, plantain, cocoanut, mango, and a fine variety of pumelo, are brought from Formosa or Amoy in native junks or by steamers. Native pumelos, shaddock, pomegranates, the arbutus, the guava, persimmon, grapes of an inferior quality, the pipa, lichi, the lungan, or the dragon's eyes, are abundant, but no good apples. Large quantities of oranges, ginger, and various kinds of fruits and vegetables, are preserved in sugar, and exported to other parts of China. Bamboo shoots for food are also cured and sent away. Watermelons, squashes, onions and garlics, turnips, carrots, cabbages, lettuce, cucumbers, and a variety of vegetables peculiar to China, or at least not cultivated in the United States or in Great Britain, are produced in large quantities, and sold at reasonable prices ; but no musk-melon, nor beets, nor tomatoes of a large species. A very small kind of tomato, about the size

Numerous and immense fuel-yards, consisting entirely of the dried stalks of the Kauliang, are formed at Tientsin and many other cities in the north of China. During a few years past many inquiries have been made in regard to the manner in which the Chinese manufacture sugar and molasses out of the sorghum, but such information is vainly sought of them, for they never manufacture such articles from its stalks.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of a small cherry, ^{p.045} called 'snake's eggs', not used as food by the Chinese, is found growing wild. Ground-nuts or pea-nuts are extensively cultivated. The art of grafting is considerably practiced, but fruit is not cultivated as carefully as at the West.

The Chinese at Fuhchau live principally on rice, fish, and vegetables. They never use bread at their meals, as people do in Western lands. Wheat flour is used for making various kinds of luncheon and cakes. The most common meats are pork, the flesh of the mountain goat, and the flesh of the domesticated buffalo or water-ox, and the cow, ducks, geese, chickens, and fish from salt and from fresh water. There is never any veal or mutton in market. They never salt down beef or pork. Fuhchau bacon and hams are celebrated in Eastern and Southern Asia. It is considered a hardship and a mark of excessive poverty to eat potatoes except as luncheon. Immense quantities of the sweet potato are grated into coarse slips and dried in the sun, for use as food among the poor in case rice can not be procured. This dried potato is called potato-rice. Oysters abound in the winter, and are very cheap, the usual price of clear oysters being between five and six cents per pound. Shrimps, crabs, and clams are plentiful. Little wild game can be obtained at any season of the year. In the winter, pheasants, in small numbers, are brought from the country to sell, having been shot or entrapped upon the hills.

The Chinese at their meals usually have several small dishes of vegetables, fish, etc., prepared, besides a large quantity of boiled or steamed rice put in a vessel by itself. Each person helps himself to the rice, putting some, by means of a ladle or large spoon, into a bowl. The bowl, held in the left hand, is brought near the chin, whence, by the use of a pair of chop-sticks, taken between the thumb and fore and middle fingers, the rice is shoveled or pushed into the mouth from time to time. Whenever any vegetable or fish, etc., is desired, a morsel is taken, by a dexterous use of the chopsticks, from the common dish which contains the article and conveyed to the mouth. The chopsticks are not used separately, one in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

each hand, as many suppose. An earthen spoon is sometimes used to dip out the gravy or liquor from the dish of vegetables or fish, but knives and forks are never used at meal-time.

p.046 Husband, and wife, and adult children oftentimes eat at the same table and at the same time, if there are no strangers or guests present ; in such a case, females do not appear at the table with the males. On festive occasions, when friends are invited to dinner, the men eat by themselves, and the women by themselves. Ladies and gentlemen, if unacquainted, are not formally introduced to each other when invited to a feast at the same house, nor do they converse or promenade together, as in Western lands. The ladies keep by themselves in the inner apartments, while the gentlemen remain in the reception-room, or public hall, or library. Persons of different sex, even those who are acquainted or related, are not allowed to mingle together on public or festive occasions. Husband and wife never walk side by side or arm in arm in the streets. Sometimes a small-footed woman is seen walking in public leaning on the shoulder of her son. Dancing is unknown.

The common beverage of the Chinese is a weak decoction of black tea. According to common fame, they never use green tea. At Fuhchau, the use of cold water as a drink is regarded by the natives as decidedly unhealthy, and most would prefer to thirst for a long time rather than drink it, though they might venture to rinse their mouth or wet their lips with water. A drink of hot or warm water would be greatly preferred to a drink of cold water. The poorest of the poor must have their tea, regarding it not so much a luxury as a necessary. They never use milk or sugar, but always take it clear, and, if convenient, as hot as they can drink it. They prepare it, not by steeping, but by pouring boiling water, or water which has boiled, upon the tea, letting it stand a few minutes, usually covered over. It is considered essential, on receiving a call from a friend or stranger, to offer him some hot tea as soon after he enters as possible, and usually he is also invited to smoke a whiff of tobacco. Unless the tea should be forthcoming, the host

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

would be regarded as destitute of good manners, and unaccustomed to the usages of polite society.

In May, 1861, in company with an American friend, a visit was made to some tea plantations situated twelve or fifteen miles to the north of Fuhchau, on the Piling Hills. The plantations were comparatively of recent growth, commenced mostly since this port became a market for black teas for ^{p.047} exportation to foreign countries. The tea produced is comparatively of little importance as far as amount is concerned, though the prospect is fair that the production will be largely increased as fast as time and the slender capital of the people will admit. There is a large tract of the hilly country now uncultivated, well adapted, we were informed, to the cultivation of the tea-shrub.

The tea-shrub resembles, in some respects, the low species of whortleberry, being allowed to grow usually only about a foot and a half high. Some compare the tea-shrub to the currant-bush ; but the currant grows too high and is too bushy to justify the comparison, according to our observation. The tea-shrub would grow much higher than what we saw, if allowed to do so. It was kept low by picking the higher leaves and breaking off the highest branches. A high shrub would be in danger of damage from the heavy storms of wind, which are quite common amid the hills, and, besides, the leaves would not be as valuable as the leaves of a small shrub.

The tea-seeds should be planted in the tenth Chinese month (corresponding to November), and the plants are then ready for transplanting by the following autumn. They are transplanted from three to five together, in rows from three to five feet apart each away, in much the same manner as Indian corn is planted in America. In about four years the plants are large enough to spare some of their leaves without serious detriment. The plantations are not manured, but are kept free from weeds. The plant blossoms about the tenth month, producing a white flower, in appearance and size much like the flower of the orange. The seeds form in a pod, each pod containing three tea-seeds about as large as a small bean.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

We were informed that only two kinds of tea, Congo and Oolong, were usually made from these tea plantations, differing from each other only in consequence of being manufactured in different ways. We queried closely and repeatedly our informants, the men engaged in picking and preparing the leaves, in regard to the processes of preparing these varieties. We could not perceive that they were deceiving us, nor could we see any reason or cause why they should attempt to deceive. Of course, we could not in one day, and that a cloudy and misty day, see all the processes described ourselves, and p.048 gather from our personal observation all the facts mentioned.

The leaves of a medium size are carefully plucked, principally by women and children. The largest leaves are usually left on the shrub, in order to catch the dew. If all were picked at once, there would be danger of killing or of greatly injuring the shrub. A thrifty clump will annually furnish from three to five ounces of leaves, and a smart picker can gather in a day eight or ten pounds of green leaves. There are three seasons for picking the leaves, *viz.*, in the third, fifth, and eighth Chinese months, when each shrub is picked over, at intervals of ten or fifteen days, two or three times or more, according to its thriftiness, and the demand in market for the dried leaf. If there is no prospect of selling the tea at a profit, the leaf is not picked. A pound of green leaves makes only about three or four ounces of tea. The first picking is the best, and commands the highest price.

The following, we were informed, is the method of preparing Congo :

1. The leaves are exposed in the sun or in an airy place. The object of this is not to dry them, but only to *wilt* them slowly and thoroughly.
2. A quantity of the leaves thus wilted are put into a shallow vessel, usually made of the splints of the bamboo, and trodden down together for a considerable time, until all the fibres and stems of the leaves are broken. The object is simply to break the stiff parts or fibres. Men, barefooted, are employed to do this work, because the Chinese do not appear to have found out a more convenient, expeditious, and effective method of attaining the object in view. It does not seem to them a filthy and objectionable operation.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

3. These leaves are then rolled in a particular manner by the hands of the operator. The object is solely to cause them to take a round or spiral form. If not rolled in this way they would remain flat, a shape not adapted to the foreign market. While lying on the vessel, the hands, spread out, are passed around for some time in a circular manner, parallel to the bottom of the vessel, lightly touching the leaves.

4. They are now placed in a heap to heat for half an hour or longer, until they become of a reddish appearance.

5. ^{p.049} The leaves are then spread out in the sun, or in a light and airy place, and left to dry. They must be thoroughly dried, else they would mould, and become unfit for the foreign market.

6. The leaf is next sold to the agents of foreigners or to native dealers, who take it away and expend a great deal of labor upon it before it is shipped to foreign countries. It is sifted on coarse sieves, and picked over several times, in order to separate the different qualities, to remove the stems, the large or flat leaves, etc. The large leaves are put by themselves, and the small by themselves. It is dried several times over slow fires in iron pans, in order to prevent its spoiling through moisture, according to circumstances, as the weather, length of time on hand, etc., seem to require.

The process of preparing Oolong tea differs in some particulars from the method of preparing Congo.

The fresh leaves are dried for a short time only, not until they are wilted, but only until all the dew, or water, or external dampness is gone.

Instead of being dried in the sun, they are dried in an iron vessel over a small, steady fire. They are kept in motion by the hand to prevent any scorching, or crisping, or burning. They are not perfectly, but only about half dried.

They are trodden by barefooted men, rolled with the hand, and dried in the sun or air, and afterward sifted, sorted, and fired in iron pans, as the leaf for making Oolong was served.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

In the suburbs of Fuhchau there are many establishments where large numbers of young men, women, and children are industriously employed during the tea season in sifting and sorting the leaves. Women and children earn from three to six cents per day, according to their skill and celerity, they boarding themselves ; while the young men receive from five to eight cents, besides their board, per day.

These facts, and others which might be added, show that tea can never be cultivated in Western countries to advantage. The high rate of wages in the United States, even if it would grow in the southern part of the country, would forbid the extensive and profitable cultivation of the tea-shrub. The same amount of capital, industry, and labor, employed in any of the common trades and occupations in that land, would be ^{p.050} far more lucrative. Tea could not be afforded, if raised in America, at less than four or five times the cost per pound at which it can be afforded obtained from China.

The fields are cultivated by means of the [plow](#) and the harrow, drawn by the water-ox or domesticated buffalo, and by the hoe and light pick-axe. The



[Plowing with the domesticated buffalo](#)

use of the spade and the wheelbarrow is unknown. Women of the large or natural-footed class and men work at farming together. Such women also carry burdens in the same manner as men. Only one beast, guided by a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

rope tied to a ring in its nose, is used in plowing. The common plow is simple and light, turning a narrow and shallow furrow. Rice, wheat, etc., are always reaped by the sickle or bill-hook. There are no cradles or machines for cutting grain, nor are there any machines used for threshing grain, as in the United States and England.



Carrying bundles of grain

When it is necessary to transport the bundles from one part of the field to another for any purpose, they are carried in the usual manner of carrying other articles, by a pole laid across the shoulder, never on carts or wagons. Rice and wheat are usually threshed by beating on a frame of slats ; sometimes by flails on the hard ground. A man takes a small ^{p.051} quantity of the unthreshed grain in both hands, and strikes it forcibly upon the slats until the grain is beaten out, when the straw is thrown aside, and another quantity is taken and beaten in the same way. The grain is winnowed by throwing it up into the wind, or by a rudely-constructed fanning-mill, worked by a crank, in general appearance very much like Western fanning-mills, minus sieves. The modern ^{p.052} fanning-mills used in the United States, undoubtedly, are only improved Chinese fanning-mills.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Threshing grain

The hull is removed from rice by a kind of mill, turned by hand, consisting of two parts. The upper part, which is not very heavy, is



Hulling rice

made to move slowly around upon the lower by a man pushing and pulling upon the handle. One end of the handle is suspended by a cord attached to something in the top of the room. By simply pushing and pulling this handle in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

a certain way the upper part revolves. The rice, unhulled, is put upon the upper part, and passes through a hole down to the surfaces, which touch and rub against each other. The rice comes out from the side and falls into a basket. What is not perfectly hulled by this process is then pounded in a large stone mortar. This operation always removes the last of the hulls from the rice.

The mills for grinding wheat are very rude and poor. Some of them are turned by water, especially in hilly sections of the country, where there are small rapid streams. In cities and ^{p.053} villages the motive power usually is a blindfolded buffalo, which is fastened to a pole connecting with the upper millstone. The animal, by walking around in a circle, the centre of which is the mill, causes the upper stone to revolve. The grain requires to be passed through the mill several times before the flour is fine enough for baking purposes. It is then sifted by hand, and is ready for use. Oftentimes the flour is very gritty, owing to a poor quality of stones, or to the bad manner in which they are repaired or fitted to each other.

There are no fences, or walls, or hedges dividing the fields. Boundaries between rice-fields are usually marked by a small raised pathway. Cattle, when let out to graze on the hills, are always kept from, wandering far, and from destroying the crops in the vicinity, by boys or girls watching and tending them. There are no meadows where grass is cut for making hay, and of course the scythe is unknown. The grass is wild. There is no clover, timothy grass, or red-top, or any of the various species of herds' grass cultivated, as in Western countries. Cattle, in the winter, are kept principally on wheat and rice straw. Horses are not kept by farmers for use in the fields, or for riding or driving, the domesticated buffalo and a smaller kind of cattle being used exclusively for tilling the ground. Only officials of government employ horses.

Irrigation is generally, in this vicinity, performed by means of an endless Chain-pump. One end of the box in which the chain, or rather rope, and its buckets pass, is placed at an angle of forty-five degrees, more or less, with the river, canal, or pond whence water is to be brought upon the neighboring fields. This box is open on the top and both ends, and made

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Irrigation by means of an endless chain-pump

very strong and light, one man carrying the whole apparatus with ease on his shoulders. The chain, with its buckets, passes over a horizontal shaft, which is supported by two perpendicular ports. One or more persons, steadyng themselves by leaning upon a horizontal pole four or five feet higher than the shaft, and by walking or stepping briskly on short, radiating arms, cause it to revolve on its axis, bringing up the water, which pours out of the upper end of the box. The faster the men walk or step, the greater the quantity of water pumped up. The water, in little streams, is made to run wherever desired. The low rice-fields are usually kept flooded with ^{p.054} water one or two months before and after the rice-plants are transplanted. The endless chain-pumps are very numerous in this section, and are of essential service in irrigating the land.

Between the Min and the city, on each side of the main street, are numerous artificial ponds, used as reservoirs of water for irrigating purposes and for raising fresh fish. They are not large, seldom occupying more than two or three acres of ground each. The eggs or spawn are obtained from Kiangsi, the province joining Fuhkien on the west. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

fish, when young, are fed on a very singular vegetable which grows on the surface of the water, and multiplies during the night-time with almost incredible rapidity. The large fish consume in immense quantities a certain long, coarse grass, which grows wild in wet places or by the margin of the ponds. This is thrown into the ponds, where the fish eat it at their pleasure. The water is drawn or pumped off generally once a year, and the fish, when the water becomes low, are caught by nets. At the last, when nets can not be used, men, women, and children ^{p.055} wade in the mud and mire, and pick out the balance of the fish, large and small. These fish-ponds are usually very profitable. In some years the animal freshet is so high as to overflow the ponds, when the fish escape, unless they are kept in by a kind of wicker-work made of bamboo splints, or by nets surrounding the ponds. Many fish at such times escape, notwithstanding all the precautions which can be used. Oftentimes large quantities of the rich mud found in the ponds when the water is drawn off are taken and spread on the neighboring fields as manure. The removal of the mud serves to make the ponds capable of holding more water and raising more fish.

In the suburbs on the south bank of the Min, duck eggs are hatched by artificial heat, early in the spring, in immense quantities. Ducklings only a few days old are hawked about the streets for sale. Large numbers are taken to the country, where they are tended in droves by boys and girls. Oftentimes a boat, with several hundred half-grown ducks, is propelled from spot to spot along the banks of the river, or the canals which intersect the valley in all directions. When the person in charge wishes to feed his ducks, he lets them out of the boat by means of a plank extending from its edge to the shore. The ducks are trained to walk the plank to and from the shore at the will of their keeper. The ducks thrive upon the small, living, nameless creatures which abound on the shores of creeks and canals, and which burrow in the mud, coming out at low water in immense numbers.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Fishing with cormorants

At full tide, the bridges across the Min at Fuhchau may often be seen crowded with men viewing the feats of the tame fishing cormorants. These birds look at a distance about the size of the goose, and are of a dark, dirty color. The fisherman who has charge of them stands upon a raft about two and a half feet wide, and fifteen or twenty feet long, made out of five large bamboos of similar size and shape, firmly fastened together. It is very light, and is propelled by a paddle. A basket is placed on it to contain the fish when caught. Each raft has three or four cormorants connected with it. When not fishing, they crouch down stupidly on the raft.

The fisherman, when he wishes to make a cormorant fish, pushes or throws it off the raft into the water. If it is not disposed at once to dive and seek for fish, he beats the water with his paddle, or sometimes strikes the bird, so that it is glad to dive and get out of his reach. When it has caught a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

fish it rises to the surface, holding it in its mouth, and apparently striving to swallow it. A string tied loosely around its neck, or a metallic ring, effectually prevents swallowing, except, perhaps, in the case of very small fish. It usually swims directly for the raft ; the fisherman, on seeing the prize, ^{p.057} paddles toward it with all speed, lest it should escape from the bird. Sometimes the fish is a large one, and there is evidently a struggle between it and the cormorant. The fisherman, when near enough, dexterously passes a net-like bag, fastened to the end of a pole, over the two, and draws them both on the raft. He then forces the fish from the grasp of the bird, and, as if to reward the latter for its success, gives it a mouthful of food, which it is enabled to swallow on his raising the ring from the lower part of its neck. The bird, if apparently tired out, is allowed to rest a while on the raft, and then it is pushed off again into the water, and made to dive and hunt for fish as before.

Sometimes the cormorant, from imperfect training, swims away from the raft with the fish it has caught. In such a case, the fisherman pursues and speedily overtakes the truant. Sometimes, it is reported, two or three cormorants assist in securing a large and powerful fish : Oftentimes two quarrel together for the fish one has taken, or one pursues the other for the fish in its mouth. At such times the interest of the spectators on the bridge increases to noisy shouting. The bird is provided with a sort of pouch or large throat, in which the small fish are entirely concealed, while the head or the tail of the larger fish protrudes from its mouth.

It is only at or near full tide that these birds are successful in catching fish under and near the bridges. Then the water is deep and comparatively still, and the fish seem to abound in the vicinity more than at low tide. At such times there are frequently several rafts with cormorants fishing near the bridges. The skill of the fisherman in propelling his craft, and the success of the bird in catching the fish, are attested by the delighted curiosity and animated interest of the spectators.

The fuel of the Chinese at Fuhchau is principally a kind of stunted fir or

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

pine. It is brought down the Min in boats, sawed into sticks about twenty inches long, and dope up in small bundles. Charcoal made out of hard wood is also brought down the river in large quantities. An inferior kind of stone coal is also procured here. The timber used in building houses and junks, a light and soft wood, somewhat resembles fir or pine. Several kinds of hard wood are used in ^{p.058} cabinet work. Among them is the camphor, but no maple, walnut, beech, or oak.

There are several kinds of vegetable oils in common use, but no mineral oil or gas. A good quality for burning is made out of pea-nuts. Another kind, simply called 'vegetable oil', is manufactured from the seeds of a vegetable having yellow flowers, much resembling, when in blossom and at a short distance, the common mustard. Another oil, by foreigners commonly, but incorrectly, called tea-oil, the best kind for burning in lamps, is made from the seeds or kernels which grow on a species of tree. These three kinds of oil are much used in cooking by the people, taking the place of butter or lard. Vegetable tallow is made from the seeds or kernels which grow in clusters on another kind of tree, called the tallow-tree. The seeds are gathered in the fall. This tallow is found in market in large cakes weighing fifty or sixty pounds, and looks much like animal tallow. The candles used in worshiping the spirits of deceased ancestors, and gods and goddesses, are all professedly made from this vegetable tallow, or some of the vegetable oils, hardened by white wax. This wax is a very hard substance, brought from the western or northwestern provinces. In cold weather, some of the vegetable tallow and some of the vegetable oils are mixed together in order to make candles. It is believed that the use of candles manufactured from the fat of the water-ox or buffalo would be offensive to the objects worshiped, because the buffalo is regarded as a meritorious animal. It is said, also, that the odor arising from the burning of candles made of animal fat would be repugnant to the gods. The milk of the buffalo is not used for making butter or cheese, nor as an article of food. This animal is raised solely for its invaluable services in plowing and harrowing the land. The butter made from its milk is white, and less palatable and rich than the fresh golden butter of Western countries.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Fuhchau does not contain any great and elaborate works of art. It has but few public buildings which foreigners regard as worth visiting, and these are mostly temples. The Prefectural Temple to Confucius, not far from the south gate, in the city ; the Emperor's Temple, near the west gate ; the Municipal Temple, not far from the centre of the city, and ^{p.059} near the Treasurer's Office ; the Tauist temple to the 'Pearly Emperor, Supreme Ruler', on the Hill of the Nine Genii, near the White Pagoda ; a new temple built by traders from the western part of the province, situated a short distance north of Great Temple Hill ; the Temple to the Goddess of Sailors, built by native merchants from Ningpo, in the suburbs on the south bank of the river ; and the celebrated Buddhist Monastery on Drum Mountain, are among those which repay a visit. In some of these are fine specimens of Chinese carving in stone, especially in the Temple to the Sailors' Goddess. Curiosity Street, a little to the west of the viceroy's yamun, is often visited by foreigners, where are a large number of shops which have for sale costly curiosities. Among those which foreigners value most highly are curious and fantastic objects cut out of roots of trees, and articles in bronze. A small quantity of lacquered-ware, of exquisite workmanship, and held at extremely high prices, is made at this place. Of late years, various curiosities or objects made out of a kind of soft stone, principally of a reddish color, commonly, though improperly, called soap-stone, are manufactured and sold to foreigners. Among these may be mentioned sets of dinner and fruit plates, miniature pagodas from one to several feet high, miniature honorary portals to the memory of virtuous widows, about two feet high, miniature graves of the horse-shoe or Omega pattern, and a large variety of vases. Some thirty or forty kinds of charcoal birds, of delicate workmanship, shaped and painted so as to represent living birds, have a ready sale among foreign visitors. Great skill is exhibited in making these birds out of charcoal : many of them look as natural as life. Outside of one of the gates on the northeast side of the city are a number of hot springs. Many Chinese resort thither to bathe for scrofulous affections. Private bathing-rooms near by are to be had for a few

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

cash. In one of the springs, which is walled up with stone, are frequently seen a dozen men crowded together, the water coming to their arm-pits. On Black Rock Hill, in the city, and on Great Temple Hill, in the southern suburbs, are altars to Heaven and Earth, where high mandarins are required to burn incense in honor of Heaven and Earth twice per annum, and where crowds assemble on the ninth day of the math month to fly kites. On ^{p.060} the altar on the Great Temple Hill is a stone, in appearance very much like common granite, said to have fallen down from the skies. It has several holes drilled on its upper surface, which are used to hold incense after it has been lighted in honor of Heaven and Earth by the high officials. If it is a meteoric stone, which is doubtful, its original shape has been changed more or less, for it is now nearly round, and has evidently been under the tools of the stone-cutter.

There are no asylums for the lunatic, the deaf and dumb, or for the blind, etc., at Fuhchau ; but, according to the wishes of the emperor, who is regarded as the father and mother of his subjects, the very destitute blind, poor and aged widows, and the crippled and the maimed who are without means of support, are entitled to a monthly stipend from the provincial treasury. Such is said to be the theory. In fact, however, of late years, owing to the emptiness of the treasury, and the squeezing customs which prevail in connection with the payment of money from the treasury, very little money actually reaches those whom the emperor would relieve and befriend. Much trouble and delay are experienced by those who desire to have their names recorded on the list of imperial beneficiaries. The clerks and the underlings of the yamen where they should apply have the reputation of treating applicants for this benefaction with such insult and cruelty that few nowadays apply for the purpose of having their names recorded there. In the summer of 1861 it was reported that over three hundred blind, crippled, and aged persons, in connection with a kind of poor-house located in the northern part of the city, received every one or two months five hundred cash each from government, and a smaller number received a less amount.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Very little machinery is used in the manufacture of articles. There are no saw-mills, nor printing-presses, nor factories where cloth is made. There are a few foundries where plow-shares and the common vessels for cooking are cast. Almost every thing is done by manual labor. Copper or iron wire is drawn by hand ; needles are made by hand out of wire ; logs are sawn into boards by cross-cut saws propelled back and forth in a horizontal direction by men ; the dust out of which incense is prepared, used in immense quantities annually, is ^{p.061} filed or rasped off from blocks of fragrant wood by hand. Paper, made out of the pulp of tender young bamboos, is manufactured by manual labor. Excepting some coarse kinds, the fine bamboo paper found in market here is prepared in the country, one and two hundred miles to the westward of Fuhchau. Iron nails, and brass or copper utensils, axes, chisels, etc., are beaten out by hand. Notwithstanding the uncouth and unpolished appearance their tools present when compared with tools from Western countries, many of them are of excellent quality.

The wages of the common people are low. Carpenters and masons obtain from twenty to thirty cents per day, boarding themselves. Hired men and women, who do coarse work in the fields or in houses as servants, generally receive from four to six dollars per month, and they board themselves. If their employers board them they get from one to three dollars per month. Clerks and accountants receive from ten to thirty dollars per annum, with their board. School-teachers often obtain only from thirty to sixty dollars, besides small presents from their pupils, per annum. Literary men who are poor, and who fail of acquiring government employment, are frequently glad to teach school at almost a nominal price. Food, clothing, and rents are cheap, and yet the poor of all classes and occupations are enabled to support themselves only by great industry and frugality.

Women who compress their feet, if poor, engage in various indoor employments to provide a living. Many of them are employed by needle

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

manufacturers to drill, file, polish, and sharpen needles. Others take in needle-work from clothing stores. Some are skillful in silk embroidery. A large number spend almost all their lives in pasting tin-foil upon bamboo paper for superstitious uses as mock money. The wages females receive for work done at their homes varies largely, owing to different degrees of skill and speed — from fifty cash to one hundred or one hundred and fifty per day, they boarding themselves.

Handbills, books, etc., are stereotyped on wood, and then printed by hand. An exact fac-simile of the sheet or the page desired is first made on very thin bamboo paper by the use of the hair pencil and black ink. This is then pasted, with the ^{p.062} written side down, on a smooth block of hard wood. The paper, or most of the paper, is now carefully rubbed off, having been moistened, leaving the characters and punctuation in black ink traced on the block. This is a process requiring considerable skill, lest the characters should be partially or wholly erased. The space taken up by the white portions of the block is cut out, an eighth of an inch deep, by small sharp knives, leaving the parts of the block occupied by black lines or dots. The printing from this block is performed by first slightly and evenly wetting the characters with Chinese printing-ink, by means of a damp brush, and then a sheet of paper, placed on the block, is pressed down on all its surface lightly and quickly by a dry brush passed to and fro several times. This sheet is then removed, and forms the handbill or a page of the book. Good printing requires experience, and care, and skill, or the block will be unevenly inked, in which case some of the characters on the page will be darker or blacker than others. If too much force is used, the paper will be torn by the passage of the dry brush over it. Chinese printing-ink is usually made out of common soot and the water in which rice has been boiled. Books never have stiff pasteboard or leather covers, but are stitched much like a tract or a pamphlet in Western lands. The beginning is at the right-hand side of the book, and the end comes where in an English book is the beginning. The characters are placed in columns, and read from top to bottom, beginning with the right-hand column and proceeding toward the left. The paper is printed only on one

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

side. The name of the book, the number of the section or chapter, and the paging, are put in the centre of the sheet, and come on the outer edge of the leaf, where the sheet is folded — not on the top of the leaf, as in Western books. The notes, if any, are placed on the top of the page, and separated from the text by a line — not at the foot of the page. The title-page usually contains the number of the year of the reign of the emperor when the book was published, marking its date ; e. g., if published in 1850, the title-page would have upon it characters which signify *30th year of Tau Kuang*.

The Chinese language is not alphabetical, nor does the acquisition of one character afford a reliable clew to the sound, p. 063 use, or meaning of another. It is principally monosyllabic. Each character represents an idea, or is the name of a thing. The characters are composed of a few different-shaped strokes, and are distinguished by the relative positions of these strokes. These strokes are not used in the composition of a character, as letters are used in the formation of an English word. The form of the characters is arbitrary, and the number of characters very great. A knowledge of three or four thousand is sufficient for the reading of most books. The pronunciation of the characters is difficult to foreigners, from the fact that certain tones of voice, and, in many cases, certain aspirated or guttural modulations, are necessary to be carefully observed. The tones may be illustrated thus : a character represented in English by the letters *s-i-n-g*, if pronounced in an even, level, and slow tone of voice, would mean *heart* ; another character, represented by the same English letters, with a tonal mark, if pronounced in a sharp, quick, and angry tone of voice, would mean *spirit* or *god*. The aspirated modulations referred to may be illustrated thus : a character represented in English by the letters *t-i-e-n-g*, if pronounced in an even and slow tone of voice, would mean *mad* or *crazy* ; another character, represented in English by the same letters, with a mark indicating that it should be *aspirated*, when pronounced in the same even and slow tone, but aspirated, would mean *heaven*. The printed or written language is intelligible to educated Chinese in all parts of the empire, just as the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., are understood all over Europe ; while the spoken language has many dialects, often differing widely from each other, so

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

that men living in different prefectures of the same province are oftentimes unable to understand each other unless they have made their dialects a particular study, just as the numerals above referred to are pronounced differently in different European countries. Besides the number of the dialects, many of the characters have several different meanings, according to the breathing or the tone with which they are pronounced, or the connection in which they occur in a printed or spoken sentence, just as the word *p-r-e-s-e-n-t* has two different meanings, according as it is a noun or a verb. Many characters, too, having precisely the same sound, are written differently, and are very different in signification, just as the words *rite*, *wright*, *right*, and *write* differ in meaning, though pronounced alike. Many of the characters or words, when pronounced according to the book or classical style, are different from the pronunciation given by the people in conversation : e. g., the character for voice, according to the classical style, is called *s-i-n-g*, but it becomes *s-i-a-n-g* in the dialect of the people.



Country scene near Fuhchau

@

1.CHAPTER II

Betrothal and marriage

@

Manner of Betrothal : p.065 Employment of Gobetweens, or Match-makers. — The eight Characters. — Fortune-teller consulted. — Description of betrothal Cards. — Betrothal consummated by exchanging these Cards. — Exchange of Presents. — Story relating to the Use of red Silk Threads. — Matches made in Heaven.

Customs observed between Betrothal and the Day of Marriage : Selection of lucky Days. — Wedding Cakes. — Mutual sending of Presents. — Bride's Outfit or Dowry. — 'Sifting four Eyes'. — Expelling the Filth. — Placing the bridal Bedstead in Position. — Trying on her wedding Garments. — Sending the bridal Sedan for the Bride.

Ceremonies observed on the Day of Marriage : The 'new Woman' at Breakfast. — The Bride in her Sedan. — The four Cakes and Bed-quilt. — Bridal Procession. — 'Receiving the Bride'. — Ceremonies on Arrival at her Husband's Home. — Bride and Bridegroom sit side by side. — Worshiping Heaven and Earth. — Worshiping ancestral Tablets. — Drinking Wine together. — Wedding Dinner. — Guests present Money. — Seeing the Bride in the Evening. — Candles in the bridal Chamber at Night.

Manner of Betrothal

@

Betrothal in China is a matter with which the parties most deeply concerned have generally little to do. Their parents or guardians manage their betrothal much in the following manner :

A person is employed as a gobetween, or match-maker between the families. The proverb says, 'Without a gobetween, a betrothal can not be effected'. This person may be either a man or a woman. Usually the gobetween engaged by the family which first makes the proposal is employed by both families in subsequent negotiations.

The negotiation is generally commenced by the family to which the boy or the young man belongs. The gobetween is furnished with a card stating the ancestral name, and the eight characters which denote the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the candidate for matrimony. This card he takes to the family indicated, and tenders a proposal of marriage in regard to a daughter in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

behalf of a son of the party employing him. ^{p.066} If the parents or guardians of the girl, after instituting inquiries about the family making it, are willing to entertain the proposal, they consult a fortune-teller, who decides, after considering the eight characters which indicate the time of the birth of the parties, whether the betrothal would be fitting and auspicious. If a favorable decision is made, the gobetween is furnished with a card indicating the hour, day, month, and year when the girl they are willing to betroth was born, which he delivers to the family which employed him. The parents of the lad then consult a fortune-teller in regard to the proposed betrothment, furnishing him with the characters which indicate the ages of the boy and the girl. If this fortune-teller pronounces favorably, and the two families agree in regard to the details of the marriage, a formal assent is made to the betrothment. If for the space of three days, while the betrothal is under consideration in each of the families, after the card having the eight characters has been received from the other family, any thing reckoned unlucky — such as breaking a bowl or the losing of an article — should occur, the negotiation would be broken off at once, and the card would be returned to the party which sent it. The card during this time is usually placed under the censer, standing in front of the ancestral tablets belonging to the family. When it is deposited there, incense and candles are lighted before these tablets.

As above intimated, the gobetween is sometimes instructed where to make application ; but in case he receives no definite instruction, he seeks out a family which he supposes will be acceptable to his employers. In such a case, he generally first makes inquiries of each family whether the other is acceptable, and then furnishes the family to which the girl belongs with the card relating to the age of the boy, should the proposed alliance be found mutually desirable. Singular as it may seem, families the most intimately acquainted and most friendly always employ a gobetween in the betrothment of their sons and daughters. On the other hand, families which previously were utter strangers are very frequently made acquainted by reputation, not necessarily in person, through the overtures of a gobetween for the betrothment of a son or daughter.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The betrothal is not binding on the parties until a kind of p.067 pasteboard card has been interchanged between them. This card resembles somewhat a book-cover, consisting of two pieces of pasteboard. One of these is made much like the cover of a pasteboard box, as far as its edges are concerned. The outside of it is covered with red paper. On this red paper is pasted a likeness of a dragon or a phœnix, according as it is designed for the boy or the girl, the dragon or the phœnix being made out of gilt paper. This cover-like piece of pasteboard shuts down on the other part. They are connected together by a paper pasted on one edge of both, somewhat as the two parts of a book-cover are fastened together. Their inner surfaces are covered over neatly by a piece of red paper.

The family of the bridegroom provides two of these cards, one having a gilt dragon on it and the other a gilt phœnix. On the inside of the former, the ancestral and given name of the boy's father, his own given name, and the characters which denote the precise time of his birth, the name of the gobetween, and a few other particulars, are neatly written. There are also provided two long and large threads of red silk and four large needles. Two of these needles are threaded upon one of the silk threads, one needle being at each end of the thread, and then the needles are stuck in a particular manner into the inside of that card on the outside of which is the image of a dragon. The other card left blank, the other two needles and the other red silk thread, together with the card already filled out with particulars relating to the family to which the lad belongs, and its needles and thread attached, are taken by the gobetween to the family to which the girl belongs. This card is then filled out with particulars relating to the family of the girl, corresponding to the particulars already recorded in the other. The thread and needles are also similarly stuck into the card having the phœnix on its outside. When this has been done it is sent back to the family of the boy, which carefully keeps it as evidence of his engagement in marriage ; the card having the dragon on it, and relating to the boy, being retained and preserved by the family of the girl as proof of her betrothal. The writing on each of these documents is performed in front of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

ancestral tablets of the family to which it relates, incense and candles having been lighted and placed in the customary positions before them.

p.068 These cards having been thus exchanged by the families, the betrothal is consummated and legal. After this, neither party may break the engagement without the gravest of reasons. Betrothal in China is much more permanent, and is far less likely to be broken up, than in England or the United States. Very few instances occur, when, both parties having arrived at a marriageable age, one refuses to carry out the contract.

At the time when the cards are sent to the family to which the girl belongs, it is also customary to send as a present for her a pair of silver or gold wristlets, and for her family various articles of food, as pigs' feet, a pair of fowls, two fish, etc. When they send back to the family to which the boy belongs the engagement card, they send also as a present a quantity of artificial gilt flowers, some vermicelli, and bread cakes. The flowers are for distribution among the female members and relatives of the family. The articles sent on these occasions as presents are, in the Chinese view, omens of good to the parties most intimately concerned.

The Chinese, in explaining the use of the red thread, refer to a popular story relating to certain events said to have transpired some time during the Tang dynasty. The story runs thus :

In the time of the Tang dynasty, Ui-ko was once a guest in the city of Sung. He observed an old man by the light of the moon reading a book, who addressed him thus :

— This is the register of the engagements in marriage for all the places under the heavens.

He also said to him,

— In my pocket I have red cords, with which I tie the feet of those who are to become husband and wife. When this cord has been tied, though the parties are of unfriendly families, or of different nations, it is impossible to change their destiny.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

— Your future wife, said the old man, is the child of the old woman who sells vegetables in yonder shop at the north.

In a few days Ui-ko went to see her, and found the old woman had in her arms a girl about a year old, and exceedingly ugly. He hired a man, who went and (as he supposed) killed the girl. Fourteen years afterward, in the country of Siong-chiu, was a prefect whose family-name was Mö, surnamed Tai, who gave Ui-ko in marriage a girl who he affirmed was his own ^{p.069} daughter. She was very beautiful. On her eyebrow she always wore an artificial flower. Ui-ko constantly asking her why she wore the flower, she at length said,

— I am the daughter of the prefect's brother. My father died in the City of Sung when I was but an infant. My nurse was an old woman who sold vegetables. One day she took me with her out into the streets, when a robber struck me. The scar of the wound is still left on my eyebrow.

The red silk thread indicates that the engagement of the parties in marriage is fixed and unalterable. In common parlance, it is said that *their feet have been tied together*, referring to the language found originally in the story above given. The Chinese seem to be firm believers in the sentiments that Fate or Heaven decides who are to become husband and wife, and that the act of parents in engaging their children is an exponent of the will of Heaven or of the decrees of Fate, corresponding to the Western saying that 'Matches are made in heaven'.

Some say that these threads are kept professedly for the purpose of tying together the goblets out of which the bride and bridegroom drink wine on the day of their marriage. Sometimes they are actually thus used on that occasion. More frequently, however, a new red cord or string is then used, and the old cords taken and put into the cue of the bridegroom, or worked into the shoes worn by the bride on the day of their marriage, as omens of good. The use of the large needles in betrothing parties is also auspicious. According to some, they serve to *draw the thread along*. It is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sagely asked, What is the use of a thread, unless there is a needle with which to use it ? When viewed in this light, the use of the needles is very manifest.

Customs observed between Betrothal and Day of Marriage

@

The time which transpires between betrothal and marriage varies from a month or two to eighteen or twenty years, depending much on the age of the parties. From one to three months before the marriage a fortunate day is selected for its celebration. Generally a member of the family of the bridegroom, or a trusty friend, takes the eight horary characters which denote the birth-time for each of the affianced parties, p.070 and for each of their parents, if living, to a fortune-teller, who selects lucky days and times for the marriage, for the cutting of the wedding garments, for the placing of the bridal bed in position, for the finishing of the curtains of the bridal bed, for the embroidering of the bridal pillows, and for the entering of the sedan, on the part of the bride, on the day of her marriage. These items are written out on a sheet of red paper, which is sent to the family of the girl by the hands of the gobetween. If accepted, the periods specified become the fixed times for the performance of the particulars indicated, and both parties proceed to make the necessary arrangements for the approaching wedding.

Presenting the wedding-cakes and material for bridal dress to the family of the bride by the other party is next in order. The relative time usually adopted for the performance of this custom is about one month before the day fixed for the marriage. The number of these 'cakes of ceremony', or wedding-cakes, varies from several score to several hundreds. They are round, and about an inch thick, weighing generally about one pound and ten or twelve ounces each, and measure nearly a foot in diameter. They

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

are made out of wheat flour, and contain in the middle some sugar, lard, and small pieces of fat pork, mixed together in a kind of batter, and then cooked : they are, in fact a sort of mince-pies. There is also sent a sum of money, of greater or less amount, according to previous agreement, a quantity of red cloth or silk, usually not less than five kinds, for the use of the bride, five kinds of dried fruits, several kinds of small cakes, a cock and a hen, and a gander and a goose. The top one of the various stacks of these wedding-cakes, as they are carried through the streets, has several small doll-like figures, made out of wheat flour, each a few inches high, and fastened upon slips of bamboo, stuck into it. The family of the girl, on receiving these wedding-cakes, proceed to distribute them among their relatives and intimate friends. The small cakes are also distributed in a similar manner. The money sent is generally spent in outfitting the bride.

The above description relates more particularly to the kind and amount of presents made by the poor and the lower classes of society. Rich families make much more valuable presents ^{p.071} than above indicated. These presents are carried through the streets in such a manner that they can be seen by every one. The rich present costly head-dresses, wristlets, and other ornaments worn by ladies. They add two jars of wine, on one of which is a picture of a dragon, and on the other a picture of the phœnix ; also a male and a female goat, ten or more pieces of silk, or satin, or crape, of five different kinds or colors. Presents of money are also sent for one of the bride's maternal uncles, and for one of her paternal uncles, if she have such relatives living. On some of these parcels, tastefully done up in red paper, are written propitious words or sentences.

At the time of sending these presents to the family of the bride, there are also sent two large red cards. On the outside of one there is a likeness of the dragon, and on the other a likeness of the phœnix. In the former are written the ancestral name of the bridegroom's parents, the name of the gobetween, and frequently a number of felicitous words and sentences. In the other there are written the ancestral name of the bride's parents, the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

name of the gobetween, and felicitous sentences.

The parents of the bride, or her guardians, receive only a part of the proffered presents, returning the balance, to which they add some articles for the parents of the bridegroom. They accept all the money, and all the silks and satins designed for the use of the girl, but only the male of each pair of animals, one of the jars of wine, and a part of the large cakes of ceremony and the small cakes, and such a proportion of the other things as custom requires. The rest of the things, as the female animals, a few of the cakes, etc., together with the card having the name of the bride's family, are returned to the other party. They send also a pair of large red candles, one having a dragon and the other a phoenix painted on it, a pair of large pewter candlesticks, two packages of white Chinese vermicelli, a pair of satin boots, a red official cap, and material for a kind of dress-coat, and a large quantity of artificial flowers, made out of velvet, or of pith paper generally known as 'rice paper'.

Many poor families do not make such expensive presents in return as above indicated, while many rich families make ^{p.072} much more valuable ones. Every family makes just as expensive presents as it can afford to make, on account of the strong popular desire to be showy and appear liberal.

The large cakes returned to the family of the groom are divided into four or eight pieces. One of these pieces is given to each family of near relatives or very intimate friends of the family of the groom, together with a little of the vermicelli, and one of the artificial flowers. This distribution of cakes among the relatives and friends of the parties is an intimation that a relative or child of a dear friend is soon to be married. These families may expect to receive at the proper time a formal invitation to the wedding.

A few days before the day fixed for the wedding, the family of the bridegroom again makes a present of various articles of food and other things to the family of the bride, as a cock and a hen, a leg and foot of a pig and of a goat, eight small cakes of bread, eight torches, three pairs of large

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

red candles, a quantity of vermicelli, and several bunches of fire-crackers. There is also sent a girdle, a head-dress, a silken covering for the head and face, and several articles of ready-made clothing, which are usually borrowed or rented for the occasion. These are to be worn by the bride on her entering the bridal sedan to be carried to the home of her husband on the morning of her marriage. The food, or a part of it, including the cock, is to be eaten by her on that morning. The fine-crackers are for explosion on the road, and the torches are for burning during the time occupied *en route* to her new home. On each of the eight bread-cakes is made a large red character in an ancient form of writing, of an auspicious meaning, as 'longevity', 'happiness', 'official emolument', and 'joy'; or certain four of them have four characters, meaning 'the phœnixes are singing in concert', or 'the ducks are seeking their mates'. Four of these bread-loaves are accepted; the remaining four and the hen, according to strict custom, are returned to the party which proffers them. The bread-cakes and the vermicelli are omens significant of good, owing to a play on the local round of the characters which denote them, or in consequence of the shape of the article. The vermicelli is significant of 'longevity', because of its length; and the four bread-cakes reserved by the family of the bride are kept for a ^{p.073} singular use, on the morning of the girl's entering her bridal chair.

Some two or three days before the time fixed for the wedding, a red card is sent by the family of the bride to the other party, stating what furniture will be furnished as the bride's dowry, and the number of loads. The person who takes this card — usually the gobetween — informs the family of the groom what time these things may be expected. The main object of this notification is said to be that the family of the bridegroom may prepare and have in readiness the proper amount of money, duly put in red paper, or tied around by a red string, for the bearers of the furniture. It is customary for this family to pay these bearers on arrival in money thus prepared; and, if not ready for them, confusion might arise on an occasion when it is desired that every thing should be pleasant and respectable. These bearers expect to receive several times as much on delivery of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

furniture, if the families concerned are wealthy, as their labor would on other occasions be worth.

Generally, on the afternoon or evening before the sending of the outfit, a very singular custom is observed by the bride, assisted by one or two women, who are employed to aid her for a few days before and subsequent to her marriage. This custom is called *sifting four eyes*, and is regarded as an omen of good. A large round sieve-like utensil, made out of bamboo splints, in diameter about three or four feet, is procured ; also a brass vessel, two or three feet in diameter and about one foot high, which is placed on a pedestal, raising it a short distance from the floor. After having placed in this vessel a quantity of burning coals, they take the wedding garments one by one, or in convenient quantities, and having laid them on this sieve, the women hold it, with its contents, for a moment or two over the vessel, with a slight sifting movement. They then remove this portion of her clothing from the sieve, and, taking another portion, they place it on the sieve and go through the same ceremony, and so on, until all of her outfit, as regards personal clothing, shoes, and head ornaments, has been properly sifted. Sometimes a similar ceremony is also performed with regard to the small articles of the household furniture which is designed for the bride's use in her future p.074 home. Those who hold the sieve during the sifting are continually uttering various sentiments, which have come to be considered as peculiarly appropriate to the occasion and propitious, as, '*a thousand eyes, ten thousand eyes we sift out ; gold and silver, wealth and precious things, we sift in*'. On the sieve, during this performance, are placed ten chopsticks. The meaning of this is, that though so much clothing and furniture shall have soon been given away with the girl, and thus have become the property of another family, still clothing and food will 'remain' to her parents. It is necessary to explain that, in order to come to this conclusion from the premises, advantage has to be taken of a play on the local name for chopsticks. According to the dialect spoken at Fuhchau, the name of '*chopsticks*', and the sound of a certain term for the idea of '*still remaining*', are exactly alike, though the characters for the two ideas of '*chopsticks*' and '*still remaining*' are very differently written.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Why this ceremony is called 'sifting four eyes', the Chinese differ greatly among themselves. Many seem to have no definite idea in regard to its meaning, though they affirm its prevalence. It is regarded as having a cleansing or purifying effect. In some way, evil and unpropitious influences are firmly believed to be expelled or warded off by the process of sifting the clothing of the expectant bride. After the articles have been sifted, contact with them is carefully avoided by the female members of her family. It is supposed that it would be especially unlucky for her and her affianced husband should any pregnant woman, or any person wearing mourning, handle, or in any manner come in contact with any of the articles already sifted before they are carried over to the future home of the girl. Such a contact would be expected to produce death in her husband's family, or a future miscarriage on her part, or quarrels and misunderstandings between him and her, or some undesirable result. Every thing sifted is carefully packed away, and great relief is experienced when the furniture and trunks of clothing have started for the residence of the bridegroom.

A ceremony similar to 'sifting four eyes', though called 'expelling the filth', is sometimes performed not long previous to the marriage day at the house of the bridegroom, ^{p.075} with reference to his personal apparel, especially his wedding suit, for the purpose of warding off any pernicious influences.

At the time indicated on the card, the dowry of the bride is carried in procession through the streets with as much parade and show as the amount of the furniture will possibly admit. Not unfrequently, when the parties are near neighbors, the procession of porters or bearers, instead of taking the shortest route from the residence of the bride to the residence of the groom, takes a circuitous route through the principal streets for the purpose of exhibiting the furniture. In the case of the rich, often a large amount of superior household furniture, as wardrobes, tables, chairs, trunks, coverlets or quilts, the exterior of which is silk or satin, and various less showy yet expensive articles, is thus carried in procession through the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

streets. The number of persons employed in transporting these things sometimes amounts to one hundred, or even more. Those who can afford the expense have some of the articles bound around or fastened to the carrying-poles with pieces of red silk, or red crape, or red cotton cloth. This is considered a great day for the families most especially concerned, and every thing connected with the procession is designed for display. Probably there is quite as much vanity and desire for show, in connection with a bridal outfit, among the Chinese as in Western lands.

This outfit is procured, in most cases, to a great extent, by means of the money which has been furnished the family of the bride by the family of the groom for that purpose. In the case of wealthy families, little dependence is actually placed on receiving money for this object, though valuable presents of money are always made to the family of the bride by the other party. The poor generally find it impossible, in marrying off a daughter, to be at much expense over and above the amount of money received from the family of their future son-in-law.

It is customary for friends and relatives of the bride's family, who have received 'cakes of ceremony', to make presents of materials for clothing, artificial flowers, or other ornaments for the head, to her family. These presents are designed to constitute a part of the bride's outfit.

Placing the bridal bedstead in the position where it is to stand is an important ceremony. When the day selected arrives, which is generally only a few days before the wedding, the bedstead is arranged in some convenient place in the bride's chamber, and then, for a considerable time, it must not be moved for fear of ill luck. This placing of the bedstead in position is attended with various superstitious acts. Five coins, belonging to the reigns of five different emperors, are usually scattered around on the bottom of the bedstead — that is, under the piece of matting with which such a bedstead is provided. Sometimes four other similar sets of coins are placed under the bedstead, one set being put near the foot of each bed-post. Five bunches of boiled rice, each consisting of five bundles, made in shape like a cone, from

Social life of the Chinese

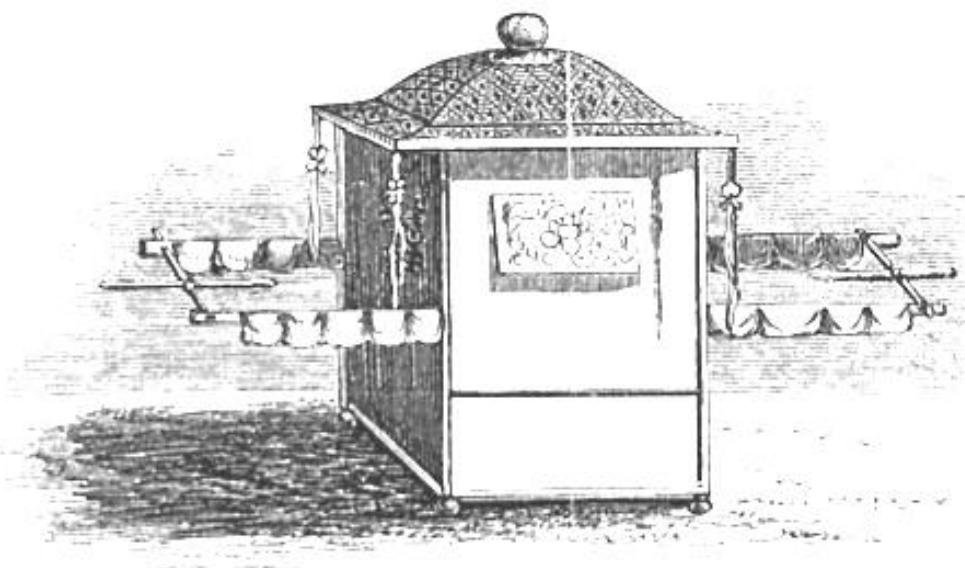
Vol. I

four to six inches in length, and done up in leaves and bound around with a red cotton string, are hung up from the frame provided for suspending the curtain of the bed. One of these bunches is larger than the others, and is hung up from the middle of the curtain frame, four smaller bunches being suspended at the four corners of it. The middle one is called the 'mother', and the four at the corners are called 'children'. Usually the middle conical rice pyramid in each of these five bunches is larger than the other pyramids of the bunch of which it is a part. In such a case, the middle one of each bunch is called the 'mother', and the smaller conical pyramids which are placed around it are called the 'children'. Five taros, one being large and four being small, are sometimes arranged on the floor under the bedstead and near each of its feet, the large one occupying the central position of each set. A square wooden vessel, neatly painted, and larger at the top than at its bottom, holding about a peck, is placed on the centre of the bedstead. The vessel is about half filled with uncooked rice. On the top of the rice is spread a sheet of red paper. On this paper is arranged a variety of articles, among which are ten pairs of chopsticks, a small brass mirror, a pair of shears, a foot measure, a small case containing money-scales, five kinds of dried fruits, a loose-skinned orange, (if in season) some fresh flowers, a glass lamp containing oil, and two candles, placed one near each of the front corners of the vessel. The lamp and the candles are lighted, and the vessel is left untouched on the bedstead until the candles and the oil ^{p.077} have burned out, after which it is removed. Care is taken that these lights are not extinguished by a draft of air or by accident, as such premature extinguishment would be surely regarded as an omen of evil to those who are expected to occupy the bed. The object of the performance of this nonsensical ceremony, as a whole, is to secure prosperity to the couple after their marriage, especially with regard to the bearing of children in their family in successive generations. The five cash of five successive emperors, etc., are good omens of such fruitfulness on the part of the expectant bride, or of general prosperity to the family. The light of the lamp and of the candles, although in broad daylight, is regarded as peculiarly efficacious in keeping away evil spirits.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Usually, the day before the wedding, the bride has her hair done up in the style of married women of her class in society, and tries on the clothes she is to wear in the sedan and for a time after she arrives at her future home on the morrow. This is an occasion of great interest to her family. Her parents invite their female relatives and friends to a feast at their house. The professed object of trying on the clothing is to see how the articles provided will fit, and to ascertain that every thing is ready, so that there may be no delay or confusion on the arrival of the hour when she is to take her seat in her sedan. While thus dressed (the thick veil designed to conceal her features on arrival at her husband's residence not now being worn), she proceeds to light incense before the ancestral tablets belonging to her father's family, and to worship them for the last time before her marriage. She also kneels down before her parents, her grandparents (if living), her uncles and aunts (if present), and worships them in much the same manner as she and her husband will on the morrow worship his parents and grandparents, and the ancestral tablets belonging to his family. On the occasion of the girl's trying on these clothes and worshiping the tablet and her parents, it is considered unpropitious that those of her female relatives and friends who are in mourning should be present.



Bridal sedan

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The bridal chair is selected by the family of the bridegroom, and sent to the residence of the bride generally on the afternoon preceding the wedding-day, attended by a band of music, some men carrying lighted torches, two carrying a pair of ^{p.078} large red lanterns, containing candles also lighted, and one having a large red umbrella, and one or two friends or other attendants. The bridal chair is always red, and is generally covered with broadcloth, or some rich expensive material. It is borne by four men, who wear caps having red tassels. The musicians, and all the persons employed in the procession, have similar caps. If the families of the bride and bridegroom are wealthy, the attendants are more numerous than above indicated, and are clothed in as good clothing as can be conveniently procured by them. The musicians occasionally play on their instruments along the road. On nearing the residence of the bride, the whole procession is brought into order. The house is reached while the band is playing briskly and every person is in his proper place, making as imposing an appearance as possible. Those who accompany the sedan are feasted at the expense of the family of the bride, and the musicians enliven the festivities of the occasion at intervals during the evening. They are provided with lodgings also by the family, so as to be ready for the duties of the following morning.

Ceremonies observed on the Day of Marriage

@

Very early on the morning of her marriage the bride or the 'new woman' arises, bathes, and dresses. While she is bathing the musicians are required to play. Her breakfast consists theoretically of the fowl, the vermicelli, etc., sent by the family of her affianced husband. In fact, however, she eats ^{p.079} and drinks very little of any thing on the morning or during the day of her wedding, according to the very singular, if not superstitious notions of this people, which it is not proper to detail. Her imaginary breakfast on these articles is regarded as an omen of good, and conducive to her long life in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

harmony with her husband. The outer garments, including the veil provided by her husband for the occasion, are richly embroidered with a likeness of the dragon. In ancient times a certain empress graciously granted the privilege of wearing such apparel to brides on the morning of their marriage, and also permitted them to be borne by four bearers, as well as to wear temporarily a very gaudy head-dress, worn generally by the wives of high officers.

When the precise time approaches for taking her seat in her sedan, usually between five and eight o'clock in the morning, previously fixed by the fortune-teller, her toilet is completed by one of her parents taking the thick veil and placing it over her head, completely covering her features from view. She is now led out of her room by one of her female assistants, and takes her seat in the sedan, which has been brought into the reception-room of the house. The floor from her room to the sedan is covered for the occasion with a kind of red carpeting, so that her feet may not touch the ground. She takes her place in the sedan amid the sound of fire-crackers and music by the band. The bride, her mother, and the various members of the family, are required by custom to indulge during this morning in hearty and protracted crying — oftentimes, no doubt, sincere and unaffected.

While seated in the sedan, but before she starts for her future home, her parents, or some members of her family, take a bed-quilt by its four corners, and, while holding it thus before the bridal chair, one of the bride's assistants tosses into the air, one by one, four bread-cakes, in such a manner that they will fall into the bed-quilt. These bread-cakes were received from the family of her husband at the same time as the cock and vermicelli were received. The woman during this ceremony is constantly repeating felicitous sentences, which are assented to by some others of the company. The quilt containing these cakes is gathered up and carried immediately to an adjoining room.

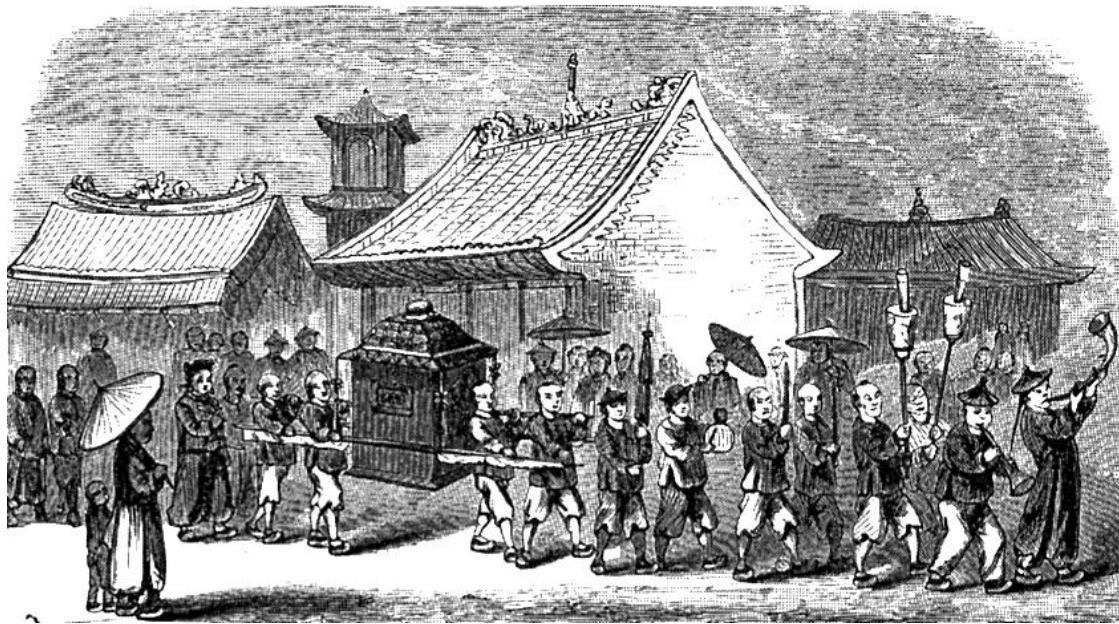
p.080 The object of this ceremony is explained to be to profit the family of the bride's parents, being an omen of good, which is in some manner

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

indicated to the Chinese apprehension by the quilt and the cakes being retained in the house — the local sound of the common term for 'bread', and a certain word meaning 'to warrant', 'to secure', being identical. Soon after this the bridal procession starts *en route* for the residence of the other party, amid explosions of fire-crackers and the music of the band.

In the front of the procession go two men carrying two large lighted lanterns, having the ancestral or family name of the groom cut in a large form out of red paper pasted upon them. Then come two men carrying similar lanterns, having the family name of the bride in a similar manner pasted on them. These belong to her family, and accompany her only a part of the way. Then comes a large red umbrella, followed by men carrying lighted torches, and by the band of music. Near the bridal chair are several brothers of the bride or friends



Part of a bridal procession *en route* to the house of the bridegroom on the wedding day.

of her family, and several friends or brothers of the groom. These latter are dispatched from the house of the groom early in the morning, for the purpose of meeting the bridal procession, and escorting the bride to her home. This deputation sometimes arrives at the house of the bride before she sets out on her journey, and, if so, it accompanies the procession all the way. About

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

midway between the homes of the bride and the groom the procession stops in the street, while the important ceremony of *receiving the bride* is formally transacted. The friends of the bride stand near each other, and at a little distance stand the friends of the groom. The former produce a large red card, having the ancestral name of the bride's family written on it ; the latter produce a similar card bearing the ancestral name of the groom. These they exchange, and each, seizing his own hands *à la Chinois*, bows toward the members of the other party. The two men in the front of the procession who carry the lanterns having the ancestral name of the groom now turn about, and, going between the sedan chair and the two men who carry the lanterns having the ancestral name of the bride, come back to their former position in the procession, having gone around the party which has the lanterns with the bride's ancestral ^{p.083} name attached. This latter party, while the other is thus encircling it, turns round in an opposite direction, and starts for the residence of the family of the bride, accompanied by that part of the escort which consisted of her brothers or the friends of her family. The rest of the procession now proceeds on its way to the residence of the bridegroom, the band playing a lively air. At intervals along the street fire-crackers are exploded. It is said that, from the precise time when the two parties carrying lanterns having the ancestral names of the two families attached separate from each other in the street, the name of the bride is changed into the name of her betrothed ; the lanterns having his name attached remaining in the procession, while those which have her (former) name are taken back to the residence of her father's family. From this time during the day she generally is in the midst of entire personal strangers, excepting her female assistants, who accompany the procession, and keep with her wherever she goes.

On arriving at the door of the bridegroom's house, firecrackers are let off in large quantities, and the band plays very vigorously. The torch-bearers, lantern-bearers, and the musicians stop near the door. The sedan is carried into the reception-room, and a sieve, such as was used in the ceremony of 'sifting four eyes', is put on the top of it, over its door. The floor, from the place where the sedan stops to the door of the bride's room, is covered with

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

red carpeting, lest her feet should touch the floor. A woman who has borne both male and female children, or, at least, male children, and who lives in harmonious subjection to her husband, approaches the door of the sedan, and utters various felicitous sentences. If she is in good pecuniary circumstances, and if her parents are living and of a learned family, so much the more fortunate. A boy six or eight years old, holding in his hands a brass mirror, with the reflecting surface turned from him and toward the chair, also comes near, and invites the bride to alight. At the same time, the married woman who has uttered propitious wards advances, as if to open the door of the sedan, when one of the female assistants of the bride, who accompanied the procession, steps forward and opens it. The married woman referred to, and the boy, are employed by the family of the ^{p.084} groom, and receive a small present for their services, which are considered quite important and ominous of good. The mirror held by the lad is expected to ward off all deadly or pernicious influences which may emanate from the sedan.

The bride is now aided by her female assistants to alight from the sedan. While being led toward the door of her room, the sieve which was placed over the door of the bridal chair on its arrival is sometimes held over her head, and sometimes it is placed directly in front of the door of the sedan, so that, on stepping out, she will step into it. During all this time the features of the bride, the observed of all observers, are entirely concealed by the thick covering put over her head by one of her parents at her parental residence.

The groom, on the approach of the bridal procession, disappears from the crowd of friends and relatives who have assembled at his residence on the happy occasion, and takes his position standing by the side of the bedstead, having his face turned toward the bed. When the bride enters the room, guided by her assistants, he turns around, and remains standing with his face turned from the bed. As soon as she has reached his side, both bridegroom and bride simultaneously seat themselves, side by side, on the edge of the bedstead. Oftentimes the groom manages to have a portion of the skirt of her dress come under him as he sits down by her, such a thing

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

being considered as a kind of omen that she will be submissive. Sometimes the bride is very careful, by a proper adjustment of her clothing at the moment of sitting down, not only to prevent the accomplishment of such an intention on his part, but also to sit down, if possible, in such a manner that some of his dress will come under her, thus manifesting her determination to preserve a proper independence, if not to being him actually to yield obedience to her will. After sitting thus in profound silence together for a few moments, the groom arises and leaves the room. Before going out, the assistants of the bride oftentimes request him to rub the feet of his bride a little, under the impression that, if he should comply, her feet will be prevented by that act from aching in the future !

The groom waits in the reception-room for the reappearance of his bride. The ceremony which they are soon to ^{p.085} perform is considered an essential part of the customs observed on the day of the marriage of heathen Chinese in this part of the empire, and doubtless, with some unimportant modifications, all over China.



Bride and bridegroom worshiping the tablets of the deceased ancestors.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The ceremony, as a whole, is called 'worshiping the temple'. A table is placed in the front part of the reception room. The table is said to be placed 'before heaven'. Two candlesticks, containing two large lighted candles, and a censer containing lighted incense, are put upon this table, the censer between the candlesticks. Among other things, there are also placed on it two miniature white cocks, made of sugar, five kinds of dried fruit, a bundle of chopsticks, a foot measure, a mirror, a pair of shears, and a case containing money-scales. Some or all of these are frequently placed on a platter made out of the wood of the willow-tree. Two ^{p.086} singularly-shaped goblets, sometimes connected together by a red silk or red cotton cord several feet long, are also put upon the table. When every thing is ready, the bride is led out of her room, and takes her place by the table on the right side of the groom. *The faces of both parties are turned toward the table* — that is, toward the open light of the heavens. At certain signals from one of the female assistants of the bride, who is aided to do her part by these women, both parties kneel down four times, each time bowing their heads toward the earth once in profound silence. They then rise to their feet and change places, the bride standing on the left of the bride-groom. They now kneel down four times, bowing their heads as before. This portion of the ceremony is called 'worshiping heaven and earth'. They then turn around, so that their faces are *toward the inner or back side of the room*, instead of toward the front or outside, as before, the bride being on the right side of her husband. The ancestral tablets having been previously placed on a table in the back side of the room, and candles and incense having been lighted and arranged near them in the customary way, the bridegroom and bride now bow down and worship these tablets eight times, according to the manner after which they have just 'worshiped heaven and earth'¹. They again resume their original relative positions, differing only in that *they face each other*, and do not stand side by side. Separated from each other by only a few feet, they now kneel down four times again, and bow their heads once each time toward the

¹ This worship of the tablets is sometimes omitted on the first day of the festivities, especially in cases where the wedding ceremonies are not all crowded into one day.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

ground. After this they rise to their feet, and remain standing in silence, while they are helped to the wedding wine. One of the female assistants takes the two goblets, which sometimes are said to be tied together by a red cord, from the table, and, having partially filled them with a mixture of wine and honey, she pours some of their contents from one into the other, back and forth several times. She then holds one to the mouth of the groom, and the other to the mouth of the bride, who continue to face each other, and who then sip a little of the wine. She then changes the goblets, and the bride sips out of the one just used ^{p.087} by the groom, and the groom sips out of the one just used



Bride and bridegroom drinking samshu together

by the bride, the goblets oftentimes remaining tied together. Sometimes she uses only one goblet in giving the wine. She then places the goblets on the table, and proceeds to break off a bit of the sugar cocks and give to the bridegroom and to the bride ; perhaps also a few of the five kinds of fruit which have been provided is handed to them. After this the groom usually takes the bunch of chopsticks in one hand and the long case which contains the money-scales in the other, and makes a pretense of raising up by their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

means the thick covering which conceals the head and face of his bride from his view. It is only a pretense, and he returns the chopsticks and the money-scales to the place whence he took them. This usually concludes the ceremony. The lighted candles are taken by the married woman who addressed the bride with propitious ^{p.088} language on her arrival and carried into the bride's room, whither the groom accompanies his bride, but immediately returns to the public room, while she remains attended by her assistants to dress for dinner.

All of the articles of food and of family use placed on the table during the performance of this ceremony are, according to the Chinese stand-point, omens of harmony and of prosperity. Eating from the same sugar cock, and drinking wine from the same goblets, are symbolical of union in sharing their lot in life. It is eminently desirable that every thing connected with this part of the marriage festivities should be conducted with proper decorum and order.

Until this time the bride has worn the heavy embroidered outside garment, head-dress, etc., which she had on when she entered her sedan. These are now removed. She has her hair carefully combed in the style of her class in society, and she is arrayed in her own wedding garments. Sometimes her hair is gorgeously decked out with pearls and gems, true or false, according to the ability of the family to purchase, rent, or borrow.

When her toilet has been completed, and every thing has been made ready, the bride and bridegroom sit down in her room to their wedding dinner. He now, oftentimes for the first time in his life, and always for the first time on his marriage day, beholds the features of his wife. He may eat to his fill of the good things provided on the occasion, but she, according to established custom, may not take a particle. She must sit in silence, dignified and composed. The door being left open, the invited guests, and the parents of the groom and his relatives, improve the opportunity to scan the bride and observe her deportment.

Several times during the day, if living conveniently near, the family of the bride send some refreshments for her to eat. This is received with

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

thanks, and the bearer rewarded with a small present. Custom does not allow her to partake of this refreshment from her parents, but demands its being sent and received.



Bride and bridegroom taking their wedding dinner

Some time during the afternoon the male guests sit down to their dinner around tables which accommodate eight persons, the seat of each being determined according to the nice ^{p.089} rules of Chinese etiquette. A curious custom prevails here, according to which every invited guest is expected to make a present in money to the family of the bridegroom. This should be sent in to the family the day before the wedding, though sometimes it is brought by the guest himself when he comes to the feast. The amount of the present is entirely optional, and varies from a few hundred cash to fifteen or twenty dollars, according to the wealth of the guest and the nearness of relationship. Even should the formal invitation not be complied with, the person invited remaining away, the present is nevertheless expected, and it would be disreputable not to give it. These presents in ready money help considerably to defray the expenses of the occasion.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

According to another established custom here, except in the p.090 case of marriages in the families of officers and the gentry, neighbors, uninvited friends, or even perfect strangers to the parties, if they please, are allowed to come in and see the bride during the evening of the day of her marriage. This is a very trying ordeal for her, as she may not refuse to be seen by them, nor absent herself from the gaze of the public. She is obliged to stand while a company of spectators observes her appearance and criticises her deportment. They indulge oftentimes in great liberty of remark about her, which she must hear with composure. She must conduct herself with decorum, neither laughing, nor becoming angry, nor engaging in conversation with any but her assistants, who attend her constantly, and aid her in walking and standing, presenting a placid and unmoved countenance, notwithstanding the witty jokes or the coarse impertinences of the spectators. What at other times would be lively to be regarded as insulting and highly indecent, must be passed over as though she heard it not. Should she allow herself to laugh, or should she forget herself enough to manifest anger, it would be a source of annoyance and of regret. Her husband generally absents himself from the public room during this evening. It not unfrequently occurs that some of his intimate friends or neighbors stay very late, refusing to depart unless he pledges them a considerable sum of money with which to pay the expenses of a feast on the following day.

The large candles which were transferred to the bride's room from the reception-room at the close of the ceremony of 'worshiping heaven and earth', are permitted to burn all day and unto the evening, if they will. As it is eminently desirable that candles should be burned all the night long in the bridal chamber, these are usually, during the evening, exchanged for another pair, which it is calculated will last until the following morning. These are two feet long, more or less, and of a bright red color. Usually on one is made, in a lively yellow color, a picture of a dragon, by the use of gold leaf, or of a liquid preparation called 'gold oil'; and on the other the picture of a phœnix, representing respectively the groom and his bride.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Sometimes auspicious characters or phrases are written on the candles. These, lighted on the evening of the wedding, and arranged on the table in the bride's room, are ^{p.091} desired to burn during the whole night, and as much longer as they will last. It would be considered very unlucky should they be extinguished by accident. Should one or both of them go out during the night, such an event would indicate the premature and untimely death of one or both of the parties. The material of the candles should not melt and trickle down the sides. This is regarded as a bad omen, the trickling down of the material being thought to resemble the flowing of tears down the cheeks, and betokens, on wedding occasions, that there will be much sorrow in the family of the newly-married couple, or that they will not live happily together. If the candles should burn out about the same time, it is supposed that the couple will die about the same period in the future ; and should one burn much longer than the other, it is inferred that one will long survive the other.

@

1.CHAPTER III

BETROTRAL AND MARRIAGE

continued

@

Customs observed subsequent to the Wedding-day : p.092 'Coming out of the Room'. — Worship of the God of the Kitchen. — On the third Day they visit the Bride's Parents. — Use of a Charm to ward off Evil Spirits from the Bride. — Worship of her Family's ancestral Tablets. — Presents from her Mother at the End of a Month. — Presents between the Groom and his Parents-in-law. — Frequent Use of Incense and Candles.

Miscellaneous Practices and Sentiments relating to Betrothal and Marriage : A 'little Bride'. — Betrothal of unborn Children. — Marriages of People of the same Surname interdicted. — Bridegroom living in his Father-in-law's Family. — 'Marrying the Wearer of a white Skirt'. — Marrying within a hundred Days after the Death of a Parent. — 'Asking for her Shoes'. — 'Broken Thread'. — Bridal Procession in White. — Urging on the Marriage. — Kidnapping the Bride. — Breaking up the Betrothment. — Seven Reasons for Divorcing a Wife. — Three Reasons why a Wife may not be Divorced. — Marrying the Wife of a living Man. — Inferior Wives. — Chinese Sutteeism by Hanging. — Honorary Portals in Memory of virtuous and filial Widows.

Customs observed subsequent to the Wedding-day

@

The wedding festivities generally last at least two days. The first day the male friends and relatives of the groom are invited to '*shed their light*' on the occasion. On the second day the female friends and relatives of the family of the groom are invited to the wedding feast. This is often called the 'women's day'.

Not long after the family and guests have breakfasted on the morning of the second day, the newly-married couple, amid the noise of fire-crackers, come out of their room together for the purpose of worshiping the ancestral tablets belonging to the household, the grandparents, and parents of the groom. This custom is known by the name of '*coming out of the room*'. In case of those families who devote only one day to the marriage festivities and ceremonies, this custom is observed on the afternoon of the first day.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The tablets of the family are arranged on a table standing ^{p.093} in the back part of the reception-room, or in a niche placed on the table. Incense and candles, arranged, according to custom, near the tablets, having been lighted, the bridegroom and his bride kneel down three or four times before the tablets, the wife being on the right-hand side of her husband. While on their knees, at each kneeling, they bow their heads down toward the ground once. On rising to their feet they change places, the bride standing on the left hand of her husband, and then kneel down three or four times again, and bow their heads as before, in front of and toward the tablets. They now arise, and two chairs are placed before the table which contains the incense, candles, and tablets. If the paternal grandparents of the groom are living and present, they take their seats in the chairs, the grandmother being on the right hand of the grandfather, with their faces turned away from the table, or toward the front part of the room. In case either has deceased, the tablet which represents that person is placed in the chair which he or she would have occupied if living. The bridegroom and bride advance, and kneel down three or four times before them, bowing their heads toward the ground, as in worshiping the tablets. They then arise, and, having changed positions, the bride taking the place which had been occupied by the groom, kneel down and bow again three or four times. The parents of the groom then take their seats in the chairs, and the ceremony of kneeling and bowing before them is repeated, in like manner, the customary number of times. While the bride is on her knees her new mother usually arranges some costly ornaments in her hair, as gold or pearls, or gives her some valuable finger-rings, if able to afford the expense of such ; or, if poor, she presents her with such head ornaments as she can afford. The women who assist the bride in performing these ceremonies improve the opportunity to offer tea to her parents at this period, and are rewarded for their attentions with a present of money on the spot. In case either parent is dead, the ancestral tablet for that person is placed in the chair, as in the supposed case of one of the grandparents having deceased. The paternal and maternal uncles and aunts of the groom, if present, in the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

order of their rank, now take their turns of being worshiped by the couple. Oftentimes these relatives will not sit, but ^{p.094} contest themselves to stand during the worshiping rendered them. Standing on these occasions is regarded as a mark of humility. Kneeling and bowing, before a change of position on the part of the couple, is performed either three or four times, according to the option of the family of the bridegroom, on the occasion of 'coming out of the room'; although custom has made it incumbent on them always to kneel and bow four times before changing their positions while 'worshiping heaven and earth'; *three*, being an odd number, is regarded as inauspicious by some.

Not long subsequent to the ceremony of 'coming out of the room', the couple proceed to the kitchen for the purpose of worshiping the god and goddess of the kitchen. This is performed with great decorum, and is regarded as an important and essential part of marriage solemnities. Incense and candles are lighted, and arranged on a table placed before the picture or the writing which represents these divinities, plastered upon the wall of the kitchen. Before this table the bridegroom and his bride kneel down, side by side, and bow in worship of the god and goddess of the kitchen. It is believed that they will thus propitiate their good-will, and especially that the bride, in attempting culinary operations, will succeed better in consequence of paying early and respectful attentions to these divinities.

On the third day the parents of the bride send an invitation to their son-in-law and his wife to visit them. With this invitation they send sedans for them. The card is usually brought by her brothers, if she has any of the proper age, or by relatives having her own ancestral name. Until this morning, since she left her former home, two days previous, the bride has seen none of her own family, and generally none of her own relatives or acquaintances. She and her husband now receive the congratulations and compliments of her brothers or other relatives, and prepare to visit her parents. The bride enters her sedan first, and proceeds a short distance in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

front of her husband. They do not start together, nor is it proper that they should arrive at the house of her parents at the same time. The chair provided for the bride on this occasion is a common black sedan in all respects, except that its screen in front has a certain charm painted upon the outside. p.095

Charm to ward off spirits from a bride



This charm is the picture of a grim-looking man, sitting on a tiger, with one of his hands raised up, holding a sword, as if in the act of striking, representing a certain ruler of elves, hobgoblins, etc. The object of its use on the occasion of a bride's returning to her parents' house, on the third day after her marriage, is to keep off evil and unpropitious influences from her. It is said that, in former times, whenever a new bride in her chair passed by a certain place, evil spirits would invariably approach and injure her, causing her to be sick. The great magician (represented by the individual on the tiger, and brandishing a sword), who is the head of a class of Taoist priests, on being invited to destroy these evil spirits, or counteract their pernicious influences, exerted his great powers, and actually accomplished the object. In commemoration of this signal blessing to brides in particular and to mankind in general, and in order to secure immunity from these depraved spirits to future brides in other parts of the empire, the happy device of making a picture of this magician, and of placing it on the screen of the sedans they occupy on going to see their mothers on the third day after the marriage, was adopted. Judging from the universality of the use of this screen on such an occasion at the present time in this part of China, such an expedient to ward off unpropitious influences must be immensely advantageous! Such a charm is also sometimes found on the red bridal sedans used on the day of wedding.

On arrival at her paternal home, the bride's sedan is carried into the reception-room, and she alights amid the noise of fire-crackers. The sedan

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

which contains the son-in-law stops a few rods from his father-in-law's residence, where he is met by one of his brothers-in-law, or some relative or friend deputed to meet and conduct him into the house. The two parties, p.096 standing in the street, respectfully shake their own hands toward each other on meeting, according to the approved fashion. The newly-arrived is now invited to enter the house. He is seated in the reception-room, where he is treated successively to three cups of tea and three pipes of tobacco. Afterward he is invited to go and see his mother-in-law in her room, where he finds his wife. There he sits a while, and visits after a stereotyped manner, being careful to use only good or propitious words, avoiding every subject and phrase which, according to the notions of this people, are unlucky. He is soon invited into the reception-room, where he is joined by his wife. Every thing being arranged, the husband and wife proceed to worship the ancestral tablets of her family, her grandparents and her parents, if living and present, very much in the way they worshiped, on the preceding day, the tablets of his family, his grandparents and parents. At the conclusion of this ceremony the bride retires to her mother's apartments, or to some back room, where she and the female relatives present are feasted. Her husband is invited to partake of some refreshments in the reception-room, in doing which he is joined by his bride's brothers, or some others of her family relatives. According to the rules of etiquette, he must eat but very little, however hungry he may be. The usual phrase employed in speaking of it is that he eats part of 'three bowls of vegetables', after which he declines to receive any thing more, under the plea that he has eaten enough. He soon takes his departure in his sedan, leaving his bride to follow by herself by-and-by, accompanied usually only by a servant or female friend.

It is a common custom, on the morning of the tenth day after her marriage, for the parents of the bride to send an invitation for her to spend the day with them. If accepted, she goes and returns unattended by her husband. At the end of a month, should they again invite her, she usually goes and visits with her parents, and brothers and sisters, for a few

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

consecutive days, spending the nights there. Her husband calls upon them during this visit perhaps once or twice in the daytime, but is careful neither to go there with his wife nor return home with her. Husbands are never seen with their wives in public.

p.097 At the expiration of a month after marriage, the bride expects to receive a present from her parents, consisting, in part, of the following articles : an image of the Goddess of Mercy, universally worshiped by married women, and a portable niche to put it in ; a censer to contain incense while consuming ; a pair of candlesticks, to hold candles while she is worshiping ; a fan ; two flower vases ; artificial flowers ; and cosmetics.

After the first year of his marriage, the bridegroom is expected every year to make presents of a pig's foot, vermicelli, wine, and large red candles, with, perhaps, some money, to his father and mother-in-law, on the occurrences of their birthdays, at the festivals which take place during the fifth month, the eighth month ; and at the winter solstice, and at new year's. During the first year of his married life, it is customary for his parents-in-law to make *him* more or less presents like the above, at the times of the great festivals, and especially at new year's day.

At various times between the periods of betrothal and of marriage, three incense sticks and a brace of candles are lighted and burned before the ancestral tablets of the families to which the affianced parties belong, for the purpose of informing their ancestors of what is being transacted on earth relating to the betrothment and marriage of their living descendants. When any thing is done especially relating to this subject, such a practice is observed by some one in the two families interested. This person, when adding fresh incense to the censer on such occasions, usually clasps it, already lighted, in his hands, kneels down, and bows three times before these tablets ; and then, while on his knees or rising to his feet, having elevated the incense as high as his head or higher, places it in the censer with a reverent air in profound silence. Some, however, do not kneel previous to placing incense in the censer. Oftentimes, in connection with

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

this burning of incense and candles, a quantity of mock-money is also burned for the benefit of the dead ancestors. My attention has been frequently arrested by the *amount of sinful superstition which pervades the customs and ceremonies relating to betrothal and marriage among the Chinese*. The careful and serious-minded reader will not have failed to notice this feature while perusing the details relating to this subject.

How many temptations to sin do the native Christians have to struggle against, growing out of the established social customs of their countrymen ! How much do they need the warm sympathy, the wise advice, and ardent prayers of other Christians !

Miscellaneous Practices and Sentiments relating to Betrothal and Marriage

@

Some of these practices and sentiments will be found as strange and opposed to the practices and sentiments common in civilized Western nations as any which have been described.

When a girl is born in a poor family, which it feels unable or is unwilling to rear, she is often given away or sold when but a few weeks or months old, or one or two years old, to be the future wife of a son in the family of a friend or relative which has a little son not betrothed in marriage.. Generally a small present is proffered by the family to which the boy belongs, as a pair of ducks or of geese, a pair of fowls, and a few pounds of vermicelli, as omens of good. Of the animals, the male is usually received by the girl's parents, and the others returned to the boy's parents. A match-maker is employed, and a formal engagement is made out, as in the case of boys and girls more advanced in age. The girl is called a 'little bride', and is taken home, and brought up in the family together with her future husband. When of marriageable age, and the family can afford the little additional expense, she is married to her affianced on a fortunate day, which has been selected by a fortune-teller. Friends are invited and a feast

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

is made. No bridal cakes are distributed among her relatives, and no red bridal chair is used, because she is living in the family of her husband.

Occasionally, in the case of families very intimate and friendly, an engagement in marriage between unborn children is entered into by those who expect soon to become mothers, turning only on the circumstance that the children are of different sexes. If both should prove to be girls, or both boys, the conditional engagement goes for nothing. Generally, before the birth of the children, something valuable, as a head-dress, or rings for the wrists, are exchanged by the families, as proof ^{p.099} of the betrothal. After their birth, should the children prove to be a boy and a girl, a gobetween is employed, and the betrothal papers are made out and exchanged in the usual way.

Males and females of the same family surname never intermarry in China. Cousins who have not the same ancestral names may intermarry — that is, children of sisters, or of a brother and of a sister, but not children of brothers. The Chinese say that marriages among those of the same ancestral name would 'confound the human relations', just as though incest had any thing to do with the names of individuals, and not the degree or nearness of blood relationship. No matter how remote the relation between parties having the same ancestral name, and no matter if they be from distant provinces, and their ancestors have not known each other for hundreds or even thousands of years, they may not marry. This fact relating to the Chinese might be adduced to aid in giving an answer to the question, '*What is in a name ?*' The same principle carried out at the West would result in different families of 'Smiths' never intermarrying, however remote their blood relationship might be.

It not unfrequently occurs that a rich family, having only one daughter and no boys, desires to obtain a son-in-law who shall be willing to marry the girl and live in the family as son. Sometimes a notice is seen posted up, stating the desire of a certain man to find a son-in-law and heir who will come and live with him, perhaps stating the age and qualifications of an

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

acceptable person. In such a case, the parents of those who have a son whose qualifications might warrant such an application, and whom they would be willing to allow to marry on such terms, are expected to make application by a gobetween, when the matter would be considered by the rich man. Sometimes the rich man makes application by a gobetween to the parents of a young man whose reputation he is pleased with, and who perhaps may be a recent graduate, his name standing near the head of the list of successful competitors of the first or second literary degree. Occasionally such graduates, if unengaged and unmarried, cause a notice of the fact of their being unengaged in marriage and their place of residence to be pasted up directly under their names, as they appear on the list when placarded in public, just after the successful ^{p.100} competitors have been fixed upon by the examining officials. The object of thus publishing the fact is, to afford an opportunity for those rich families who have unmarried and unengaged daughters to select them for their sons-in-law, hoping to receive a large sum of money besides a wife. He who agrees to go and live with his father-in-law, sometimes agrees also, at the time of marriage, to take the ancestral name of his father-in-law, and regard himself as his son. Only a poor family will allow a talented and literary son to ignore his own family name in this way. On the day of marriage he is carried in a black sedan, decked off with some pieces of scarlet silk on the outside, to the residence of his father-in-law, where he and his bride perform the worship of 'heaven and earth', of the ancestral tablets of her family, etc., in accordance with the established customs relating to wedding occasions. While, perhaps, there is not any disgrace in obtaining a wife in this way, and becoming the heir of a rich family at the loss of one's ancestral name, the opportunity is not coveted as much as the opportunity of obtaining a wife and a valuable present in money from a rich man with the privilege of retaining one's own ancestral name. Some wealthy men are glad to bestow one of their daughters, and a valuable dowry besides, on graduates, for the honor of having a literary son-in-law who has the prospect of becoming a mandarin.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Widows are obliged by custom to wear a white, black, or blue skirt, when they wear any skirt at all. They are not allowed to dress in a red and gaudy skirt, as though they were married and their husbands were living. Hence the expression, '*marrying the wearer of a white skirt*', applied to a man who marries a widow. Poor families sometimes arrange to marry one of their sons to a widow, when they feel themselves unable to procure a girl of good character on account of the necessary expense incurred in such a case. The expense attendant on marrying a widow is comparatively small. It is considered a disgrace to a family for one of its sons to marry a widow, no matter how intelligent, interesting, and handsome she may be, as well as a disgraceful or shameful step on the part of the widow to consent to marry again. No rich and fashionable family ever marries a son to a widow. A widow is not allowed to ride in a red bridal chair *en route* from her ^{p.101} residence to the residence of her intended husband. She must employ a common black-covered chair, borne by two men. Many families, which have a widow connected with them, are exceedingly unwilling that she should marry again on account of the dishonor which such a procedure would bring upon them, and especially upon the memory of her deceased husband. Generally his relatives, if in good circumstances, prefer to assist in her support, or support her entirely, than that she should marry the second time. Sometimes, however, when they are unkind to her, she tries to marry clandestinely, if she is assured they will not give their consent and assistance in finding her a second husband. A case occurred in this city in the fall of 1861, when a widow, who was not kindly treated by her husband's family, by practicing deceit succeeded in engaging herself to a man without their knowledge, by the means of a gobetween. It was arranged that she should start from the gobetween's house. She was on the point of starting for her intended's house, when her deceased husband's friends, having ascertained the facts, came in time to prevent her second marriage, after a spirited struggle with the friends of the man to whom she had clandestinely engaged herself. This engagement was regarded as improper and unlawful, because the elders of her deceased

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

husband's family were not cognizant of it nor a party to it.

For a person to enter the married state under three years, or, more correctly speaking, under twenty-seven months, subsequent to the death of one of his or her parents, is contrary to the law of the empire. Still, in point of fact, some marry inside of a hundred days after the death of a parent, in case that there is an urgent need of the services of a female in the family. Custom, which in China is oftentimes more carefully followed than the letter of the law, now allows in this place such marrying in the case of the common people, although the law, strictly interpreted, forbids it. Such a marriage in an officer's family would not be tolerated. No one prosecutes if the common people marry within a hundred days after the death of one of the parents of the parties. The badges of mourning, which would otherwise be worn by the family, are left off for several days subsequent to the wedding-day, during the festivities, after which they are resumed and worn for the prescribed period.

p.102 Oftentimes, when the girl dies before the wedding-day arrives, especially if nearly or quite of marriageable age, a custom called '*asking for her shoes*' is observed. Her affianced husband goes in person to the residence of her parents, and with weeping approaches the coffin which contains her corpse. He soon after demands a pair of the shoes which she has recently worn. These he carries home, having these lighted sticks of incense in his hands, as he walks or is borne through the streets. At the corners of the streets, *en route* to his residence, should there be any, he calls out her name, and invites her to follow. On arriving at his own home he informs her of the fact. The incense he brought with him he puts in a censer. He arranges a table in a convenient room, and places behind it a chair. The shoes of the deceased girl are placed on the chair, or under it. The censer containing the incense brought from her parents' residence is placed upon the table, together with a pair of lighted candles. Here he causes incense to be burned for two years, when a tablet to her memory is placed in the niche containing the ancestral tablets of his family. By all this

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

he acknowledges her as his wife. Should he not take this course, on the death of the girl whom he expected to marry, her parents and family friends would be displeased.

When a girl has been betrothed, but her affianced dies before their marriage, the term '*broken thread*' is used in speaking of the matter, just as though the feet of the parties had been tied together by a thread, which had become broken. Such language refers to the popular story already related concerning the fated betrothalment of parties in marriage. Her parents often endeavor to keep the fact of the death of her betrothed from coming to her knowledge. They are generally very anxious to engage her as soon as convenient to another person, concealing the circumstance of her former betrothal, if possible, from the family among whose sons they hope to find a husband for her. Should it become known, many families would decline to engage one of their boys to her, the death of her betrothed being regarded as an inauspicious event. Some families, however, would not strongly object to engaging a son to her, though they might expect to obtain her for a daughter-in-law on more favorable terms than they would a girl of the same age who had never been engaged.

p.103 It oftentimes occurs that the parents do not succeed in keeping from their daughter a knowledge of the fact that her affianced husband has died. Most girls, in such a case, are quite willing to be engaged in marriage to another person, and therefore make no opposition or trouble ; but some steadfastly oppose any rebetrothal, and demand to be permitted to go over to the family of her affianced husband's parents, and live with them as his widow. If she can not be persuaded to desist from this plan, the families concerned are obliged to make the necessary preparations, providing furniture and clothing as though her husband was living. When every thing is ready, the procession of men, carrying her outfit of furniture, etc., proceeds through the streets to the residence of the deceased. The furniture, however, must have white strips of paper pasted on it, or it must be bound around with pieces of white cloth. The bridal procession is also

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

different from what it would have been had her affianced been living. Though she is preceded by a band of music, and by men bearing lanterns, and though she is dressed in red clothing, she may not ride in a red bridal chair with four bearers, but in a common black or blue sedan. On arriving at the house where the parents of her betrothed reside, she proceeds to worship heaven and earth, and the ancestral tablets of his family. She then puts on mourning apparel, and goes to the side of his coffin, where she weeps and laments. Afterward, for the customary period, she performs the usual ceremonies connected with mourning for a deceased husband on the part of a dutiful wife, and continues to live in the family, secluding herself from her friends and from the public, waiting on his parents as their daughter-in-law until her own death. Such is the theory. Few, it is laid, carry it out nowadays in all its strictness. For a girl to adopt the resolution to live as a widow in the family of her affianced husband is not desired by either family concerned. It is particularly undesirable to the parents of her betrothed, on account of the trouble it makes them, and also on account of the anxiety they constantly suffer lest she should not continue steadfast in her purpose. Should she change her mind, and not live up to her original intention, after having taken the preliminary steps, she would bring much shame and dishonor on them. It would also be a ^{p.104} source of great mortification to her own family and friends should she afterward desire to marry, or become wearied with her secluded life. Should she, however, live a life of chastity and of filial obedience to her parents-in-law, and die at an advanced age with an unsullied reputation, it would reflect great honor on herself and the families most intimately concerned. She would be sure of having an honorary portal erected to her memory, by especial permission of the emperor, and in part at his expense, should her virtue and her filial piety be represented to him by the proper mandarins.

Among the poor the fulfillment of the marriage contract is frequently delayed longer than is agreeable to one of the families interested. In such a case, this family send a gobetween and a trusty friend to urge the dilatory party to agree to the selection of a lucky day for the wedding. Sometimes

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

delay is excused on the ground of inability to raise the needed amount of ready money to defray the extra expenses. When such a reason is given on the part of the family of the affianced girl, it is oftentimes only a pretense for obtaining a larger sum of money from the other family than would be given unless delay after delay was made. In case that one party is poor and the other wealthy, such an excuse, if given by the poor party, in reply to those who are deputed by the wealthy party, very frequently results in the sending of a considerable additional present of money to hasten the marriage.

Sometimes, when every other recourse is exhausted, and the family of the groom come to the conclusion that the other family have no good excuse for delaying the marriage, the expedient of *stealing away the affianced girl from her parents' residence*, and carrying her to the residence of the other party, is adopted as an effectual way of settling the question. It is necessary, in stealing away the girl, that her betrothed husband should go in person and do it. He provides a common black sedan, and has it ready near the house where the girl resides, or is expected to pass along, or is visiting. He takes along with him a party of relatives or trusty friends to aid him, if help is needed. Some one of the company carries along a common bed-blanket. On finding the girl, she is seized by her betrothed, and the blanket thrown over her head. She is taken to the sedan in waiting, placed inside, ^{p.105} and carried off directly to his home. *En route* he places himself directly before the door of the sedan, and his friends follow near by. No one dares interfere or hinder in any way the affianced husband and his party in thus kidnapping and carrying off his betrothed wife, except her parents and brothers, and they seldom make any determined resistance. This intended course on the part of him who has a right to her, if it should become known to her relatives, oftentimes brings them immediately to terms, and they agree to allow the departure of the bride in the usual reputable way, seated in a red bridal sedan, and preceded by a band of music, etc.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

When the girl is kidnapped, and carried to her betrothed husband's home, the ceremonies usual on wedding occasions are observed there on her arrival, as nearly as the circumstances of the case admit. Should the kidnapping party make a mistake, and seize another girl and carry her off, the leader would be liable to prosecution before the magistrate, and to suffer heavily for his blunder. Such a mistake does occasionally occur, mainly owing to the fact that the features of the affianced bride are unknown to any member of the other party.

A case occurred in this city not long since, when the bridegroom endeavored to gain possession of his bride by kidnapping her. But it happened that the girl was not at home when the kidnapping party arrived, and she could not be found. In this case, the family to which he belonged had become very poor since the betrothal ; when the parties were betrothed both families were rich. It seemed very hard to the parents of the girl that she should marry a poor man, and have they delayed, under various pretenses, the fixing of a fortunate day for the wedding, and endeavored to have the engagement canceled, and the betrothal papers belonging to the families exchanged ; but when they saw by the effort to kidnap and carry her off that the bridegroom was unwilling to give her up, and that there was danger of the affair becoming known to the magistrate, they consented to her marriage in the usual way.

When a marriage contract is broken up by the consent of both parties, a writing is sometimes given by the affianced husband to the other family, called a '*retirement from the* p.106 *marriage*', and the original documents relating to betrothal in the possession of the parties are exchanged. The marriage contract is comparatively seldom canceled. Generally it is done, if done at all, on the girl giving what is considered good reason for the step. Poverty, or illness, or ugliness are never regarded as good reasons. But a reputation for lewd habits, on her part, seems to justify the giving up of the match by the family of her affianced husband, although the same character on his part is not considered a sufficient reason for demanding a release

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

from the marriage contract by the parents of the girl. Immorality on his part is not taken into the account, but her character must be above suspicion. If one party becomes leprous before marriage, or is greatly physically deformed, or is a notorious thief, the other party may demand a release from the engagement. Generally the party which insists, even for good reasons, for such a release, has to pay a comparatively large bonus in order to get it from the other party. The richer the party, the greater the sum demanded. Sometimes simply the exchange of the copies of the marriage contract is made. This is regarded usually as all that is absolutely necessary to release the parties, as the contract in writing given by each party to the other at the time of betrothal is the main legal proof of engagement. It is considered disgraceful either to give or to receive a written release.

There are seven considerations which will justify a husband in giving a bill of divorcement after marriage and putting away his wife, according to the ancient standards. There does not seem to be any valid ground, according to Chinese views and customs, why a wife, or her friends in her behalf, should demand a separation from him. The power is all in his hands. Should she desire to get a bill of divorcement from him, because he treats her unkindly, or because he is a thief or an adulterer, the attempt would be in vain. There does not appear to be any lawful reason to justify a wife in leaving her husband. The idea of a wife divorcing her husband for adultery, or for any reason whatever, is one which excites a smile, as absurd and preposterous, whenever mentioned to the Chinese. Duty with her is simply and solely to follow her husband, submit to his caprices, and the domination of his parents, until death releases her, or she is sold by him, or divorced for some of the seven reasons which justify a divorce. These are : 1. Unfilial conduct (toward the parents of her husband). 2. Adultery. 3. Jealousy. 4. Loquacity. 5. Theft. 6. Virulent disease (as leprosy). 7. Barrenness. It is said that at the present time the last two reasons are not regarded among educated men as sufficient grounds for a divorce. There are three things, any one of which, except in the most aggravated cases,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

will prevent, according to theory, a divorce of the wife by her husband. These are, first, if she has lived with him, and served his father and his mother until they are both dead ; second, if he has become rich and honored with office under the government since their marriage, at the time of marriage he being poor and not in the enjoyment of official trust ; third, if she has no home to which she can go, her parents and brothers being dead.

It is not necessary for the husband, in giving a bill of divorcement to his wife, to do it in the presence of an officer of the government, as witness, in order to make it legal. He does it on his own authority and in his own name. It is often written in the presence of her parents and in their house. Very few divorces occur in China.

Very poor families are frequently unable to find reputable girls who are willing to marry their sons ; and sometimes they are quite unable to be at the expense of buying a wife, and of marrying her according to the established customs. They therefore sometimes plan to purchase the wife of a living man, who may desire, for some reason which, to his mind, is a justification for the act, to sell her. The price paid for such a wife is much less than it would be necessary to pay for a girl, or for a female slave ; and the expense of the marriage festivities would also be much less than in case of marrying a reputable girl. The purchaser of a living man's wife must receive from him a bill of sale, stating that she is sold by him to be the wife of the buyer. The woman must be willing to be thus disposed of. She is conveyed in a common black sedan to her purchaser's residence, where she and he worship heaven and earth, and the ancestral tablets of his family, and each other, in much the usual manner as on other wedding occasions, and his friends and relatives are invited to a feast. The custom of marrying the wife of a living man is not very ^{p.108} common. It is done oftener in country places than in cities. What a state of society which will tolerate such a custom !

Rich married men have often one or more concubines living in their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

families. Doubtless many a man who is childless marries a second or inferior wife, with the consent and approbation of his first or principal wife, and while she is living, who would not have taken such a step in other circumstances. The desire of having male children to perpetuate one's name, and to burn incense before one's tablet after death, has an immense influence over the mind of the Chinese. Generally speaking, only female slaves are willing to become a second or inferior wife in the family of a man whose principal or first wife is living ; respectable families are adverse to allowing their daughters to form such connections. The inferior wife must submit to the principal wife, and obey her as her mistress, and must kneel down before her, and worship her, on arriving at her future home. She does not worship heaven and earth, together with her husband, on the morning of her marriage, as is invariably the custom on the part of the principal wife, but she is required to worship the ancestral tablets of the family.

Two singular customs which relate particularly to widows who do not marry again will be now described.

Some widows, on the death of their husbands, resolve not to survive them, and proceed to take their own lives. Chinese sutteeism differs from India sutteeism in that it is never performed by burning. The manner of doing it is various. Some take opium, and lie down and die by the side of the corpse of their husband. Others commit suicide by starving themselves to death, or by drowning themselves, or by taking poison. Another method sometimes practiced in this place is by hanging themselves in public, near or in their own houses, having given notice to that effect, so that those who desire may be present and behold the act.

The real reasons which induce some widows to practice sutteeism are various. Some, doubtless, are moved in a great degree to do it by a devoted attachment to the dead ; others by the extreme poverty of their families, and the difficulty of earning an honest and respectable living ; others by the fact or the prospect of unkind treatment on the part of their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

p.109 husband's relatives. Occasionally, when poor, the brothers of her deceased husband advise or insist that the young widow shall marry again. In one of the cases which occurred here about a year ago, the inciting cause why the young widow decided to kill herself by public hanging was that a brother-in-law insisted that she should marry a second husband. On her refusing to do it, he insinuated that the only way for her to gain a livelihood, in the indigent circumstances of the family, was by her becoming a prostitute. This unkindness maddened her, and she resolved to commit suicide. She appointed a certain time for its accomplishment. On the morning of the day appointed she visited a certain temple, erected to hold the tablets and perpetuate the memory of 'virtuous and filial' widows, and located near the south gate of the city. She was borne to and fro through the streets, seated in a sedan carried by four men, dressed in gaudy clothing, and holding in her hand a bouquet of fresh flowers. After burning incense and candles before the tablets in this temple, accompanied with the usual kneelings and bowings, she returned home, and in the afternoon took her life, in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators. On such occasions it is the practice to have a platform erected in the house of the widow, or in the street before it. At the appointed time she ascends the platform, and sprinkles some water around on the four sides of it. She then scatters several kinds of grain around in the different directions. These are done as omens of plenty and of prosperity in her family. After being seated in a chair on the platform, she is generally approached by her own brothers, and by her husband's brothers, who worship her. This is oftentimes accompanied by the offering to her of tea or of wine. When every thing is ready, she steps upon a stool, and, taking hold of the rope, which is securely fastened to a high portion of the platform or the roof of the house, adjusts it about her own neck. She then kicks the stool away from under her, and thus becomes her own murderer.

Formerly certain officers of government, if the current report is trustworthy, used to sanction the self-destruction of widows, not only by their presence on the occasion, but also by their taking a part in the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

worship. Once, it is related, a woman, after the honors had been paid to her, instead of ^{p.110} mounting the stool, and adjusting the rope about her neck, and hanging herself, according to the understanding, suddenly recollected that she had forgotten to feed her hogs, and hastened away, promising to be back shortly, which promise she omitted to keep. Since that hoax no mandarin has been present at a suttee at this place. A public suicide by a widow always attracts a large crowd of spectators. Public sentiment encourages the practice enough to make it considered honorable and meritorious, though not to make it a very frequent occurrence. The brothers and near relatives of a widow who thus immolates herself soon after the decease of her husband regard it as an honor to the family, and not unfrequently feel gratified in having themselves referred to as her brothers or relatives.

Sometimes a girl who has been betrothed to a man who dies before the marriage-day resolves to take her own life by public hanging, in view of his death, rather than be engaged again in marriage, or live unmarried. If she can not be persuaded to take a different course, she is allowed to appoint a day for her suicide, visits the temple referred to above, if not too far distant, mounts the platform provided at the house of her affianced husband, and launches herself into eternity, in much the same manner as do those widows who resolve not to survive the loss of their husbands. The coffin of the girl, in such cases, is interred by the side of the coffin of her betrothed, and at the same time.

The widows and the girls who take their lives as above described may have their names recorded on the large general tablets erected in the temple which they visit before they commit suicide, or they may have a separate tablet, made in the usual shape, but as costly as they please to make it, placed among the other tablets at the temple, on the payment of a sum of money for the current expenses of the institution, or as a present to its keepers or managers. The sum demanded is graduated by the social standing or the wealth of the family of the person whose memory the tablet

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

is designed to commemorate. Incense and candles are burned in this temple on the first and the fifteenth of each Chinese month, in honor of these 'virtuous and filial' women, by some of the gentry of the city ; and it is the official duty of certain mandarins, either ^{p.111} in person or by deputy, to offer oblations at this temple in the spring and autumn of each year.

Honorary tablets or portals are sometimes erected to the memory of virtuous widows who have obeyed with filial devotion the parents of their husbands. The tablets are made out of fine black stone or of common granite, and are generally erected by the side of a public street. They consist generally of four posts of stone, more or less elaborately carved, fifteen or twenty feet high, with several horizontal cross-pieces, also of stone. Inscriptions are sometimes graven upon the upright and cross pieces in praise of chastity and filial piety. Near the top of the tablet are always found two Chinese characters, denoting that it is erected by 'imperial permission'. Such portals cost from a few tens of dollars to several hundred, according to their size, material, and finish. The chaste and filial



Honorary stone portal to the memory of virtuous and filial widows

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

widow, after arriving at fifty years of age, while living, may have a tablet erected in her honor, provided she has influential and wealthy friends. After making the necessary application to the emperor, through the proper mandarins, and after obtaining his special consent, a small sum of money accompanies the permission of the emperor, paid out of the imperial treasury, to aid in the expense of erecting the tablet. ^{p.112} Her friends and relatives are expected to supply what is needed for its erection, over and above the donation from the emperor. When completed, some mandarin of low rank goes to worship before it ; and, if finished during the lifetime of the widow whose memory and example it is designed to commemorate, it is customary for her to go and worship it. The widows and the chaste unmarried girls who commit sutteeism by suicide on the death of their husbands or their affianced husbands are also entitled, in accordance with the customs of the country, to an honorary tablet, if they have friends or relations who are willing and able to procure the imperial sanction, and to supplement the imperial present with the necessary amount of money to build it. In fact, however, few who are entitled to a tablet do have one erected to their memory.

After a description of customs, not simply ridiculous and nonsensical, but manifestly injurious to society, as well as superstitious and sinful, I feel very often like making some *improvement* or *reflections*. I am sure, however, that at the end of this chapter it is quite unnecessary for me to take up time and space in doing so ; for if the careful reader has not had his attention arrested and his indignation aroused while reading an account of some of these customs, it would be useless for me to attempt to say anything now, designed to point out their horrible character and their pernicious influence.

@

1. **CHAPTER IV**

Married life and children

@

Superstitious Customs observed by Married Women, or relating to them : p.113 Adopting a Child *versus* Grafting. — Examining the Flower-tree. — Changing the Flower-vase. — Asking 'Mother' for the loan of a Shoe. — Begging a Flower from 'Mother'. — Ceremony of the middle Period. — Propitiating certain two female Demons. — Methods of ascertaining the Sex of unborn Children. — Difficult Labor. — Use of Puppets. — Turning around the 'Strait Charm'. — Ceremony in case an apparently lifeless Child is born.

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Children the first year of their lives : Washing the Child before image of 'Mother'. — Binding its Wrists. — Warding off unfavorable Influences into the Trowsers. — Thanksgiving to 'Mother'. — Shaving the Child's head when one Month old. — Child sits on a Chair when four Months old. — Ceremony of 'Grasping Things' when one Year old.

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Children after they are one Year old : 'Burning Paper to 'Mother.' — Cutting the Cords of the Feet. — 'Passing through the Door'. — Letting the 'Peach' grow. — Burning mock-Money monthly. — Worshiping 'Mother' on her Birthday. — Praising the Measure in the eighth Month. — Origin of the Custom. — Worship of Confucius annually by Teacher and Pupils. — Worship of Confucius 'on entering School'. — 'Going out of Childhood'. — Becoming of Age. — Prosecution of unfilial Children before Magistrates. — Punishment of a Parricide.

Superstitious Customs observed by Married Women or relating to them

@

Married life in China, unless attended with male children, is seldom happy. The wife is exceedingly anxious to present her husband with sons, who will perpetuate his name and burn incense before his tablet after his death. In case of real or supposed barrenness, various superstitious expedients are often resorted to by her, in order to facilitate the conception of children ; to ascertain the sex of an unborn babe ; and, as the time approaches, to render confinement safe and expeditious.

When the woman has been married for a long time, but remains childless, the following expedient is sometimes adopted. A girl belonging to another family is adopted by the childless woman as her own child. She is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

brought up in her family, ^{p.114} and professedly treated as though she was her own child. The Chinese have the idea that, in some way, this course will aid the woman in the conception of children. The train of thought is explained thus : the woman is represented by a tree in the unseen world. Whether she will have children or not, and what will be their number and sex, is indicated by the condition of the tree which represents her, whether it has flowers or not ; and if it has flowers, what is their number and color: If the tree has *red* flowers, she will have girls ; if *white* flowers, she will have boys. If the flowers be of different colors, some white and some red, she will have boys and girls ; if no flowers at all, the poor women will not naturally have any children at all. But as, in this world, men *graft* one tree by a shoot of another tree, and thus have the desired fruit, the Chinese have devised the astute expedient of *adopting* a child into a childless family, hoping that thus there will in due time be flowers on the flowerless tree in the spirit land, representing the barren wife ; and if so, she will be sure to have children, in consequence of this wonderful art of grafting.

If married women did not have considerable faith in the efficacy of this method of rendering a barren wife fruitful, no family would be at the trouble and expense of adopting a girl, rearing her, and marrying her off. Very poor families do not resort to this cure of barrenness, on account of their poverty.

Sometimes the childless married woman, in her anxiety to pry into the future, hires a sorceress, who pretends to be able to see into the other world, to examine the flower-tree which represents her, and to report to her its condition, whether it is flourishing or whether it is diseased, what flowers it has, and whether the red or white flowers will probably blossom first. Many very intelligent and respectable women believe what the sorceress tells them on this subject, paying them money very readily for their information.

When, after a marriage of several years, no children are born to the wife, or none but girls, or the children die in infancy, the woman, fearing

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

she shall never have any male children, or any that will live to mature age, not unfrequently engages a sorcerer or sorceress to perform the ceremony called *changing the flower-vase*. Bearing children is fancied to have great resemblance in some respects to rearing flowers in p.115 flower-vases : much depends on the earth used in the vases. If no child is born, or if it dies, it is supposed to be like producing sickly flowers, *the earth being bad*. The person employed, as some explain, is expected to go to the other world, and change the earth in the vase which has the flower-tree which represents the particular wife in question, or, as it is briefly called, change her flower-vase ; or she hires some one to make a quantity of artificial paper flowers, which are then placed in two paper flower-vases. The sorceress or sorcerer first performs certain ceremonies over these vases, and then changes their relative positions. Afterward, the paper vases and paper flowers are burned. Changing their relative positions is thought to indicate something like changing the earth in the flower-vases in the unseen world. The object of all this is to obtain male and healthy children.

Every year, between the 11th and the 15th of the first and of the eighth Chinese months, several of the most popular temples devoted to the worship of a goddess of children, commonly called 'Mother', are frequented by married but childless women, for the purpose of procuring one of a kind of shoe belonging to her. They are not such as are worn on her own feet. The shoes sought for are generally those which have been presented to the goddess as a thank-offering. Those who come for a shoe burn incense and candles before the image of 'Mother', and vow to render a thanksgiving if she will aid them in bearing a male child. The shoe is taken home, and placed in the niche or by the niche which holds the family image of the goddess, where it is worshiped in connection with 'Mother', though not separately, on the 1st and 15th of each month, with the burning of incense, candles, and mock-money, and fresh flowers. Now this shoe, representing the goddess, is believed by a very large proportion of married women to be quite efficacious in gaining the object sought. When the child thus prayed for is born, should such a fortunate event take place, the happy mother

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

causes, according to her vow, two shoes like the one obtained from the temple to be made. These two, and the original one, she returns to the temple with her thank-offering, which consists generally in part of several plates of food. Some women get shoes from several different temples, in their eagerness to have offspring. Should ^{p.116} they become mothers after this, the goddess in each of these temples must be thanked — the one from whom the last shoe was obtained with the most offerings.

Some women, instead of asking for a shoe of the goddess, ask for some of the flowers which she usually has in her hands, or in a flower-vase near by. The shoe is *lent*; the flower is given. On reaching home, the woman wears the flower thus obtained in the hair of her head, or it is placed in a flower-vase near by the niche which contains the household goddess 'Mother'. No worship is paid to it. In case several different flowers are obtained at different times from various temples where 'Mother' is worshiped, on the event of the birth of a child, the image of 'Mother' in all these temples must be 'thanked' with meats. Should the suppliant not become a mother, no thanksgiving would be expected by the goddess whose aid she has invoked.

After she has gone about five months, the husband of the woman frequently returns thanks to the goddess 'Mother', or some other divinity whom he pleases to worship on this occasion, and begs in the following manner a continuance of favors. A table is arranged in some convenient place near the open heavens. On it are placed ten plates of meats, fish, fowl, rice, etc., a vase of flowers, five kinds of seeds or dried fruits, a lantern, three sticks of incense, two candles, and ten cups of wine. A priest now begins to recite his formulas. At the customary period of the performance, he remarks, in substance, as if addressing the divinity worshiped, 'that such a man has begotten by his wife a child for these five months. He now presents these offerings as an expression of his gratitude, and begs that she may be protected during the rest of her time in good health, and give birth to the child without detriment, on

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

which event taking place he will present another thanksgiving'.

Near the end of her time, on a lucky day, a ceremony is performed in many families for the purpose of propitiating the good will, as some explain it, of two female demons, which are believed to be present with an intention to destroy the woman's life at the time of childbirth. Others say that the object of this ceremony is to frighten and drive away these evil spirits, so that they shall not be present and injure the women. ^{p.117} A table is spread with eight or ten plates of food, with incense, candles, flowers, and mock-money. A priest recites the classics appropriate to the occasion. Ten or twenty pieces of a kind of grass cut up about an inch long, and several likenesses of the crab, cut out of common paper, are put into the censer and burned. Or sometimes several live crabs, after being used in the ceremony, are taken and turned out into the street. It is thought that these will greatly aid in frightening these bad spirits or propitiate their good will, so that they will not dare to come into the room at the time of childbirth. The reason why crabs are used is that the name of one of these demons sounds like the name for 'crab' in the dialect of this place.

After the conclusion of this ceremony, the meats and other eatables are removed, and another quantity of incense, candles, seeds, vine, and a cup of clear water, are brought and placed on the table, but *no meats*. The ruler of the *Bloody Pond* in hell, and various evil spirits in the other world, are then invited by the priest to come and receive the worship of the husband of the woman. The priest performs certain ceremonies ; the object is to gain the good will and protection of the ruler of the *Bloody Pond* in regard to the approaching case of childbirth. A part of the ashes of the incense used at this time is enveloped in a piece of red paper, and suspended near the censer belonging to the family, where it remains until thirty days after childbirth ; it is then taken and put into the censer and burned during a thanksgiving ceremony made in honor of the ruler of the *Bloody Pond*. Twice every day, previous to the period of childbirth, one stick of incense and one pair of candles are burned before this parcel.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

If a woman wishes to know the sex of her unborn babe, the following method of ascertaining the interesting fact is sometimes adopted. She reckons up the number of her age in years, and the number of the month, day, and hour she was born. This sum is added to the number of the day of the month and of the hour of the day when she determines to make the calculation. She then, remembering the sum total, commences to count the images or pictures of the thirty-six female assistants of the goddess called 'Mother', until she arrives at the one which corresponds to the sum total of her ^{p.118} calculations ; if this sum exceeds thirty-six, she keeps on counting the images or pictures of the assistants until she arrives at the number she has in her mind. Now it is supposed that, by observing the sex of the child in the arms of the assistant goddess which corresponds to the sum total of her calculations, she may know the sex of her unborn child ! If the assistant should happen to have no child at all in her arms, the woman comes to the conclusion either that the goddess will not inform her, or that her child will be stillborn, or will not live.

Some married women adopt the above method in order to ascertain whether they will have children, which fact is said to be disclosed by the assistant goddess having or not having a child in her arms. Other women simply count the images or the pictures referred to until they come to the number which corresponds to their own age, and judge from this picture or image in regard to the sex of their unborn child, or in regard to their having or not having children.

It is not an uncommon occurrence for a childless married woman, before she thus counts up the images or pictures of the assistant goddesses, to make a vow to 'Mother' that if she will bestow a male child upon her she will be at the expense of repairing and decorating that one of the assistant's images which should happen to correspond to the sum of her age, considering the year, month, day, and hour as above described. Subsequently, should she bear a boy, she employs a workman, who gilds and paints the lucky image.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The images of the thirty-six assistant goddesses referred to are found in temples devoted to the worship of 'Mother'. Sometimes representations of these goddesses are painted upon the walls of such temples. Their pictures are also found on a kind of paper-hanging used by priests in performing a singular ceremony called 'passing through the door', for the benefit of children.

In case of very difficult labor, it is thought that a certain evil-disposed spirit prevents the child from coming into the world. A priest is therefore invited to come and perform a ceremony, the object of which is to drive away this bad spirit. Three cups of wine, a plate having five kinds of seeds or fruits, with incense and candles, are arranged on a table, and ^{p.119} mock-money of several kinds is provided to be burned at the proper time. After the priest has mumbled over some unintelligible jargon or formula, attended with thumping on the table, for about half an hour, he produces three yellow paper charms, two or three inches wide, and a foot or more long ; one of these is to be stuck over the door of the bedroom or on the bed-curtain, one is to be worn on the head of the sick woman, and the ashes of the other, mixed with hot water, is to be given to her to drink.

If the child is not born after waiting a longer time than usual, and much pain is suffered by the woman, and it is feared that her life is endangered, sometimes some of her family or friends obtain a kind of *puppet-show*, among which is a puppet of the goddess 'Mother'. These puppets are made to play and dance, back and forth, near the door of the sick woman's room several times ; they are then taken away. Sometimes the puppet representing 'Mother' is placed on the body of the woman, and then made to dance or walk downward three times. This method of obtaining relief is believed to be very efficacious by many of this people. In case of a successful delivery after its use, it is the duty of the family, some time within a month, to be at the expense of a theatrical performance at the house or at the neighboring temple in honor of the chief of the puppets. Sometimes only one puppet is used, that of the one called 'Mother'.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

When much pain is suffered, and a delivery is not effected, the following artifice is resorted to by some families : two sheets of a kind of mock-money — one representing gold and the other silver — three sticks of incense, and two candles, are taken and lighted before the image of an assistant god called Straight Charm, which may be always found standing just before the image of the 'Great King' in the neighboring temple, with its face toward the 'Great King'. After lighting these tokens of respect, the offerer turns around this image, so that its face will be turned toward the outside or directly away from the 'Great King'. The object of this is to procure the aid of this assistant god to turn around the infant and cause a speedy birth, it being supposed that the reason why a delivery has not already taken place is because the child is in a wrong position. If the child is born subsequently, the family ^{p.120} is under obligations, some time during an interval of thirty days, to present a thank-offering of meats, fish, rice, incense, and candles before and in honor of the idol. The image is turned around to its proper position just as soon as possible after the child has been born into the world.

Sometimes it is believed that the child at the time of its birth is exposed to some very unpropitious influences, which, unless prevented in due time, will certainly cause its death. It will not eat nor cry, and it appears lifeless. Consequently a performance, very similar in most respects to one which has been already described, is transacted in some families, with the following distinguishing difference in regard to the use of the three yellow charms furnished by the priest.

After the conclusion of the ceremony, one of these charms is hung up on the curtain of the bed where the sick woman lies, the second is doubled up into a three-cornered shape, and then put on the cap of the child on the third day after its birth, or it is worn about its body for an indefinite period. The other is burned, and its ashes are put into the water with which the child is washed on the third day after birth, as a kind of purification.

Singular or superstitious Customs relating to Children observed the first Year of their Lives

@

On the third day after the birth of a child, the midwife washes it for the first time. This washing is performed before an image of the Goddess of Children, already referred to, called *Mother*. This divinity is supposed to have *the care and oversight of children of both sexes* until they are sixteen years old. About the time of washing the child, an oblation of five or eight plates of meats, fruits, etc., is made to the goddess, arranged on a table before her picture or image, with wine, incense, candles, and fresh flowers. This is regarded as a thank-offering for the aid of 'Mother' thus far. The food is subsequently taken away and eaten by the members of the family. On this day friends and relations take occasion to send various kinds of food, as fowls, vermicelli, and cakes, to the family, in token of their congratulations.

Immediately after being washed, the important custom of *binding its wrists* is observed. In regard to this, there seems to be great diversity of practice. Some families simply bind around each wrist one or more ancient cash of a particular kind by means of a red cotton cord, where the cash remains for eleven days or longer. Others only put around each wrist a loose red string, as though it were a ring.

Other families provide several silver toys, as a miniature seal, a small bell, drum, pestle, and mallet. One or more of each kind of these toys, with an ancient cash, are bound around each wrist. The string used is generally about two feet long, each end being put about the wrists, leaving about one foot of loose string between them. These things are worn till the child is fourteen days old, when some families remove them. Sometimes, however, a ring of red cord or of red tape, with or without some cash or toy, is worn for several months, Or even for a year. When soiled, the tape or cord is exchanged for another clean one.

The ancient cash is used as a charm, in order to keep away evil spirits

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

or influences. The silver toys are designed as omens of good relating to the future life of the child, as it were expressing the desire that it may become wealthy and honored. The wrists are thus tied together, in order to prevent the child becoming naughty and disobedient. It is thought that such a tying of the wrists will tend to keep the child from being troublesome in after life, and from meddling with what does not belong to it, just as though he or she was bound. When boys and girls are naughty and troublesome, they are often asked *if their mammas did not bind their wrists?* implying that if their wrists had been properly bound when an infant, they would have been restrained from misconduct in subsequent life.

On the third day after the birth of the babe, two Chinese characters are written on a piece of red paper, which, having been carefully folded around a parcel inclosing certain articles, is hung up on a nail or peg on the outside of the door of its mother's room by means of a red string tied around it. The design of this paper and contents is to *ward off unfavorable influences* from the child ; and persons who are not very intimate with the family, on seeing it, understand it to constitute a request that they should not enter the room. Some say that only those persons who were present at the washing of ^{p.122} the babe are allowed to enter the bedroom as long as the red paper is attached to the door, which is for eleven days.

This parcel contains two of a certain fruit full of seed used in the manufacture of a material employed somewhat like soap in washing, some pith of a rush used for wicking, two chop-sticks, one or two onions, two pieces of charcoal, some cat's hair, and some dog's hair. A pair of the trowsers of the child's father are put upon the frame of the bedstead, in such a way that the waist shall hang downward, or be lower than the legs. On the trowsers is stuck a piece of red paper, having four words written upon it, intimating that *all unfavorable influences are to go into the trowsers* instead of afflicting the babe. The hair in the package, on the outside of the bedroom door, is to keep the noises which may be made for eleven days by the dogs and cats in the vicinity from frightening the babe.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The coal is to aid in making it hardy and vigorous. The onions are to cause it to be quick-witted and intelligent. The pith is explained as contributing to make it fortunate or successful in life. The two fruits are to aid it in being cleanly and neat. It is believed that if persons come into the bedroom for the space of eleven days, while the parcel remains on the door, who ought not to come into it, the child will assuredly have white sores on its gums, and that it will be sickly and difficult to rear.

On the fourteenth day after the child's birth the parcel is taken away from the bedroom door, and the trowsers are removed from the frame of the bedstead. Most families have on this occasion a kind of thank-offering to 'Mother' for her assistance in protecting and preserving the babe, consisting of meats, fruits, and vegetables, spread before her image, which is kept in the bedroom. Such a thanksgiving, however, is not made to 'Mother' in case of the death of the child previous to the fourteenth day.

Shaving the child's head when one month old



When it is one month old, mother and child, according to theory, leave the bedroom for the first time after her confinement. On this day occurs another important ceremony, that of *shaving the child's head* for the first time, either by a barber or by one of the family. Some are careful to have it done before an image of 'Mother' if it is a girl, and before the ancestral family tablets if it is a boy, incense and candles being lighted p.123 in front of the image and the tablets. A thank-offering is also presented to the goddess on this occasion. Relations and intimate friends are invited to a feast. They often come to witness the shaving of the child's head. Those who come must bring with them presents of money or silver rings, vermicelli or fowls, etc. In case of its being the first-born, Tauist priests are often invited to perform the ceremony, called 'passing through the door', for the benefit of the babe. The maternal grandmother of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

child is always expected to bring or send presents of clothing or food on this day. Among these articles there are usually about twenty painted duck's eggs, and a quantity of soft sweet cakes. On the upper side of each of there are stamped or painted several pictures of the flower of the apricot, using several colors ; white is not allowed, as that is the symbolical color of mourning. The pictures on the duck eggs are representations of children, flowers, and animals, in bright gaudy colors. The maternal grandmother is usually invited to a feast on this day. If belonging to the upper class of society, she seldom accepts the invitation, sending her presents by a servant. The day is one of joy and festivity, and among the rich it is observed with considerable show and expense, especially if it celebrates the shaving of the head of the first-born son.

About this time the child's parents return their acknowledgements of the kindness of friends and relatives, who sent presents on the third day after the child's birth and at the end of a month, by sending some presents back to them. These presents consist usually of *small round bread-cakes or biscuits*, which have been split open, and into which have been put small slices of boiled pork, making, in fact, a kind of sandwich. The number of such cakes presented to a family varies from ^{p.124} ten to a hundred, depending much on the pecuniary circumstances of the party making the present, and having some proportion to the quantity or value of the articles previously received.

When the child is four months old, 'Mother' is again thanked ; relatives and friends are again invited to a feast, who bring or send presents of money or food. As at the end of a month, so now the maternal grandmother or her present, if she does not come in person, occupies a prominent position. If the circumstances of her family allow her to do so, she makes expensive presents of food and clothing, and a kind of chair, sometimes painted red, together with a quantity of molasses candy. The various articles of food are presented as an oblation before 'Mother'. The happy father, or the paternal grandfather or grandmother, bows down

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

before the goddess, and begs that the child may be good-natured and easy to take care of, that it may grow fast, that it may sleep well at night, that it may be wide awake in the daytime, that it may not be given to crying, and that it may be kept in good health. The edibles are subsequently feasted on by the family and invited guests, having been previously presented before the ancestral tablet.

Child sitting on a chair when four months old



It is not usual to allow a child to sit in a chair until the day it is four months old. At a suitable time during this day, the soft molasses candy provided by its maternal grandmother is taken, and put in the seat of the chair on rollers. The child is then put in the chair so as to sit down on this candy, which sticks it to the chair for the time being. This is done in order that it may learn to sit in the chair, and not require to be carried very much in the arms of the nurse or mother. This chair is often prettily painted and gilded, and has various playthings attached to it. Before this day the child has been carefully prevented from tasting animal food. On this occasion such food is given to it — that is, some of the ^{p.125} meats presented before 'Mother' and the tablets. After this, animal food is occasionally given to it to eat.

On the anniversary of the child's birthday another thank-offering is presented to 'Mother', and other presents of food and of clothing are received from the maternal grandmother. If it be a boy, among other articles of clothing are a pair of boy's shoes and a cap ; if a girl, besides clothing are wristlets and head ornaments. The provisions for the thank-offering are in theory provided by the maternal grandmother of the child ; should she be unable to furnish all that is needed on the occasion, the balance is procured at the expense of her son-in-law, the father of the child, though every thing professes to be provided by the delighted grandmamma.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Before the feast on this occasion, a large bamboo sieve, such as farmers use in winnowing grain, is placed on a table before the ancestral tablets of the family, where incense and candles are already burning. On this are laid a set of money-scales, a pair of shears, a foot-measure, a brass mirror, pencil, ink, paper, and ink-slab, one or two books, the abacus, a silver or a gold ornament or implement, and fruits, etc. The child, dressed in the new garments just presented, is placed upon the sieve in the midst of the articles upon it. *The object now is to see what it will first take hold of and play with.* The moment is one of great interest to the parents and assembled friends. It is laid that the article or articles the child first takes up indicate its future employment, character, or condition in the world. If the child be a boy, and he takes a book or an implement connected with literature, as pen or ink, it is surmised that he will become a distinguished scholar; if he seizes the money-scales, or the silver or gold instrument or ornament, that he will become famous for his wealth and for his talents in making money.



Grasping playthings when one year old

p.126 In the Sung dynasty, a certain lad, on the day when he was one year old, while seated on the sieve, first seized hold of two miniature military weapons in one hand, and in the other two vessels like those used in sacrificial ceremonies on some state occasions. After a few moments he laid these articles down and took up a seal. After this he paid no attention to the other playthings before him. Now mark the result : *this lad became a Chancellor of the Empire!* People nowadays often speak of these and similar incidents when celebrating the first anniversary of the birth of their children by the side of the sieve in front of this ancestral tablet.

On all the occasions which have been described or which remain to be described, when incense and candles are burned before the image of the goddess or before the ancestral tablets with special reference to a child, *the*

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

child is taken there, if well, and made to worship in a certain manner by moving its hands up and down a few times. The child is taught from its earliest infancy to worship idols and the tablets of its ancestors.



Sometimes, however, instead of its hands being moved up and down, the child, held in the hands of some one, is itself moved up and down before the object worshiped, which is reckoned the same as making it move its hands in worship.

Father teaching his child to worship

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Children observed usually after they are one Year old

@

p.127 The customs which have been described are usually observed in this place during the first year of a child's life. What remain now to be mentioned, generally speaking, belong to a later period. They are usually observed in the same manner, if observed at all, whether the child is a boy or a girl. For convenience sake, the pronoun of the masculine gender will be used in describing them.

On the birthday of children, every year, until they are sixteen years old, unless the ceremony of 'passing through the door' is performed, many parents present offerings of food, before the idol of 'Mother'. This is called 'burning paper to Mother', and is designed as a thanksgiving for her past favors. Usually no priests are employed. Some families have the custom of 'passing through the door' and of 'burning paper to Mother' both observed in their houses on the birthdays of their children, should there be any special occasion for them on account of their health.

It is the custom in many families, when a child is just beginning to walk alone, for a member of the family to take a large knife, often such as is used in the kitchen to cut up vegetables, and, approaching him from

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

behind, as he is toddling along, put it between his legs with the edge downward, and then bring it toward the floor, *as if in the act of cutting something*. This is called ‘*cutting the cords of his feet*’. The motion is repeated two or three times. Sometimes it is not put between his legs, but is passed down toward the ground two or three times right behind him, while he is walking along. This is done in order to facilitate his learning to walk. It is supposed to be of great use in keeping the lad from stumbling and falling down.

The ceremony of ‘*passing through the door*’ sustains a very important relation to the welfare of children, according to the sentiment and practice of many Chinese. Some families have it performed regularly every year ; others every second year, as in the first and third ; others every third year, as the third and sixth, and so on, until the child is sixteen years old, or the ceremony of ‘*going out of childhood*’ is observed. ^{p.128} Sometimes, when a child is sickly, ‘the door is passed through’ once or twice per month, or several times in the course of the year, according to the condition of the child and the will and ability of the parents. Probably there are few families here which do not have this ceremony performed more or less frequently between the third day after the birth of a child and the period when it is supposed to pass out of the control of ‘Mother’. Sometimes it is performed in consequence of the decision of a fortune-teller for the benefit of a child.



Passing through the door

A day is usually spent in ‘*passing through the door*’ and ^{p.129} its attendant ceremonies. Several priests of the Tauist sect (never any of the Buddhist sect) come to the residence of the lad’s parents in the morning, before or after breakfast, according to agreement, and first arrange an altar, made out of tables placed one upon another. On the uppermost of the tables they place censers, candlesticks, and various images of their gods. Behind the altar they suspend three paper-hangings, upon which are

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

painted several tens of goddesses, among whom that of 'Mother' occupies a conspicuous position. In a convenient part of the room is placed a table, having upon it five, eight, or ten plates of meats, vegetables, fruits, and cakes. After every thing is properly arranged, one of the priests rings a bell while chanting his formulas, another beats a drum, another strikes his cymbals together, etc. The grand object of this is to invite certain goddesses to be present, which is supposed to be done when their names and places of residence have been repeated in the accustomed manner. The celebrated female divinities who are honored as midwives or 'mothers', and who are believed to be particularly concerned in the rearing of children, or who originally lived in the surrounding country, are invited to be present.

At the proper time, usually in the afternoon, these goddesses are invited to partake of a feast, which has been arranged on a table for their entertainment. Besides eight or ten kinds of food, there are also provided a wash-bowl of hot water, and a towel, a fan, and cosmetics and artificial flowers for the especial use of the female divinities in making their toilet before partaking of the feast. The priests ring a bell, beat a drum, and clap their cymbals, reciting their liturgies for an indefinite time, which constitutes an invitation for these goddesses to partake of the collation.

Some time during the afternoon a table is placed in the front part of the room, '*before the heavens*', as its relative position is called, and on it is put a common rice measure, having various articles in it, and seven little piles of rice are arranged on the table in the position of the seven stars which make up the Dipper in the constellation of the Great Bear. On each of these piles of rice is placed a kind of lamp. Incense, candles, and lamps are all lighted up, and three priests, one standing in front of the table and the other two at its ^{p.130} ends, perform the ceremony of '*worshiping the measure*' in the usual manner.

The 'door' is finally passed through in the middle of the afternoon or near sundown. This door is made out of bamboo, covered with red and white paper, and is some seven feet high by two and a half or three feet

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

wide, costing perhaps twelve or fifteen cents. The furniture in the room is so arranged that the priests and the party which passes through this door can go around and around without doubling on their track. Sometimes a table is placed near the centre of the room, and an open space is left on all sides of it. One of the priests — who wears a fancy-colored skirt, and has on his head a curiously-shaped head-dress — takes in one hand a small bell, or a sword having small bells fastened to the handle, and in the other a horn, and commences reciting formulas or incantations in front of this door, which is often at this time standing near the centre of the room. The priest, thus dressed, personates 'Mother' in the act of performing magic spells for the purpose of saving children from evil spirits and unhealthy and malignant influences. The paterfamilias, or, if absent or deceased, some one in his stead, calls the children of the family together. He takes the one which can not walk or which is sick in his arms, and the other children, if any, each take a single stick of lighted incense in their hands. The priest after a while blows his horn, and advances slowly through the door. He is followed by the paterfamilias or his representative, and all the children of the family, who thus pass through the door. All the other priests are at this time doing something to aid, as beating the drum and clapping their cymbals. The head priest brandishes the sword in the air, or in its place he sometimes flourishes a whip made in the shape of a snake, as though he was striking an invisible object.

The door is then taken and placed at one of the four corners of the room, and the priest, father, and children again pass through it in a similar manner. It is then successively placed at each of the other corners, and again in the centre, where it is respectively passed through by the priest and his followers. Soon after this the door is hacked in pieces, and its parts set on fire and burned in the open court of the house, or in the street in front of the house where the ceremony is performed.

p.131 While performing this ceremony, a small wooden image, a foot high, more or less, is invariably used to represent the child for whose

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

special benefit it is celebrated. When first performed for any child, a new one is obtained to represent it ; and when not used, it is carefully preserved. Oftentimes it is placed by the side of 'Mother's' image in the bedroom. The name of the child is usually written on the back of the image. In case the child dies before sixteen years of age, this image is placed in the coffin with its corpse, and buried with it. After the ceremony of '*going out of childhood*' has been performed, it is often used as a plaything by the children of the family. In case the child is exceedingly sick, and may not be carried in person through the door, this image, with or without some of the clothing of the child placed on a platter, is taken and carried through the door, instead of the child, which amounts to the same thing as though the child itself was carried through. As above intimated, all the children of the family improve the opportunity to pass through the door, as well as the particular one for whose special benefit the ceremony is observed. Sometimes nephews and nieces, and several of the children of the near relatives of the family who happen to be present, also join the procession and pass through the door.

The design of all this is to benefit the children, causing them to recover if sick or feeble, continuing them in health if well, and enabling them to arrive at a good old age. The performance is oftentimes quite showy and imposing, at least in the estimation of the Chinese. The expense ranges from two to ten or twelve dollars for each celebration. Usually the priests are entertained with a part of the provisions used on the occasion.

Some families, at the close of this ceremony, have a table spread with food for the hungry spirits in the lower regions, consisting of vegetable soup, rice, two or more plates of biscuit or bread-cakes, large and small, perhaps three plates of meats, mock-money and mock-clothing ; incense and candles are also provided, and set on fire at the proper time. A priest is employed to ring his bell and chant his liturgy. Spirits in the lower regions are believed to have an important influence for good or for evil in the affairs of this world, and many parents are quite solicitous to secure their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

friendship and kind ^{p.132} offices in behalf of their children. Hence such a presentation of food, clothing, and money after '*passing through the door*'.

Many parents, after the first shaving of the head of a child, when one month old, allow the hair to grow on a part of the top of the head, if a boy, in the shape and of the size of a small peach, until eight or ten years old, or even until sixteen years old ; if a girl, a patch of hair is often allowed to grow on one or both sides of the head. Many Chinese seem to be at a loss why the tuft is left. Some explain that which is left on the pate of a boy to be for a defense of the soft part of the skull. They all seem to regard it as an omen of good, or a kind of charm, and conducive to the health or welfare of the child.

Sometimes neither the 'peach' nor the cue is allowed to grow until the lad is some six or eight years old, the whole head being regularly shaven. The cause of this delay is sometimes said to be the death of his father or mother when it was decided to let one or both of these grow. Sometimes, in the case of him who is the only son of his parents, and born long after their marriage, they vow to give him up to be the child of some idol or to be a Buddhist priest. They will not then let his hair grow on his pate until six or eight years old. Their object in making this vow, and in treating their dearly-beloved son in this way, is to procure good health and longevity to the lad. They apply various sorts of derogatory names or epithets to him, as '*Buddhist priest*', '*beggar*', '*refuse*', '*dirt*', imagining that he will thus be allowed to live, and that no evil spirit or influence will injure his health. By-and-by, when he seems to be established in health, they allow his hair to grow like other boys. All their apparent neglect and abuse are but an index of their real affection for him, and are intended to lead the evil spirits and malicious influences, which might otherwise be expected to molest or harm him, to pass him by as worthless and good for nothing.

A singular custom, which derives its name from the fact that *mock-money is burned monthly*, is extensively practiced at this place in families which have few and sickly children. The Chinese believe that there is a god

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and goddess of the Bedstead, a goddess who rules over the Eaves of a house, and a goddess who presides over the Bedroom. Many families therefore burn mock-money, and incense, and candles, to the ^{p.133} honor of this god and these goddesses, regularly on the first and fifteenth of every month. The children of the family at whose house this is done are made to kneel down near the places while the mock-money is burning, and one of the heads of the household call upon the god or the goddesses referred to to protect their children and make them grow fast, easy to nurse and take care of, have a good appetite for their rice, etc. It is expected that in this way the god and goddess of the bedstead will be led to use their influence, and cause the children to lie down quietly and sleep soundly when their parents wish, whether by night or by day ; that the goddess of the eaves will keep them from stumbling or falling down on the stones usually to be found near or under the eaves of every house ; and that the goddess of the bedroom will make them tractable in nursing, and good-natured.

The birthday of the goddess 'Mother' falls on the fifteenth day of the first month in the Chinese year. On that day she is universally worshiped by married women and by midwives, oftentimes with considerable expense and show. Many married women go to some of her temples at that time and implore her blessing. It is an established custom at this place for a midwife to visit the families, if living sufficiently near her residence, where she has officiated within sixteen years, for the purpose of collecting contributions from them to aid her in worshiping 'Mother'. She expects a sum of money varying from a few tens of cash to several hundreds, according to the wealth and social standing of the family, a couple of candles, a bundle of incense-sticks, several large sheets of mock-money, representing silver and gold, and some fresh flowers. Sometimes she receives only a present of money. The candles, incense, and mock-money are professedly burnt before the image of 'Mother' in her house, and the money is to be used in meeting the necessary expense of the ceremony of '*passing through the door*', for the especial benefit of the children whom she has helped into the world. She furnishes each family a kind of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

schedule, which is returned to her after having been filled up with the names and precise ages of the children in the family in which she has fulfilled the duties of a midwife. This document is burned at the proper time, during the performance of '*passing through the door*', which is done p.134 at her expense, and in her own house, before the image of 'Mother', which she worships. 'Mother' is supposed in this manner to become acquainted with the express wishes of the midwife, and to be reminded of the importance of her kind offices in behalf of those children whose names are thus submitted to her inspection.

On the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the eighth month, there is very frequently performed a ceremony called sometimes '*worshiping the measure*'. Although almost universally celebrated in families having weak and sickly children, every year, the Chinese seem to have very often exceedingly indistinct ideas in regard to this custom. The expressions 'southern measure' and 'northern measure' occur frequently in their efforts to describe it. These two terms are explained as referring to two stars, or collections of stars, one in the northern heavens, and the other in the southern heavens. When worshiped, they are most usually represented by their names being written on paper when any emblem is needed. Pictures or images of them, when made, represent two grave old men. The 'north measure' is supposed to be the god of longevity, and to regulate or fix the time of one's *death*, having the control of the book in which such dates are recorded. The 'south measure' is regarded as the god of official emolument, or the god which regulates one's salaries and income during *life*. In other words, one is the divinity which rules over *death*, and the other the divinity which rules over *life*. They are often worshiped on the birthdays of children, and of adults when sick. When worshiped about the middle of the eighth month, it is usually done for the benefit of children of the family sick or well, *the object being to secure to them longevity, and plenty of money*.

The origin of this custom is traced by the Chinese themselves to a certain historical incident, as follows :

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

A long while ago, a certain lad, on going into the street one day, met an old man, who proved to be a celebrated fortune-teller named Kuan-lo. He addressed the lad, saying,

— You are a fine boy. What a pity that your life is to be so short.

The lad at once asked him how long it was to be, and he told him that he was to die at the age of nineteen. This frightened the lad, who was already near that age, and he went home ^{p.135} crying, and told his mother what he had heard. She, in turn, was made very sad also, but told the lad to go and inquire farther of the fortune-teller. He did so, and was instructed to take a plate of preserved venison and a bottle of wine, and carry them to the top of a certain mountain, where he would find two old men playing chess. He was told to place the venison and the wine down by them without saying a word, and then wait patiently until they had finished the game, when he might advance and make known his requests. The lad proceeded to do as he was instructed, and was surprised to find two men there engaged in a game of chess. After he had silently placed the food and drink by them, they kept on playing until they had finished the game, without noticing the lad. They then seemed hungry, and began to eat of the provisions they saw by their side. After they had done eating and drinking, the lad advanced and told his story, weeping while talking, and besought them to save him from dying at so early an age. They heard the lad, and then took out their records, and found, on examination, that his life was indeed nearly finished, according to the record. They, however, took a pen, and interpolated before the nineteen the Chinese figure for nine, thus making the record read ninety-nine. They then ordered the boy to return home and tell the old man he met in the street that he must not do in like manner again ; that the time appointed by Heaven was not to be divulged to mortals. The lad thanked those old gentlemen, who were no other than the '*north measure*' and the '*south measure*' — went home, and narrated to his mother what had occurred.

In worshiping the measure, the Chinese, instead of the dried venison,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

use a few small balls of a kind of Dutch cheese made of the milk of the domesticated Buffalo. They also use candy made out of molasses in which hemp-seed has been mixed, some of the root of the lotus, vermicelli, several dishes of meats, fowl, and fish, seven bowls of pea-soup, ten cups of wine, and three cups of tea, arranged on a table. Some families do not use all of there articles. On the table also is placed a rice measure with a flaring top, half filled with rice. On the outside is a Chinese representation of the seven stars which make the Dipper. In it, at each of the four corners, is placed some utensil, *viz.*, a case containing a set of money-scales, a ^{p.136} foot-measure, a pair of shears, and a small metallic mirror. Besides these, ten chopsticks are arranged around the sides of the measure in a perpendicular position. It also contains one stick of incense, two candles, an oil lamp, and a small wooden image, being the representative of the child for whose benefit the ceremony is performed.

A priest of the Tauist sect spends a short time by the side of the table, chanting his formularies adapted to the occasion, and then departs, to go through the same at some other house, as very many families observe the same custom on this day for the welfare of their children.

Some time during the spring, usually in the fourth month, according to established custom, schoolmasters invite their pupils to a feast, where they engage in the worship of Confucius. It is customary for pupils each to make a small present of money to their teachers at this time, which is appropriated, in part at least, toward defraying the expenses of the feast. As there is no image of Confucius for use on such occasions, a slip of red paper, of only a few inches in length, on which has been written in black ink an expression meaning '*the Teacher, a pattern for 10,000 ages*', is put up on the wall of the schoolroom. In front of this inscription is placed a table, having upon it a censer and a brace of candlesticks. When every thing is ready, the teacher, having first lighted and put in the censer three sticks of incense, and in the candlesticks a couple of candles, kneels down before the table, and, placing his hands on the floor, bows his head toward the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

earth slowly and reverently three times. He then arises, and one of his pupils takes his place before the table, and kneels down, making the same number of bowings in the same manner. Another pupil now takes the place, and performs the same ceremony ; and so on, till all have engaged in the worship of the sage. After this, the food which is to be consumed in the feast is placed on the table before the red paper inscription to Confucius, where it remains a short time. It is then removed to another table or tables, around which the teacher and his pupils gather and partake of it. Before the feast, the teacher usually presents to each one of his pupils a white paper fan, on which he sometimes writes a quotation from the classics, or a favorite and popular stanza of poetry. Besides this, he provides a number ^{p.137} of toys equal to the number of his pupils, each representing a graduate of the first, second, or third literary degrees, which are distinguishable by the shape and color of their dresses. It is decided by the throwing of dice in what order the pupils shall choose those toys. These toys are valued as an omen for good, or rather as an index of the success in study which each may hope to attain. It is often an interesting and exciting time among the members of a school.

On a Chinese youth entering a school as pupil for the first time in any year, he is expected to bring with him two small candles, a few sticks of incense, and a small quantity of mock-money, which are to be lighted and consumed before a slip of paper having some title of Confucius written upon it, the pupil making the customary prostration, or bowing before it, after three things have been lighted and while they are being consumed. This is called 'entering school' or 'worshiping the sage'. One morning, some six years ago, a lad, dressed in his best clothes, marched into a free-school under the charge of a missionary, carrying, besides his books, three sticks of incense, two small candles, and a few sheets of mock-money, designed, in accordance with established usage, as an offering to the Chinese sage. It seemed that the teacher had neglected to inform his parents that in the Mission school the sage was not worshiped. The lad was quietly told that the articles he had brought would not be used, inasmuch as those who

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

studied the books of Jesus did not burn incense in honor of Confucius.

The ceremony called '*going out of childhood*' is performed by many families when each of their children is sixteen years old or thereabouts. It is very nearly like the ceremony called '*passing through the door*', which has been described, except that it is generally much more imposing and showy than that ceremony, as it is usually performed. The theory entertained is, that at sixteen years of age the boy emerges from boyhood into manhood, and the girl from girlhood into womanhood. From the time of the performance of this ceremony, the goddess of children, '*Mother*', ceases to have the superintendence of the boy or the girl, and the individual comes under the government of the gods in general. The expression '*thanking Mother*' is often used in speaking of this event, when she is thanked for her past care of the youth.

p.138 Some families delay the celebration of this custom for a year or two after, or have it performed earlier than the usual time, in case their children are expecting to marry soon after or before they are sixteen years old, making it come a short time antecedent to the marriage-day. Other families, in consequence of extreme poverty, or because their ancestors have not been in the habit of celebrating the ceremony, or for some other reasons, do not celebrate it at all on the arrival of their children at *adult age*, as the age of sixteen years may not improperly be styled. The child becomes a man or woman at this time, or *becomes of age*. He or she, at the age of sixteen years, becomes amenable to punishment if guilty of crime. If guilty and convicted before this period, it is said, the culprit must be imprisoned until the proper age is reached, when punishment may be legally inflicted.

Let it not be understood, because one *becomes of age* or arrives at *adult age* in China when sixteen years old, that he comes out from the legal control of his parents at this time. While his parents are alive, a son must continue to obey them. Such is the doctrine of the classics, the laws, and the customs of China. No matter how old, how educated, how wealthy —

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

except he has become an officer of the government, and while he is serving the emperor — he must render prompt and implicit obedience to his father and mother. He may on no account disobey, or neglect, or slight their wishes or their orders. After he has become an official, and is away from his paternal home in the service of the state, he is subject to the commands of the emperor. His parents can not then control him in any respect, though he must conform in every thing to the established customs of the empire in regard to his parents. The time never arrives when a man in a private station, while his parents are living, may engage in the pursuit he chooses, or may keep his earnings for himself, or spend them as he pleases, without their free consent and approval. His wages are given to them, and they can oblige him to do any thing or take any course they please, without asking his consent or caring for his preferences. Such is said to be *law*; but *in fact* and *in practice* he is treated with some consideration, often consulted, and his wishes frequently complied with.

A daughter, after she is married, is not subject to her own ^{p.139} parents, but comes under the control of her husband's parents, if they are living. To them she is often little different from a slave. She may not resist, or oppose, or deride their wishes or commands, any more than she might resist, or oppose, or deride the wishes or commands of her own parents before her marriage. Very frequently she is treated by them with great cruelty.

After the son has attained his sixteenth year, in case of the decease of his father, he generally manages the outside affairs of the family pretty much as he pleases, unless his mother should happen to be a strong-minded woman. The classic says the woman has three obeyings : 1st, *she must obey her father* (before her marriage); 2d, *she must obey her husband* (after marriage); and, 3d, *she must obey her son* (after her husband's death), i. e., when he shall have arrived at mature age.

The principle of a woman's obeying her son after the decease of her husband must not be understood as allowing him to abuse, or insult, or

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

injure her. Neither would custom tolerate nor the laws justify such unfilial conduct.

In cases of extreme unfilial conduct, parents sometimes accuse their children before the magistrate, and demand his official aid in controlling or punishing them ; but such instances are comparatively rare. Public sentiment is so strong against the individual who will not treat his parents with the customary respect and obedience, and the want of filial piety is taught to be a crime of such enormity, that few Chinese are found who have the hardihood to lay themselves open to the disgrace of a public prosecution. It is said that, should a parent whip his child to death for unfilial conduct, notice would seldom or never be taken of it in the shape of a prosecution of the parent before the magistrate ; only the maternal uncles of the disobedient lad or man would have a right to interfere in the case. When a parent brings his incorrigible son before the magistrate for filial impiety, and demands punishment to be inflicted, the maternal uncles of the accused have a right to interfere or to be consulted, especially in case very severe punishment, as death, should be demanded by the indignant and dishonored parent. It is affirmed that no magistrate would dare to whip an unfilial child to death at the instigation and demand of his parents without first consulting and ^{p.140} obtaining the testimony or consent of his maternal uncles. They are required to bear witness to the character and the conduct of their nephew who is under prosecution. The magistrate may exercise his prerogative of advising the parent in regard to the course to be pursued, as well as of exhorting the refractory son in regard to his duty ; but he may not set himself firmly against carrying out the punishment demanded by the offended parent. If the parent requires his son to be publicly whipped by the command of the magistrate, the latter is obliged to order the infliction of the whipping. If the former demands a public exposure of his son in the wooden cangue, with the crime of *not filial* written upon it, then the latter must cause the son to be thus punished for a specified time. If, after these or similar slight punishments, the son remains undutiful and disobedient, and his parents demand it at the hands

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of the magistrate, the latter must, with the consent of the maternal uncles of the individual, cause him to be taken out to the high wall in front of the yamun, and have him there publicly whipped to death.

If a son should murder his parent, either father or mother, and be convicted of the crime, he would not only be beheaded, but his body would be mutilated by being cut into small pieces ; his house would be razed to the ground, and the earth under it would be dug up for several feet deep ; his neighbors living on the right and the left would be severely punished ; his principal teacher would suffer capital punishment ; the district magistrate of the place would be deprived of his office and disgraced ; the prefect, the governor of the province, and the viceroy would all be degraded three degrees in rank. All this is done and suffered to mark the enormity of the crime of a parricide.

What is said above in regard to the treatment of an unfilial child, and the punishment inflicted upon a parricide, and those who are supposed or believed to be connected with is in accordance with the common sayings and opinions of the people on the subject.

Having accompanied the Chinese child along the journey of life from the third day of his earthly existence until he has emerged into manhood, and having observed and attempted briefly to describe some eighteen or twenty of the singular or ^{p.141} superstitious customs which are believed to relate to his wellbeing, let us now dismiss the subject, assured that, if he remains a heathen, he will, in the main, practice the same customs in his family, and bring up his children in a similar manner.

The mind of the thoughtful reader, born and educated in a Christian land, can not but be pervaded by a deep feeling of gratitude that he was not born and brought up in China, subject to the superstitious influences to which the Chinese from their earliest infancy are subjected by their parents, in accordance with established customs.

No wonder that the Chinese are exceedingly attached to the peculiar superstitious customs of their country, when their earliest recollections are

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

so intimately associated with the performance of these customs for their special benefit, and with the excitements and the feastings which invariably attend the performance of them.

@

1.CHAPTER V

Superstitious treatment of disease

@

Miscellaneous Superstitions to cure the Sick : p.142 Death owing to the 'Reckoning of Heaven'. — Propitiating the 'Destroying God'. — Expelling deadly Influences. — Inviting the Mandate of the 'Arrow'. — Attributing the Disease to some angry God. — Ascribing the Sickness to the Enmity of a deceased Person. — Inviting the God of Medicine to visit the Sick. — Getting ten Men to become Security. — Endeavoring to bring back the Spirit of the Sick. — Following the Directions of a Book of Charms. — Burning a representative paper Image of the Sick. — Ascending a Ladder of Knives. —

They implore the Aid of certain Divinities in curing Small-pox and Measles : Worship of the Goddess of Small-pox. — Steaming Balls of Yeast. — Beating a Drum or Gong when it Thunders. — Roasting black Beans. — Presents indicating the Wish that the Scabs of the Small-pox may fall off. — Thank-offering to the Goddess of Small-pox. — Worship of the Goddess of Measles.

They employ novel Methods for curing and preventing Cholera and other epidemic Diseases : Epidemics under control of the Five Rulers. — Idol Processions. — Tall white Devil and short black Devil. — Paper Boats carried in Procession, and burnt at Water's Edge. — An unusual kind of Idol Procession to expel unhealthy Influences.

They engage in Idol Processions as a Token of Gratitude, for the Recovery of their Parents from Sickness, or to promote their Longevity : Making Vows before popular Idols. — Kneeling down in the streets before the Idol in Procession. — Wearing Cangues and Cuffs. — Dressing in red Coats. — Carrying a Stick of lighted Incense. — Ceremony before the Great King.

Miscellaneous Superstitions to cure the Sick

@

When the Chinese are sick they oftentimes have recourse to some god or goddess which they suppose has the control of the particular disease with which they are taken. They burn incense before the image, and implore a speedy recovery. If they should recover, the credit is given to the divinity worshiped, and an offering of meats or vegetables is made with more or less pomp, and at great or small expense, according to the standing of the family, and the nature of the vow made at the time of invoking the aid of the god or goddess.

If the person dies, the divinity worshiped is not regarded as to blame,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

but the thank-offering which would have been rendered in case of recovery is withheld. The death is simply p.143 accounted for by saying it is in accordance with the '*reckoning of Heaven*'. They do not seem to regard recovery from illness to be at all connected with the '*reckoning of Heaven*'. If one dies it is because Heaven wills it, or it is according to the decrees of fate. If one recovers it is because the god or goddess which controls the disease wills recovery. It is all to be credited to his or her power and benevolence. They practically ignore the great fact that health and sickness, life and death, are always in accordance with the reckoning of Heaven — are all controlled and governed by the Supreme Disposer of events.

The Chinese, notwithstanding their submission to the reckoning of Heaven, or their belief in the power of the gods and goddesses they have invented and established, make great use of medicine when they are sick. After all, the result is ascribed to Heaven if unpropitious and death ensues, or to the gods if health returns and the sick man recovers. They seem to act and feel as though Heaven were able only to cause one's death, and that only the gods had the power to rebuke disease and restore to health.

They try to propitiate a certain destructive divinity. — When the members of a family are sick one after the other, the sickness is very often attributed to the evil agency of a god called the 'destroying god', which is believed to cause diseases in families. The manner in which the Chinese sometimes speak of this subject would lead one to suppose that they imagine there are mysterious and injurious influences existing between and among the members of a family, as from the father toward his son, or the husband toward his wife, etc., very frequently resulting in illness. Some families which are afflicted with repeated and inexplicable sickness, having first made a solemn vow to have a ceremony performed, the object of which is to beg or bribe the god to dissipate or destroy these influences, proceed to have it done as soon as the health of their sick ones will admit. They employ several priests belonging to the Tauist sect. The ceremony

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

lasts, according to the option of the families who employ the priests, from one day and one night to three days and three nights, according to the amount of money they determine to expend on the occasion. They erect a temporary altar out of common ^{p.144} tables. On this are arranged various portable images of gods, candlesticks, censers, and implements used in the ceremony. Oftentimes a large amount of meats and vegetables is also offered. The priests chant their liturgy or formularies, ring their bells, and march in concert around the altar. The merit of their performances is all supposed to go to the benefit of the sick, and it is hoped that the 'destroying' demon will be prevailed upon to extirpate the baneful influences under his control, letting the sick not only get well, but keep well.

They endeavor to expel various deadly influences proceeding from evil spirits. — Should any one who has had general good health be suddenly and mysteriously taken with dizziness in his head, pain in his eyes, or with inability to use his hands or feet as usual, his illness is not unfrequently ascribed to the influence emanating from some one of seventy-two malignant spirits or gods. Immediate measures must be taken to counteract or expel this evil influence. A table is placed in the lightest part of the room in which the sick man is. On it are arranged three cups of wine, a platter having on it five kinds of fruit, and a censer and a pair of candlesticks. A quantity of mock-money is also procured, ready for burning. A Tauist priest is hired to recite the proper formulas, in order to secure the expelling of this malignant influence from the sick man. Sometimes he invokes the aid of a certain headless demon in this important work. The priest provides himself with a small bell, which he rings while he repeats his formulas ; and with a bowl of water, which he sprinkles or snaps with his fingers on the articles offered, and on the sick person. He has also a bundle of various kinds of paper charms ready for use when needed, and a small stick of wood, with which he strikes the table at intervals during the recitation of his formulas. The incense and candles are burning all this while, and at the proper time he sets the mock-money on fire. About the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

close of the performance he produces three paper charms, one of which is to be stuck up over the door of the room, another is to be worn on the person of the sick, if it be a man, or on her head, if it be a woman ; and the third is to be burnt, and its ashes, mingled with hot water, are to be drank by the sick one. Sometimes one of these charms is suspended on the curtain of the bed on which the afflicted person sleeps, according to the p.145 directions of the officiating priest. He is supposed to know which of the different methods of using the charms should be practiced in any given case. In case the priest is successful in expelling the malignant influence at an early period, medicine is rarely used in restoring the disabled individual to health. When the evil influence is removed, the person will soon regain his usual degree of health, as a matter of course.

They invite the mandate of the 'arrow' from a powerful god. — When an important member of a family is taken very ill, and the disease does not yield to medicine or nursing, it is often affirmed to be caused by an evil spirit or influence, only subject to the great gods. A member of the family — as wife, child, or brother — goes with disheveled hair, and wearing a white garment around the waist or over the shoulders, to the temple of one of the principal idols worshiped in the city, and beats the drum, which notifies the god that there is an urgent need of his kind offices. Sometimes the individual carries a stick of lighted incense in his hands, weeping and kneeling down in the streets every short distance. This indicates the greatest distress and danger. On reaching the idol's presence, he hastily lights incense and candles before the god, and proceeds to state, in a kneeling position, the circumstances of the family of the sick person, and the importance of his immediate recovery to health, as having several small children, or as having aged parents dependent on him for support. The applicant begs an arrow-like utensil, less than two feet long, on which is sometimes written a single word, 'command'. This arrow is taken home, and placed in an upright position on the centre of a table, or it is suspended over it, or it is put in a frame prepared for its reception, or in the censer used by the family of the sick man. It is then worshiped, and incense and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

candles are burnt daily before it in its honor, until the sick person recovers or dies. Should he recover, a thank-offering, consisting of meats, etc., is prepared by the family, and presented before the image of the god on the occasion of returning the 'arrow' to the temple from which it was obtained.

If the 'arrow' is ineffectual, and the sick person dies, it must be returned to the temple where it belongs, accompanied with a simple offering of mock-money, incense, and candles. These are not to be regarded as a *thank-offering*, but only as ^{p.146} tokens of respect, without which the divinity would be offended.

This 'arrow' is regarded as the warrant or command of the god invoked for the departure of the evil spirit, or the expulsion of the wicked influences which are supposed to infect the sick person, and constitute the main cause of his illness.

The sick person's illness is sometimes attributed to the spirit of his or her former wife or husband (that is, in a previous state of existence), which, after long search, has finally succeeded in finding its partner. The sick person sometimes declares this to be the fact, or rather the mouth of the sick is used by the spirit to make the disclosure. In such a case, some one of the family makes a vow to have performed a certain ceremony, the object of which is to 'ferry over' the wandering spirit ; or they employ a magician to perform a certain other ceremony for the relief of the sick, by 'catching' the spirit which possesses or disturbs him. If such a procedure does not result favorably, a resort is finally had to some popular divinity, by soliciting an arrow, as above described.

They attribute the disease to the anger of some god. — Sometimes a person is suddenly attacked with an unaccountable disease. His family attribute it to some god or goddess unknown, which has become offended through some act or word of the person, and which, as a punishment, has sent the disease upon him. After such a conclusion, one of the family takes three sticks of incense in his hand, approaches the individual, and fervently and reverently inquires, in 'substance', '*What god has this man offended*

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

that he is thus afflicted ? I beg that the divinity will make it known by the mouth of the sick, so that I may readily go and render thanks'. If the sick person then should speak the name of any god or goddess, it is taken for granted that such a god or goddess has been the cause of his illness. Offerings of meats and vegetables, together with incense, candles, and mock-money, are, according to custom, prepared and presented before an image of the divinity whose name was mentioned by the afflicted one. The object of all this is to propitiate the good-will of the divinity, and thus expedite the recovery of the patient.

Sometimes recourse is had to divination, by means of a tortoise-shell and three ancient cash, in order to ascertain what ^{p.147} divinity has been offended, and what must be done to propitiate it, and where the ceremony must be performed, etc.

Often the sick person will himself (speaking for the god offended) declare the day, month, and year when he abused or paid manifest disrespect to some idol in a specified place, and that his soul is to be taken to the lower regions to suffer punishment for this sin, which punishment it now becomes the object of the family to prevent, by propitiating the offended divinity through offerings of meats, incense, and mock-money.

It is a very prevalent belief among the common people that those who insult the images of the gods and goddesses worshiped here will be seized with colic, or with some painful disease, as the positive punishment for such conduct. Probably this sentiment conduces very much to the respectful treatment which is universally shown to the idols carried in public procession through the streets, even by persons who are not engaged in them, and who are delayed or annoyed by them.

It is not unfrequently remarked, in regard to the sickness of children, that perhaps they are suffering from the influence of a goddess of children, familiarly called 'Mother' ; or, in regard to the ailments of a husband or a wife, that he or she, as the case may be, has offended against a certain god of bad repute worshiped by prostitutes. These divinities must be

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

propitiated by a presentation of meats, mock-money, etc., when it is supposed the persons afflicted will speedily recover.

They ascribe the disease to the enmity of the spirit of a deceased person. — Sometimes, when one is taken with sudden and severe pains, and becomes quite ill, or when one's business goes wrongly, and he loses money, such a state of things is frequently ascribed to the grudge or enmity of the spirit of some person, now deceased, but who was offended, either in the present or in a former state of being, by the sick man, or the man whose business languishes, or by his ancestors, for whose follies or for whose vices he is held responsible, and for whom he is made to suffer. In view of such suspicions, the family proceed to prepare several suits of paper clothing, a miniature paper umbrella, several pairs of small straw sandals, and a large sheet of paper. They provide also an offering of meats, mock-money, candles, and incense. Several priests belonging to the Tauist religion are then invited to repeat the ^{p.148} formula for dissolving or untying grudges. They perform the ceremony either in the sick man's house or in some temple, burning the paper articles and offering the eatables according to the established custom. The object of this is to propitiate the inimical spirit, or cause it to take its departure. Unless this is done, it is feared that the same ill luck, or the sickness arising from the malevolence of an injured and offended spirit, will disturb the man and his family in successive generations, or at least until the revenge or the enmity of the unfriendly spirit shall have been satisfied. Buddhist priests seldom or never engage in the performance of the ceremony for dissipating grudges. Sometimes some of the members of the family themselves are able to repeat the formularies relating to this subject, which is believed to answer nearly as well as though it were done by hired priests.

They invite the god of medicine to their house. — If one has very painful ulcers, malignant sores, or inflamed eyes, recourse is often had, by some of his family on his behalf, to a god of medicine, in somewhat the following manner : The friend goes to the temple erected in the god's honor and for

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

his worship, but, as the god is quite deaf, he must be aroused and interested in an extraordinary way. Some, therefore, rub or tickle one of his ears, and then present their requests, speaking into his organ of hearing thus excited. Others rub the part of the image which corresponds to the part of the body of the sick man which is affected, in order that the god may know precisely where his services are needed. The suppliant, having burned incense and candles before the image of the '*Doctor*', returns to the home of his relative, the patient, carrying some of the ashes taken from the censer standing before the god, or from the medicine-box of one of his attendants, whose images stand near by. Now these ashes represent the '*Doctor*', and must therefore be treated with respect and reverence by the family. They are done up in red paper, and placed in the censer belonging to the household, and incense and candles are daily burned before them, accompanied with kneeling and bowing. If the man's boils or ulcers disappear soon after this, it is attributed to the efficacy of the god of medicine, and the man must make a thank-offering to him in his temple, consisting of five or ten dishes of vegetables (no meats), with the ^{p.149} customary burning of candles, incense, and mock-money, rewriting at the same time the ashes which were previously obtained front the temple. This doctor is a Grahamite.

They get ten men to become 'security' for the sick person. — When one is sick, and medicine seems to do no good, sometimes his relatives and friends, of ten different families, endeavor to benefit him by becoming a kind of 'security' for him. Each family contributes one hundred cash, which is paid into the hands of a member of his family. This amount not being sufficient to defray the expenses of the subsequent feast and ceremonies, what is needed in addition is furnished by the family. They purchase a quantity of eatables, as pork, fish, fowl, eggs, fruit, wine, cakes, etc., and provide a feast for these ten friends in a temple. These articles are, however, first presented before the idol worshiped these, as an offering, in order to obtain the aid of the god in restoring the sick man to health. The names of these ten persons, written on a piece of paper, are also burned

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

before the idol, as a fancied security for him. Besides, several priests are employed to recite their formulas, and perform certain other ceremonies for the benefit of the sick man. After the conclusion of these preliminaries, the articles provided are arranged on tables for eating, and the ten friends, the priests, and other guests, if any have been invited, sit down to the feast. When the representative of the family returns home, he carries a certain wooden vessel, holding about a peck, being four-sided, and larger at the top than at the bottom, containing some rice, ten chopsticks, which are placed in an upright position around the sides of the measure, also one pair of shears, one foot-measure, one metallic mirror, and one money-balance or scales. These four articles are placed in the centre of the four sides. In the centre of the measure is a burning lamp, in front of which, or on the sides of which, are two candles and three sticks of incense, all lighted, and, finally, a small wooden stick or image representing the sick individual.

As soon as he reaches home, some of the rice in the measure is immediately taken and made into congee, which is given to the sick man to eat, if possible. The measure, with its contents, is placed in the room where the sick one is. The lamp, the candles, and the incense are allowed to burn as long as ^{p.150} they will. They must go out of themselves, and not be extinguished by design, as that would be a very inauspicious omen.

They endeavor to bring back the departing spirit of the sick man. — When one is very sick, and apparently almost ready to die, as a last resort the following method is sometimes adopted to prevent the death of the sick man, and restore him to health : Several priests of the Tauist sect are engaged to repeat their formulas in a temple for his benefit. At the house, or near it, another ceremony is performed ; sometimes, however, that too is performed in the temple. A bamboo, eight to ten feet long, having fresh green leaves at its little end, is provided. Near this end there often is fastened a white cock. One end of a red cord is tied around the centre of a two-foot measure, and the other end is made fast around the bamboo, among the green leaves. A coat belonging to the sick man, and very

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

recently worn, is suspended on this measure, its ends being put into the arm-holes of the garment. A metallic mirror, having a handle to it, is then tied on this measure in such a manner that it will come a few inches above the shoulders of the garment, in the place where the head of an individual would come were the coat to be worn. Some one of the family takes this bamboo pole and ^{p.151} holds it loosely in his grasp in a perpendicular position, standing not far from the house, or in the temple if conveniently near. A priest now begins to call over the name of the sick person, and to ring his bell, and to repeat certain incantations, the object of which is to cause the sick man's spirit to enter the coat. The white cock and the bright mirror are supposed to perform an important part in effecting this desirable object. After a while the pole is sometimes observed to turn round slowly in



the hands of its holder, which circumstance is believed to be a sure proof of the presence of the spirit of the sick man in the coat. At the conclusion of the ceremonies the coat is taken from its place on the bamboo pole, and placed as soon as possible on the body of the sick man, or it is spread over him as he lies on his bed, if he is too sick to allow its being put on properly.

Bringing back the soul of the sick into his clothes on the bamboo

It should have been premised that the spirit of the sick man is supposed to have left his body, and yet to be hovering around in the vicinity. It is supposed also that it can be induced by the performance of the ceremonies above described to return to the coat which has been but recently worn by the person to whom the said spirit belongs ; and, if it but enters the coat, it can be transferred to the body of the sick man, and perhaps be prevailed upon to remain there.

They follow out the directions of a book of charms. — There is a very singular method of treating unimportant diseases of children, or their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

common pains, as headache, colic, etc., very frequently resorted to by their parents at this place. A small book, said to have been made a long while ago by one who was then the chief of Tauist priests, contains a list of days, with directions how children should be treated who are taken with certain symptoms on these days. If a parent wishes to follow out the teachings of this book, when his child is sick, he has only to look for the day and the hour when it was taken unwell, and ascertain whether there is any correspondence between the symptoms given therein and the symptoms of his sick child. If there should be a correspondence, he is instructed what to do to remove the disease from his child, and also what evil spirit is the cause of the illness. What he is instructed to do is designed to appease this spirit. Specific directions are given, according to the time, disease, and spirit ^{p.152} concerned. Perhaps he must buy a certain number of sheets of white and of yellow mock-money. He must prepare a picture of a horse, and also of a boy or of a girl, as the case may be, like the pictures of the horse, the boy or the girl, found in the book as patterns. This can be done by taking a piece of paper and laying it on the figure found in the volume, and then tracing the outlines with a pen. These must be burned with the face of the performer turned toward the north, east, south, or west, according to the directions of the book. Sometimes, also, a few dishes of vegetables and cakes are to be offered to the mischievous spirit, *all according to this doctor-book.*

They burn a paper image as a kind of substitute. — When one is very sick, sometimes a ceremony is performed, the object of which is principally to propitiate the god which, according to them, rules over the current year. The ceremony takes its distinctive name from a rude picture of a human being drawn on or cut out of a piece of paper, representing the sick man. This is pasted on a slip of bamboo. About one hundred pieces of mock-money having been pasted into a certain form, and placed together in a square or round package, the paper image is stuck into it by means of the bamboo slip. This package is then put into an open, shallow bamboo basket, such as farmers use oftentimes for drying grain. A plate containing

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

a small piece of uncooked pork, one duck's egg, a little fowl's blood, and one unbaked cake, is also placed on this shallow basket, with three cups of wine, and some incense and candles. This basket and its contents are then placed under a table, on the ground, or on a low stool. On the top of this table are also placed a pair of candlesticks, and a censer for candles and incense, together with five, or eight, or ten plates of meats, fish, fowls, bread, and vermicelli. After the officiating priest has recited his formulas and incantations, some member of the sick man's family takes the package of mock-money, having the paper image still sticking in it, and, holding it so that the face or front of the image shall be toward the outside of the house, carries it out of doors. The priest follows him after pronouncing one or two sentences, ordering the departure of the disease, or whatever troubles the sick man. After both parties are out of the house, and while p.153 standing in the street, the priest spouts from his mouth some water over the man, and the mock-money, and the representative image. Afterward the image and the mock-money are burned, and the whole ceremony is concluded by the company feasting on the edibles which have been offered to the presiding and governing deity for the current year. This representative image is supposed to carry off whatever interferes with the recovery of the sick man. The bread, the vermicelli, and the duck's egg are all omens of good, and sustain an important relation.

They hire one to ascend a ladder of knives. — Sometimes a company of Tauist priests are engaged by the family of a sick man to perform their incantations and repeat their formulas for his benefit, accompanied by *ascending a ladder of knives*. A ladder is extemporized for p.154 the occasion, the rounds of which consist of swords or long knives, with the edge upward. At a certain part of the performance, one of the priests, barefooted, ascends this ladder, and, after arriving at the top, he stands there a while and recites some spells for the relief of the sick man. It is thought that the wicked spirits, who take delight in troubling mankind, will see the swords, and will be frightened, not daring to approach the man to do more evil. The gods, too, it is hoped, will thus be influenced to take pity

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



on the afflicted man, and expedite his recovery to accustomed health. This ascending a ladder of knives, compared with some of the other methods above described, for the benefit of a sick person, is seldom practiced, perhaps because of the danger of being injured by the knives on the part of the individuals who engage in it.

Priest ascending a ladder of knives

They implore the Aid of certain Divinities in curing Small-pox and Measles

@

The Chinese dread the ravages of the small-pox and of the measles among their children. They have goddesses to cure these diseases. These are ranked among the most popular objects of worship among all classes of the people at this place. From the time when it is known that a child has the small-pox until his recovery, there is more or less worship of some goddess of small-pox.

On the third day after the pustules have begun to appear, it is a universal custom for one of the family to go to a baking establishment and procure ten small bits of Chinese yeast. These are steamed in the usual vessel for steaming rice belonging to the family. They soon begin to swell and become several times larger than they were before steaming. These are then removed from the steamer and placed before the picture of the goddess, or whatever represents her majesty. The p.155 design of this operation is to cause her to exert her influence to have the pustules redden, fill up, and swell out, in resemblance of the swelling out of the balls of yeast when steamed. Two days after this, ten more of the yeast bits are procured, steamed, and presented before the goddess, in a similar manner and for the same purpose. After waiting two days more, ten bits of yeast



Goddess of small-pox

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

are again treated in the same way. The most important and critical period is said to be *these seven days* after the pustules first appear.

On the ninth day an offering is generally made to the goddess, designed as an expression of thanks for her goodness in case the pustules have filled well, and the child is getting better. The offering consists of fish, meat, fowl, and vegetables. If the child should not be doing well on the ninth day, the thanksgiving is deferred, or, if the child should have died, no thanksgiving is made.

After the pustules have come out and before the end of the seventh day, whenever it thunders some member of the family beats on a drum or gong, placed ready for use when circumstances demand. The noise produced in this way is kept up as long as the thunder lasts. The beater has some one to assist him, telling him when the thunder has ceased, as the beater of the drum or gong is unable to tell when there is no thunder. The object of this is to prevent the pustules of the small-pox from breaking or bursting. As some explain the custom, the ringing of the bell or the beating of the drum, producing very familiar sounds, is designed to keep the lad from being frightened by the noise of the thunder, and from doing any thing which would cause the pustules to break. Others say that it is feared that the noise or the reverberations of the thunder will make the pustules sink down and dry up sooner than is desirable, and therefore they use the gong or the drum — to counteract such a result.

On the fourteenth day after the lad has been taken down with the small-pox, some one of the family procures a few black beans which have a small green speck upon them, and roast them in the iron vessel used for cooking rice. After roasting these beans until they become brittle, they are placed before the goddess of small-pox. The lad who is the object of solicitude is placed in a sitting posture upon a large ^{p.156} windowing sieve made out of bamboo splints. On the top of his head is then put a small piece of red cloth, and the parched beans are taken from before the goddess and laid upon this red cloth, whence they are allowed to roll off. The scars left by

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the pustules of this disease are thought to resemble somewhat this bean in their general appearance. The name for the bean, pronounced in the dialect of this place, is identical in sound with the common name for the small-pox. This identity in name, and this similarity in appearance between the bean and the small-pox, have probably given rise to the ceremony above described, which *indicates the strong desire that the pustules should dry up, and become in appearance like the parched bean !*

After it has become known among friends and relatives that the lad has broken out with the small-pox, they oftentimes send to his family a present, such as a few soft sweet cakes, one or two pounds of white sugar or the white date, one or two parcels of arrow-root, or two or three pounds of ham. The design of making these presents is to express their sympathy with the family of the sick lad, and to indicate their hopes that the *scabs of the small-pox may fall off*. In other words, these presents indicate the strong wishes of the donors for the happy recovery of the sick lad. The period for making this present, which is named the '*scabs of the small-pox falling off*', extends from the seventh to the fourteenth day after the pustules begin to make their appearance.

If the child recovers, the family make to those who presented the tokens of their sympathy during his illness a return present, which is regarded as an expression of their gratitude to them for their kindness. The return present consists principally of Chinese *sandwiches*. The number of these sandwiches sent back varies from fifteen or twenty up to a hundred to each family.

At the end of one month from the appearance of the disease, if the child is well, the family make a thank-offering to the goddess of small-pox for her benevolent and powerful aid in restoring the child to health. The ceremony is oftentimes quite imposing, and the kinds of food presented numerous and of good quality. The poor are frequently able to make but a meagre thank-offering to the goddess, though it is probably as ^{p.157} sincere and as kindly received as a thank-offering made of costly and numerous kinds of edibles.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

When a child has broken out with the measles, recourse is usually at once had to the goddess of measles for her aid in bringing it to a happy termination. At various times during the progress of the measles, more or less applications are made to her majesty, who is generally represented by a slip of paper on which her name and title have been inscribed. On the recovery of the child, the family offers a thanksgiving in honor of the goddess of measles.

They employ novel Methods for curing and preventing Cholera and other epidemic Diseases

@

The cholera suddenly appeared at Fuhchau in the summer of 1858, and in the course of a few days caused great excitement and alarm among the native inhabitants. Those attacked by it often died in less than half a day. It usually was attended with purging and vomiting, though sometimes it only produced purging without vomiting, or vomiting without purging. The progress of the disease was so rapid and fatal, that instances occurred where the sick person was carried out in a sedan chair to the burying-place decided upon while yet alive, with his grave-clothes and coffin, in the sure expectation of his death.

The people believe, or profess to believe, that epidemics in summer, and malignant diseases in general, are under the control of '*the five emperors or rulers*'. This term refers to five idols or images much feared by the common people of this place. It is a very usual method of frightening children to obedience to tell them that the 'five emperors will catch them' — that is, will give them the colic.

There are numerous temples dedicated to them. These rulers have several attendants. The



Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

representations of two of them are very frequently paraded through the streets, especially in the hot summer months, forming a part of an 'idol procession'. Foreigners usually call them 'the tall white devil' and 'the short black devil', from their general appearance, size, and color. The former is often eight or ten feet high. Its body consists of a slight bamboo frame-work, usually covered with light-colored silk, or bluish or white cotton ^{p.158} cloth. It has a head, arms, and hands, but, as it appears in the streets, no feet, and is made to move by a man who gets into it, his own feet being seen below the dress of the image. There is a small hole made in the front part of it, as high from the ground as the head of its carrier comes, so that he can see out, and thus be



Tall white devil. Short black devil

enabled to walk without the constant danger of falling down, or running against objects. The other image is from four to five feet high, very corpulent and very black, its frame-work being in like manner made of bamboo. It is also carried by a man or boy inside of it. A hole is made in its hat, so that the person inside can see out. Both of these 'devils' are horrid-looking objects, and when seen by the foreigner for the first time, parading in an idol procession, are enough to strike him with dismay, as well as arouse his indignation.

Idol processions, consisting of images of the five emperors borne in pomp in large sedans by eight bearers, and their servants, the white and the black devils, attended by a numerous retinue of living worshipers, as lictors, heralds, etc., had ^{p.159} thronged the streets of this city and suburbs in greater numbers and more frequently than in former years for several weeks previous to the appearance of the cholera. These processions marching to and fro, sometimes in the day and sometimes in the evening, through the by-lanes and narrow streets as well as the main thoroughfares, were accompanied by men and boys furiously beating gongs and drums, and bearing lighted incense before the idols. Each temple dedicated to the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

worship of the five emperors sent forth its portable images. Sometimes the companies proceeding from different temples, uniting in the streets, would form a long, and, in the estimation of the Chinese, an imposing procession.

The object of this display was to propitiate the good-will of the five emperors, and to induce them to banish, or to keep away from this city, epidemics and the diseases which usually prevail in hot weather. For this laudable purpose the Chinese were willing to subscribe money to defray the necessary expenses, which, in the aggregate, must have been considerable. It is customary for these processions to appear in the streets in July and August, in order to prevent summer complaints.

These processions were principally brought to an end during the first part of August with the burning, on the banks of the River Min, of several tens of paper boats twenty or thirty feet long. These boats, whose frames were made out of bamboo covered with variously-colored paper, presented a pretty appearance as they were borne along through the streets to the river-side at night by men with torches. Previous to the carrying forth of each boat from the temple to which it belonged, there was a performance of superstitious ceremonies before it, as it were to consecrate it, consisting, in part, of the burning of incense and candles, the chanting of formulas by priests, with special offerings to the five emperors, attended with the beating of gongs and drums. After arrival at the side of the river, just before burning the boat, all the 'black' and 'white' devils which happened to be there ran at the top of their speed around the boat, and then reverently kneeled down in a row near by until the flames had consumed it. The object designed to be accomplished by the burning of these boats was to collect and send out to ^{p.160} sea the diseases and the unhealthy influences which the five emperors were willing to send away from the place.

But these precautionary sanitary measures proved unavailing. Only a short time after these proceedings were finished, and still while the people were rejoicing in the expected exemption from pestilence in consequence of the conciliation of the gods, and the large amount of good deeds they had

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

performed, the cholera broke out. In a short time consternation spread among them, and changed their joy into solicitude.

Some of a certain class of persons, who profess at times to be possessed of the spirit of the gods, reported that the five emperors had revealed to them the cause of the appearance of the cholera. These magicians said that the boats were not furnished with funds sufficient to pay the expenses of the ocean voyage ; others said that the boats were too small to answer the purpose desired, and of course they were obliged to return to port, in order to part with the diseases they contained. According to the hints or the revelations made by these men, the managers of some of the temples dedicated to the worship of the five emperors again determined to go through the operation of collecting money, sending out the images to parade the streets, and burning boats, in the hope to be more successful in securing for their own particular neighborhoods exemption from the ravages of the dreaded scourge.

In addition to these processions, which were specially connected with the temples of the five emperors — which to disinterested and unsophisticated foreigners would seem to be sufficient to accomplish the prevention or the expulsion of epidemic diseases, if any sort or amount of idol processions could accomplish it — these was another kind, which became quite general and popular among the Chinese here in view of the alarming prevalence of the cholera. It was said that resort had not been had to this particular kind of idol procession for thirty or forty years to any thing like the extent which it reached during the August of 1858.

This kind of procession originates with the inhabitants of different neighborhoods, who contribute money for its expenses, and who expect to share its benefits. The time of performing, it is only during the evening, extending until nearly or quite midnight. It consists, in part, of carrying around ^{p.161} fancy lanterns, lighted with tapers, made in a large variety of sizes and shapes out of several kinds of gaudily-colored paper. Some of these were of the form and dimension of the official red umbrellas of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

mandarins, and, being made to revolve, looked in the evening very prettily, if regarded only as a toy. Others took the shape of the official fans carried before high mandarins when they appear in the street. There were also men and boys who carried, suspended at the end of a bamboo pole, common cheap lanterns, or who bore nothing but burning torches. Besides these there were also some persons who, as they walked along, kept beating at intervals gongs and drums with all their might, and others who played on various other kinds of musical instruments ; and others still who bore with great solemnity some idol seated in a sedan or on a kind of throne, having in front, either carried separately by men or attached to the sedan or throne, incense and candles burning. If the image of one of the five emperors should appear in the procession, then his two servants, the black devil and the white devil, would be sure to attend him. If some other idol should be carried, then men, dressed in a manner which has been chosen to designate or represent his servants, would attend him, besides many others with lamps or lanterns and torches. The kind of idol for the occasion being decided upon by any particular neighborhood, a certain number of persons would go and prepare to appear in the procession, imitating the dress, position, and utensils appropriated to the servants of that idol.

It was one of the privileges of every person who contributed to pay the expenses of this kind of procession to have it march in order past his door, if his house was situated upon any street or alley which allowed of any such passing by of the procession. This course was believed to insure him and his household immunity from the attacks of the epidemic disease it was designed to avert.

This sort of procession, besides going through all the alleys and lanes of its own neighborhood, frequently united with similar processions belonging to adjacent neighborhoods. Then the din of all the gongs and drums, mingling with the outcries of the excited multitudes, become almost deafening and distracting to any one who was nigh, and who did not p.162

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sympathize in the performance. It was asserted that by this means the evil influences and the epidemic diseases which existed in one neighborhood or district would surely be driven away to another, and then from that neighborhood to another, and so on until the city and the suburbs became entirely free from their influence or presence.

All classes of the population seemed to have a personal interest in these processions, and sanctioned and encouraged them by their presence and their active assistance. The amount of time and money consumed in the ways above indicated during six weeks was enormous. But, after all these means to prevent it, the cholera continued to rage for weeks, and the people continued to be mad upon their idols. Want of success seemed only to encourage them to more arduous efforts to make the more noise and pomp, and to spend the more money.

These extraordinary measures to cure or remove cholera signally failed even to protect the performers ; many who took an active part in the processions themselves fell a prey to the scourge they hoped in vain to expel. The people, however, have not grown wiser by their failure. Every year, in the hottest months, the processions of the five emperors and their servants parade the streets, that there may be less sickness and fewer deaths than there otherwise would be.

**They engage in Idol Processions as a token of gratitude
for the recovery of their Parents from Sickness,
or in order to secure their Longevity**

@

For two days in the spring and two days in the autumn, the streets of the city and its southern suburb are paraded by several thousand men and boys, in connection with the annual processions of two of the highest gods worshiped in this part of the empire, in the performance of vows which they have made.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

These vows are made either under the open heavens, or before the images of the god in whose processions they propose to engage, and relate to their own health, or the health and long life of their parents, grandparents, and brothers. Most generally the vows are made in view of the ill health of parents, or with a desire to promote their continuance in health ^{p.163} and their longevity. The person who makes a vow promises to perform certain acts for a specified number of years, as for one, two, or ten years, and in connection with the annual procession of a certain idol through the streets, in case his own health or the health of his sick relative should be restored.

The performance of this vow, if it relate to benefits believed to have been already received by himself or his relative, is regarded in the light of a *public thank-offering*; if it relates to benefits yet in the future, it is regarded in the light of a *meritorious act*, in view of which it is hoped that the god will bestow the desired good. In the case of a vow made in behalf of a sick person, unless recovery should follow, no token of gratitude is offered in the public procession.

A few days before the time fixed for the public procession, those who, in the fulfillment of their vows, expect to take part in it, go or send a friend to the temple of the god in whose honor the procession is to be made, and report their names, and the particular nature of the vow they have made. These items are recorded in a book belonging to the temple. Each applicant pays the clerk of the temple eight or ten cents, and receives in return a printed schedule, which is filled out with his name, and the kind of vow made, and a few other particulars. This paper is dated and numbered, corresponding to the order in which application is made. Two printed slips of paper are also given to most applicants, which are numbered in like manner, and are to be used as a kind of seal, as will be hereafter described.

On the days appointed for the procession, each of these classes of performers of vows appear in the streets, dressed according to custom, and having the appropriate utensils.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Some have a small stool about one foot long and four or five inches wide and high. On the face of this stool the two strips of paper received from the ^{p.164} temple have been pasted in the form of the letter X. On one end of the stool there is a nail, or a piece of iron, extending upward, having a pole in it, so as to hold sticks of incense. These men are all neatly dressed in short coats, having straw or rush sandals on their feet, and a yellow charm stuck into the hair of their heads. Some of these have also a large wallet suspended from their necks, coming down to their sides, for the purpose of holding the incense which they intend to use during the time of parading the streets. Thus arrayed, they join the procession very early in the morning. After walking along a few paces in the streets through which the idol they honor is to be carried, at an indefinite distance *before it*, they turn round, and, facing it, though it may be out of sight, and even several *li* distant, kneel or squat down, both hands grasping the stool, which is placed on the ground. Usually their knees do not touch the earth, they



Worshiping with incense and stool

only *making believe*, or pretend to kneel down, balancing themselves, on the stools. The end of the stool in which the nail is driven, holding one or three sticks of lighted incense, is turned from the performers and toward the approaching idol. They now rise to an upright position, still grasping the stool with both hands, and reverently raising it about as high as their heads. Then lowering it about as low as their waists, they wheel about, carrying it before them, take a certain number of steps in the street, usually seven or ten steps, when they turn round, and, facing the idol, go through the same ceremony again. They then turn round, go the same distance, wheel about, and pretend to kneel again in a similar manner, and so on until they arrive at the limit of the procession of the idol for that day. On returning home from this place, they do not bow down in the streets, as they did in going to that place. Sometimes a company of four or five

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

persons who have made this vow happen to be together, or very near each other ; in such cases, as they simultaneously turn round toward the idol, place the stool on the ground, pretend to kneel, rise to an upright position, lift up their stool grasped with both hands as high as their heads, wheel about, walk the customary distance, again turn round, and perform the same ceremony, they present a very singular and unique appearance, which never fails to attract the attention of those passing through the streets. p.165 Those who thus perform their vows amount to several hundreds.

Another class of persons appear in the procession having a large wooden cangue about their necks, in general shape and appearance like the cangues worn by culprits as a punishment, though not so heavy nor so large. The two slips of printed paper, having the number of the applicants written on it, given at the time of recording their names at the temple, are pasted on the front or upper side of the cangues, in imitation of the written

inscriptions put by authority of mandarins on the cangues worn by culprits. These have the yellow charm stuck into the hair on their heads like those who have the stools and who bow every few paces. They, however, do not kneel down, but walk slowly in the street along which the idol is to be carried. Their number generally is much less than the number of those who carry the stool. Some also wear handcuffs.



Wearing the cangue as a token of gratitude

Another class of these performers of vows have much smaller cangues about their necks than the class just described. p.166 Sometimes there are two or three thousand of this class in a single procession. Besides wearing the small cangue, which has the two slips of paper pasted on it as on the larger cangues, these persons generally have their hands thrust into a kind of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

leathern or wooden cuffs. To these cuffs there usually is attached a chain made out of brass wire, which passes over the necks of the wearers. Sometimes those who have cuffs on their hands have no cangue about their necks, but in its place a small chain which is locked on their neck, the lock coming under their chins. The ends of this chain hang down, or are attached to the cuffs around their wrist.

Sometimes there will be seen in the procession several persons who have on a kind of red coat over their other clothes, and on that will be written a few words denoting in substance that the wearer is to be beheaded. These simply walk slowly along in the crowd.

Another class of persons have neither the cangue for their necks nor cuffs on their hands, nor stools, but carry a single stick of lighted incense. Every few paces these kneel down in the streets, having first turned around so as to face the idol, and still holding the lighted incense in their hands. They then rise up, and, wheeling about, walk along the customary distance, when they turn around and kneel down, and so on, much as those do who carry the stool, as above described.

On returning home from the place where the idol is to turn around and be carried back to its temple, the devotees take off their cuffs, cangue, etc., and carry them in their hands or under their arms, as is most convenient.

Those who dress in red, and who thus profess themselves as willing to suffer capital punishment, are regarded as those who have made the highest or greatest vow possible, in order to promote the recovery of their dear relatives, or to secure their long life. Those who wear cangues on their necks or cuffs on their wrists acknowledge themselves as sinners against the idol in whose honor the procession is made, and voluntarily take the place of culprits. All these different ways of testifying their gratitude for the recovery of sick relatives, or to promote their longevity, have a peculiar significance, when interpreted according to the popular customs of this place.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

In the course of a few days subsequent to the public ^{p.167} procession, all those who received a schedule on their reporting their names and the vow they have made at the temple a short time before the procession took place, are expected to take this schedule and the two slips of paper torn off their stool or cangue, as the case may be, to the neighborhood temple near which they live, and burn them before the image of the Great King, accompanied with the burning of incense and candles. At the end of the number of years during which the persons vowed to engage in the procession once annually, as above described, the cangue which they have used is burnt under the open heavens, and an offering of meats and mock-money is presented before the Great King. This Great King is believed, as some affirm, to act the part of a local constable, and report these transactions to his superiors in the other world.

@

1.CHAPTER VI

Death, mourning, and burial

@

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Mourning and the unburied Dead : p.168

Bidding Farewell at Death. — Lighting Candles and Incense. — Turning around the 'Bridge-Ladder'. — Offering Food and Wine to the Dead. — Cash used before the Place for the Spirit of the Dead. — The Burning of a miniature Paper Sedan for the Use of the Dead. — Putting 'longevity' Clothes on the Corpse. — Placing the Corpse in the Coffin. — Arranging a Table before the Place of the Spirit. — The 'longevity' Picture. — Using Cash to inquire of the Dead. — The Servant Devil. — Performing the Ceremony for the Repose of the Spirit of the Dead. — Sleeping by the Coffin. — Bringing Water in the Morning, and Waiting on the Dead at Mealtime, and bidding 'Good-night !' — The Relatives make Presents for Use in Sacrificing to the Dead. — Worshiping the 'longevity' Picture. — Informing the Ten Kings of Hell of the Death of the Individual. — Observing a Ceremony in Honor of the Seven Kings. — Putting on Mourning on the Seventh Day. — Celebrating every Seventh Day for Seven Times. — Ceasing to offer Rice at Meal-time. — The Present received by the married Daughter to dry up her Tears. — Celebrating the Sixtieth Day. — Observing the Fourteenth and Thirtieth of every Month. — The Celebration at the End of Three Years, and Removing the Table from before the Place of the Spirit. — Observing the Anniversary of the Birth and the Death of the Dead.

Meritorious Ceremonies performed for the Benefit of the Dead : Mounting the Platform. — Letting go the Water Lanterns. — Breaking into Hell. — Spirits passing over the Bridge. — Introductory Service. — Issuing the Notification. — The bright Lantern of Seventeen Buddhas. — Burning a Paper Sedan, an image of a Crane, and Trunks of mock-Money and mock-Clothing. — Sending Money to pay the Debt of the Deceased, or for the Use of the Animal to which he belongs. — Public Notice of Meritorious Ceremonies. — The Water Ceremony. — Service of using the Names of 1000 Buddhas. — Bloody-Pond Ceremony. — Ceremony to propitiate the Ten Kings of Hell.

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Mourning and the unburied Dead

@

It deserves to be particularly mentioned that when children or unmarried persons die, many of the customs which will be described are not observed. Generally, it is only when the deceased is an adult and married, and the head of a ^{p.169} family, his own parents or grandparents having already deceased, that these customs are observed.

They bid farewell at separation by death. — It is very desirable that the members of a family should all be present, if possible, at the moment of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the death of its head. Sons, daughters, and the wives of sons, grandchildren, male or female, as well as the brothers and sisters of the dying man, as far as practicable, should gather around his bedside. When the last breath has been drawn, all simultaneously break out into loud lamentation and weeping. Some explain this custom by saying they thus bid him farewell. The departure of the dead is attended with doleful outcries and with passionate expressions of grief. The loud lamentation at death is often heard on the death of persons not married, and not the head of a family, nor arrived at adult age.

They light candles and burn incense. — All beyond death is regarded as dark by the Chinese. The dead are believed to be unable to see how or where to walk. On this account, a pair of candles and some common incense are lighted just after the death of a relative, being generally arranged on a chair by his bedside, or on the bedstead. The incense is put upon a bowl filled with ashes, in a flat position — that is, parallel with the surface of the earth, instead of being placed in an upright position, as usual when burning. The design of the candles is to light the spirit of the dead on its way. The candles are provided by his children or members of his family in the laudable expectation of aiding the dead to find and keep the right path. The proverb says, 'One living, is a man, but dead, is a spirit'. The spirit is therefore considered able and entitled to receive the odor of incense lighted for its benefit.

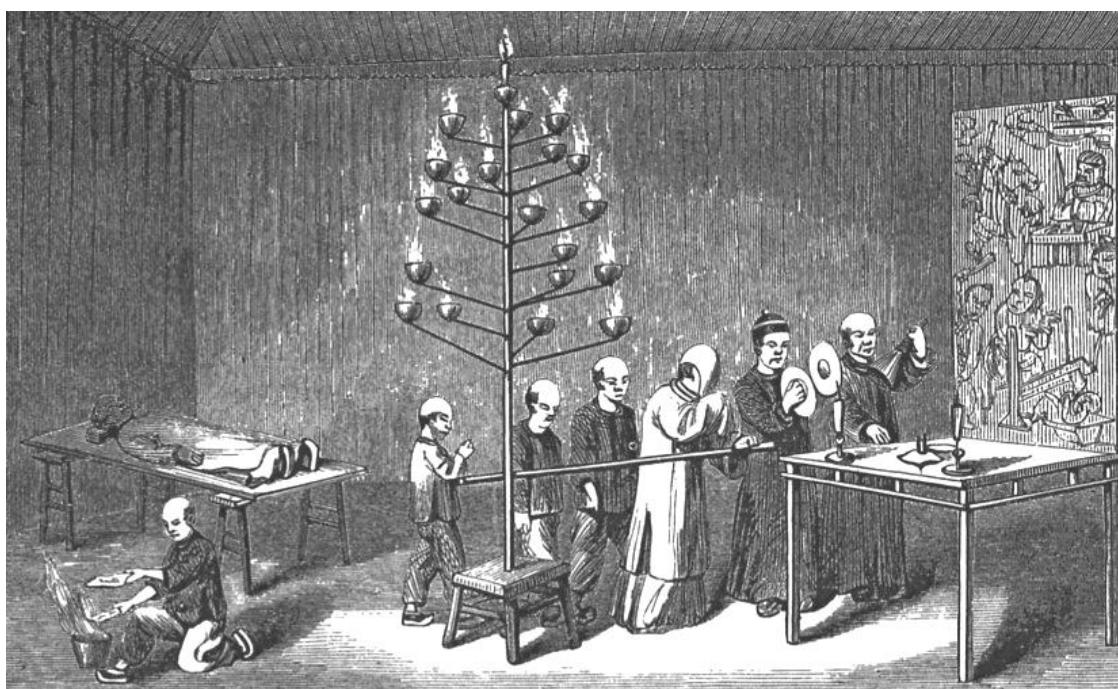
They move or turn around a kind of 'bridge-ladder'. — After the body has been laid out, this singular custom is observed in many families. Sometimes those families which have no married or betrothed daughters do not practice it on the death of its head. The married daughters, if living within reasonable distance, are expected to return home with their husbands and children.

Several Tauist priests are employed to prepare the 'bridge-ladder' and aid in the celebration of the ceremony, at the expense of the son-in-law or sons-in-law of the deceased. A p.170 post some seven or eight feet high is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

placed in a socket or frame standing on the ground, in a perpendicular position. Into holes made in the sides of this post are fastened several tiers of sticks or bamboo, two or three feet long.



Turning around the 'bridge-ladder'

These sticks project outward and upward a little from the perpendicular post. Sometimes these sticks amount to several tens. The longer ones are placed toward the bottom, and the shorter ones toward the top, the lowest tier being three or four feet from the ground. At the extreme outer end of each is suspended by a wire a kind of glass cup containing oil and wicking, the whole constituting a lamp. On the top of the upright post is placed a candle. Into a hole, about three feet from the ground, made in the upright post, is inserted a pole, projecting at a right angle, some two or three feet longer than the longest of the sticks having lamps at their end. This 'bridge-ladder' is placed in the middle of the room. On one side of the room is placed a table having candles and incense upon it. On the wall or partition of the room by this table are suspended one or two large paper-hangings, relating to the infernal regions. The body of the deceased is lying on one side of the room, or, if there is an adjoining room which can be used, it is placed in it.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

When every thing is ready, the ceremony is commenced by lighting the lamps and candle on the 'bridge-ladder', as well as the candles and incense on the table. The priests chant their liturgy amid the noise of cymbals. The married daughter comes forward, having a white cotton cloth bound about her head, partially concealing her eyes, or she holds to her eyes a white cotton cloth much as one would a handkerchief while crying. The eldest son of the deceased, if there be a living son, now advances, and, taking hold of the end of the long pole, pushes gently against it ; the post turning on its socket, the entire 'bridge-ladder' moves. The wife of the eldest son, his younger brothers and their wives, the married daughter of the deceased, and her children, etc., now follow slowly the elder brother as he pushes around the 'bridge-ladder' for a few times.

In case there is no son, a married or affianced daughter leads the company. During the period that this bridge-ladder is thus made to revolve, all of the party join in loud ^{p.173} lamentation and wailing. Their outcry, taken in connection with the chanting of the priests and the noise of the cymbals, make a very confused hubbub and tumult of voices and sounds. These, together with the sight of so many lamps and candles burning brightly in broad daylight, produce a very singular spectacle for the foreign beholder, which, once seen, will not be quickly forgotten.

The object of this performance with the bridge-ladder is to lighten and assist the deceased on his way. It is called 'bridge-ladder' because it is fancied to resemble a bridge and a ladder. The bridge would aid the dead to pass rivers, and the ladder would help him to climb steep places, should he meet such impediments in his journey.

They offer food and wine to the dead. — After the ceremony of 'turning around the bridge-ladder' has been concluded, and after the body has been dressed for the coffin according to custom, it is usually placed on the cover of the coffin. The eldest son now approaches and kneels down before the corpse. He then takes a cup of wine and offers it to the dead three times. He then takes some cooked vermicelli, by means of chopsticks, out of a bowl, and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

presents it to the mouth of the dead for three times. After this he takes a bowl of cooked rice, and makes a presentation in similar manner for three times. While he is performing these filial acts, all the rest of the family, brothers, sisters, and grandchildren, except the partner of the dead and those higher in rank, kneel down around the corpse and pour out their lamentations. If the eldest son of the deceased has previously died, his eldest son, if he has one, takes his place. In case he has no son living, some one who has been adopted as the eldest son performs the ceremony, the second or the third, or any other of their children, never performing this ceremony unless adopted as the heir and representative of the eldest son. Sometimes, in wealthy families, a professor of ceremonies is employed to direct the eldest son in the discharge of his duties on this occasion according to established rules. The eldest son at this time wears a cap, with his clothing properly arranged, and having shoes upon his feet ; but previously he has appeared with disheveled hair, clothing disarranged, and in his stocking feet. p.174

They provide cash to be used before the place for the spirit of the dead.

— The dead man can not speak. He is unable to express his approbation or disapprobation of what is done for him by his surviving children. But this difficulty has been remedied by the Chinese, who fancy they can tell the wishes or feelings of the dead by the use of cash in a certain manner. After the corpse has been clothed, and is about to be put into the coffin, some one takes two common copper cash, and ties them loosely together by a blue or white thread a few inches in length. These cash are then placed in the sleeve of the dead man. He is then made, by some one taking hold of his sleeve, to shake them out, so that they shall fall upon the ground. Their relative positions as they strike are noted and remembered, whether the two obverses come uppermost or the two reverses, or one reverse and one obverse. These cash are preserved for future use in making inquiries of the dead, previous to his burial, after the table has been arranged before the place of his spirit. A description of the process of such revelations of the will of the spirit of the deceased, alias '*spiritual revelations*', will be given when speaking of the arranging of the '*table before the place of the spirit*'.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

They burn a miniature paper sedan-chair for the use of the dead. —

Soon after wine and food have been offered to the dead by the eldest son, and before the corpse is arranged in its grave-clothes, a small sedan-chair, made of bamboo splints and paper, and four bamboo and paper diminutive bearers, are arranged on the ground near the house. There are also provided four cups of wine, and four or eight bread-cakes ; one cup, and one or two cakes, being put before each bearer. The chair and the bearers, when every thing is arranged, are set on fire by some member of the family, attended by one or two priests, who recite their liturgy and clap their cymbals together in approved style. The chair is provided for the use of the spirit of the dead. It is charitably supposed that he would enjoy riding, instead of being obliged to walk to the infernal regions. Bearers are also provided for conveying the chair and its occupant, as it seems to be doubtful whether sedan coolies can be readily engaged in the other world. The wine and the cakes are regarded as their wages, though it would appear to be very scant and small considering the length of ^{p.174} the journey. The wine they are supposed to imbibe when they feel the need of something exhilarating, and the cakes they use for luncheon *en route*. Though their wages are paid entirely in advance, there seems to be no apprehension lest they should fail in carrying out their contract. Some families provide a fifth man, who is furnished with an umbrella of state, which he is expected to carry in front of the sedan *en route* to the world of shades. He is also thoughtfully provided with his wages in advance. Some affirm that the sedan and bearers are provided for the use of the *neighborhood god*, 'the Great King', while he is conveying the spirit of the dead down to Tartarus.

They put the 'longevity' clothes on the corpse. — The precise time of putting on the *longevity* or grave clothes is not fixed. The wealthy families in this place spend a great deal of money in procuring these garments for their dead. Oftentimes many of them are made of *silk* or *crape*, and the finest and the most expensive cotton fabrics. It is an established custom that, if three garments are put upon the lower part of the person, five garments must be

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

put upon the upper part. The rule is *that there must be two more upon the upper than upon the lower part of the corpse*. Oftentimes there are nine upon the upper and seven upon the lower. Sometimes rich families provide as high as twenty-one pieces for the upper part of the corpse, and nineteen pieces for the lower part. Probably, among the middle classes, about twelve garments are commonly used in dressing a corpse for the coffin. After the grave-clothes have been put on the corpse, it is tightly bound around with several pieces of cloth, usually two of which are white, and one is red. The white cloth comes next to the clothing. Some or all of it is torn up into strips, and, after being wound around the corpse in a certain manner, is tied into a kind of knot, which is considered auspicious or an omen of good. The body is all covered with these auspicious knots. Over the white cloth, or the white silk, if the family can afford it, is put the red cloth, similarly torn into strips, and knotted. The two ends of the red cloth or the red silk are usually cut off, one piece being given to the eldest son, which he divides among his brothers. The other is sometimes given to the sons-in-law of the dead, each having a little ^{p.176} piece. This is regarded as an omen of good to those who obtain it.

They place the corpse in the coffin. — The children, grandchildren, other relatives, and personal friends gather around to witness the placing of the body in the coffin. Preparatory to this, the corpse, while lying on the cover of the coffin, *is turned half way around, so that its head comes where its feet were*. The coffin is placed so that its head is toward the front door, or the front of the house. When every thing is ready, the corpse is lifted from the coffin cover and placed in the coffin, while the children and grandchildren, etc., break forth into loud lamentation and wailing. The eldest son carries the head of the corpse, and his brothers or other family relatives aid him in placing the body into the receptacle provided. This is made of good wood, quite thick. In consequence of the number of grave-clothes put upon the corpse, the coffin is much larger than otherwise would be necessary to hold the body. On the bottom of the coffin there has been a quantity of ashes spread, and over the ashes some sheets of paper have

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

been placed. Sometimes a large number of small bundles of ashes or lime are placed in the bottom of the coffin and along the sides of the corpse ; or, in place of the ashes, some bundles of the pith out of which artificial flowers are made, commonly called *rice-paper*, are used by some families. Over the corpse a piece of cloth is spread, and the cover is nailed down.

During the performance of all these customs, candles and incense have been kept burning. Subsequently the candles give place to oil lamps in the practice of some families, while incense continues to be incessantly used.

They put a table before the place for the spirit. — Soon after the lid of the coffin has been nailed down, the children of the deceased produce and arrange in the reception-room of the house a *chair*, a *table*, and a *bamboo or wooden frame*. The frame usually consists of four small posts, about five or six feet high, with cross-pieces or bars, so as to be four or five feet wide, and one or two feet deep. Sometimes this frame is covered over with white paper or white cloth, and the '*longevity picture*' is hung upon it so that one, on entering the room, can see it readily. The table is placed several feet from the back wall or the partition of the room. Behind it is placed ^{p.177} the chair, and immediately behind the chair is placed the frame, having upon it the longevity picture. Near the chair, or under it, is a small foot-stool, on which are placed a pair of shoes. On the chair itself is often placed a coarse-looking rag doll, or, rather, a roll, about one foot high, made out of cotton cloth, which is twisted and knotted, or tied up so as to resemble a human being, especially by the aid of the imagination. This is said to be always used, in case there is no longevity picture, to represent the deceased. This rag doll is made to stand upright, leaning against the back of the chair.

The *longevity picture* is intended to be a likeness of the person whose death is mourned. It is commonly made about as large as a child six or eight years old ; oftentimes the artist is called to paint it after the death of the individual. It represents him in a sitting posture, and dressed in his official robes, with button of rank, if an officer or a graduate ; if not, he is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

represented as having on a nice suit. The picture is often gaudily painted.

On the table arranged '*before the spirit*' is placed a bowl having incense in it, which is kept burning for forty-nine days and nights. There are also placed on it a pair of candles or lamps, which are lighted at meal-time, and also whenever any thing is transacted before the longevity picture with reference to the dead ; also two chopsticks for the use of the spirit when supposed to be eating. About the centre of the table are arranged a bowl, turned bottom side upward, professedly to hold rice, and a wine-cup, also bottom side up, for the purpose of holding wine, at the time of eating or of offering food and wine to the spirit by his children. If the bowl and cup are used, they are, after being washed, placed back on the table, bottom side upward. These chopsticks, the bowl, and the cup are seldom used at meal-time, but others in their stead, they remaining in *statu quo* on the table. The table, chair, frame, and picture usually remain unmoved until the expiration of forty-nine, or sixty, or a hundred days after the decease of the individual, according as the family decide. Some families keep the whole or a part in position until the expiration of three years.

The two cash which have been mentioned are carefully kept on the table, or are hung on the frame on which the longevity ^{p.178} picture is suspended, so as always to be at hand for use when desired. Whenever the family wish to ask any thing of the dead, these cash are taken by some one and held in the smoke of the incense kept continually burning on the table, the person at the same time making the inquiry or stating the circumstances in such a way that an affirmative or negative reply, 'yes' or 'no', can be given. When he has done speaking, the cash are dropped on the table. If their relative positions, as they lie on the table, are the same as when dropped, the reply given by the deceased to the question asked by his children is regarded as affirmative. If different, the reply is regarded as negative. In such a case the inquirer must make some other inquiry, or repeat the same inquiry in substance if he pleases, the form being different, and try the cash again, and so on until an affirmative answer is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

obtained, as it would not do to desist when the answer is negative, and the dead appears by the reply to be displeased or dissatisfied.

The Chinese believe that in consequence of the dead man's not being able to pick his way safely to the infernal regions, but liable to lose the right path, the kings of Hades furnish a 'little devil' to act the part of guide and servant to the dead man. Accordingly, the family make provision for the wants of this servant-imp, who is generally spoken of as the '*devil who follows*', by placing on a corner of the table before the 'longevity picture' a chopstick and a small bowl for his use while piloting down to the Land of Shades the mortal recently deceased. Surviving relatives are anxious to treat this devil-servant well, so that it will serve respectfully, and guide safely the manes of their departed parent ; consequently, whenever they give any rice to him, they are always careful to give a little to the imp ; and when they burn mock-money for their deceased relative, they are sure to burn some for the special benefit of the servant, thus keeping him in food and spending-money. The object of all this is to flatter and please the little devil, so that he may perform his duty faithfully and satisfactorily to the dead person. Unless he be treated with proper decorum, it is feared that he will become offended, and harm his master, lead him astray, or refuse to pilot him.

They perform a ceremony for the repose of the spirit of the dead. — After the various things which have been described ^{p.179} have been properly arranged, three bowls or plates of food, as meat, fish, etc., are brought and placed on the table. The eldest son approaches, and, kneeling reverently down before the table, makes three solemn bows toward the ground, crying and wailing. When he arises and retires, sometimes his brothers, if there are any, come and kneel down in similar manner, with tears and lamentations. All this is for the purpose of comforting the soul of the dead, or one of its three souls, as the Chinese believe. This soul is believed, after this ceremony, to be or to remain somewhere in close proximity with the table, the chair, or the longevity picture. Some families, who can afford the expense, employ several priests, who recite their liturgy, ring their cymbals

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

or gongs, and perform a variety of ceremonies having for their object the pacification and repose of the soul of the dead.

They sleep by the coffin as companions to the spirit of the dead. — The eldest son, and his younger brothers, if he has any, and they are able to bear the exposure, commence the observance of sleeping by the side of the coffin, as a token of their filial and dutiful spirit. They keep up the custom until the table, chair, and the picture are removed, or until the coffin is taken away. During the night, as well as during the daytime, a particular kind of incense is used called '*dry incense*'. It is like a straight, small stick, about three feet long, and nearly as large as one's little finger, designed to last all night. It is considered quite important, as far as the dead is concerned, that the incense should not go out during the night. This incense is used, it is said, because it is straight, not crooked, and is representative of a straight road. A straight road is much less likely to be lost by the spirit of the dead than a crooked road. Hence the '*dry incense*' is employed, as it were, to lighten the dead man on his way. If it should be allowed to go out, it would be a matter of regret to the family, and especially to the eldest son, on whom the main responsibility rests at this time, as it might be the occasion of the dead man's losing his way to the infernal regions, notwithstanding the aid of his servant devil. The eldest son must not absent himself from the coffin at night, unless too ill to perform his duties and trim the lights.

They bring hot water in the morning, rice at meal-times, and bid him good-night on going to bed. — For forty-nine, sixty, or a hundred days, as the case may be, the following customs are observed by the children of the deceased, male or female.

They bring hot water in a wash-basin early in the morning to the side of the coffin, as if for the dead man to bathe his hands and face. This is attended by all the family with loud and violent outbursts of grief. They also offer him refreshments, and burn mock-money for his benefit.

At meal-time, twice per day, they bring to the side of the coffin, before

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

they have eaten themselves, a bowl of cooked rice, and several plates of vegetables and meats. These are first placed on the table, after which they weep and lament, burning mock-money and incense ; afterward they take the food away, and proceed to eat their own meals.

At bedtime they all come again to the table with weeping and lamenting, and, as usual, inform him of their intentions to '*go to bed*', as it were '*bidding the dead good-night*'.

The sons sleep by the coffin on straw, without matting or pillows, keeping company with the dead *by night*.

The relatives make presents to be used in sacrificing to the manes of the dead. — Not long subsequent to the death of the head of a family, the eldest son sends around to near relatives a card informing them of the year, month, day, and hour of the birth of the deceased ; the year, month, day, and hour of his death, and stating the day when the family will go into mourning. Those who receive such a card must provide some money, and put it in an envelope made of yellow or white paper. On the outside of this envelope, if made of white paper, is a strip of blue paper attached, upon which they write a couple of characters denoting the object for which the money is designed and the name of the donor, with three words meaning '*I respectfully bow my head*', or '*my respectful salutations*'. This is sent to the family, together with a quantity of mock-money. The money sent varies from twenty cents to eight or ten dollars. The two words written on the outside of the envelope indicate that the money is to be employed for buying something to be used in sacrifice.

Friends and relatives sometimes present to the family on this occasion a pair of hangings made of paper, or silk, or ^{p.181} broadcloth, on which are inscribed a couple of popular mottoes or sentences. These are hung up in some conspicuous place in the rooms occupied for public purposes during the period of mourning.

They kneel down and worship before the longevity picture. — Friends and relatives, who call to present their condolences to the afflicted family,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

are expected to kneel down and worship before the picture representing the dead. Whoever thus worships, never worships alone. He expects some of the family, the eldest son, if not otherwise engaged, to kneel down and bow the head simultaneously with him, to keep him company. Some kneel down only once and bow the head three times. During this ceremony, some female member of the family, hid from view behind a white screen made of cotton cloth, or made of sackcloth, which is placed before the coffin in a corner of the room, breaks out in piteous and violent weeping. After the parties have risen to their feet, and before they retire from before the table, the female weeper comes forth and thanks the friend or relative for this expression of his sympathy. No friend or relative would be willing to kneel down and bow his respects before the longevity picture unless he was sure that some one was in readiness behind the 'filial screen' to weep and lament at the proper time. He would feel very indignant should such a thing occur as paying his respects unaccompanied by the weeping of some one, feeling that they could not afford to weep, though he came to mourn and condole with them. If of higher rank, he is not expected or allowed by the customs of society to kneel as do relatives of lower rank and common friends. He simply stands erect, and pays his respects by moving his hands, clasped together, up and down in the approved manner. Few persons of rank higher than the deceased come to condole with the family ; generally only those come who are of equal or lower rank.

As a general rule, friends may call and pay their condolences any time after the family are in mourning, until a notice is posted up on the outside of the front door returning thanks for the 'condolence' which has been received. This paper is understood to indicate that hereafter no one is desired or permitted to present his condolences. In the case of poor families it is sometimes put up on the tenth day after the death ^{p.182} of its head ; in the case of rich families it is not put up till after the forty-ninth or sixtieth day, when the chair, table, and the picture before which condolences are expressed are sometimes removed, and the public mourning ceremonies brought to a conclusion.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

They inform the ten kings of hell of the death of the individual. —

Among the majority of the families at this place, on the sixth day after the death of its head there is performed at the house a ceremony, the object of which is said both to be to inform the kings of the infernal regions of his death and also to pray for the forgiveness of his sins. Several Tauist priests are employed to officiate. They suspend three large hangings, two of which represents the ten kings of hell, and one represents the Three Pure Ones, divinities worshiped by the priests and devotees of the Tauist sect. They also arrange a table 'in the presence of heaven', having on it eight or ten plates of meats, vegetables, and wine. The offering of these things to the ten gods is accompanied with the recitation of formulas and the ringing of cymbals. At the conclusion of the ceremony, two of the priests sit down by the side of the coffin and inform the deceased of what has been done for his benefit, saying that his children, married and unmarried, and grandchildren, are present.

Some families do not have this ceremony performed on account of their extreme poverty, others because their ancestors were not in the practice of it, and still others because they have members who are in the employ of the emperor. These simply have a certain classic chanted before some images, accompanied with the burning of incense, candles, and mock-money. The performances on this day, in wealthy families, often consume most of the day. It is regarded as an important and interesting occasion.

They observe a ceremony in honor of the seven kings. — This is done for the first time on the seventh day after the death of the individual, and is generally repeated on every seventh day for seven times in families which are able to bear the expense of the ceremony. It is always performed before sacrifice to the dead on these days. Its special object is to propitiate the good will of seven divinities, who, it is affirmed, will, in all likelihood, seize and beat the dead, unless this ^{p.183} ceremony is performed in their honor. It principally consists in placing a common table 'before the heavens', having upon it three cups of wine, three bowls or plates of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

vegetables, two candles, and mock-money. The candles and the incense are lighted, but the latter is not put upon the table, but on the ground or floor, where it is left for a while. The sons of the dead, wearing hempen clothes as badges of mourning, kneel down, the eldest son taking three cups of wine in succession and pouring out some of the contents on the ground, all making three bows toward the ground. On rising, the mock-money is set on fire and left to consume, together with the incense on the ground. The candles and eatables are taken and placed on the table before the place of the spirit of the dead, as an offering to him. This is done or concluded usually about eleven o'clock in the morning, when other services or ceremonies may be had, according to the programme settled upon by the family. The coffin is oftentimes painted on each of these days.

Eldest son dressed in mourning and carrying the filial staff



They put on mourning for the dead on the seventh day. — Generally, after the preceding ceremony in honor of the seven kings, priests are employed to perform certain ceremonies, beating their cymbals, and chanting their formulas for a short time, having regard to the rulers of the infernal regions. After this the family *put on mourning*. This is a very formal and important affair. The sons put on garments made of hemp cloth, of the natural color, over their other clothing. The grandsons put on garments made of hemp cloth, but of a yellowish tinge. Sons, daughters, and grandchildren, according to strict rules, have braided in their cues threads of hemp, or blue or white cotton. No red garment must be worn, nor silks nor satins, for the nominal period of three years, which is understood to mean twenty-seven months. The dutiful sons of the deceased may not sleep on a bedstead at night, nor may they sit on a chair for the space of forty-nine or sixty days if any guests or friends are present. They must stand or sit on the floor. They wear a white strip of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

cotton cloth as a belt, and their caps, collars, and shoes are decked in mourning. On every seventh day for seven times the sons wear brown sackcloth over their ordinary clothing, and grand-sons yellow sackcloth, when engaged in sacrificing to the ^{p.184} manes of the dead when guests or friends are present. On other days they may wear white cotton garments. The eldest son, on every seventh day, when going out to meet and escort guests, carries a staff about three or four feet long, on which, commencing at a few inches from the top down to the bottom, at intervals of a few inches, are pasted small slips of white paper.

On the first seventh day, those relatives and friends who have been specially invited are expected to be present at the time of offering sacrifice to the manes of the dead. This is done usually in respectable families under the superintendence of a professor of ceremonies. The sacrifice consists in presenting eatables, wine, incense, and mock-money, attended with kneeling and bowing on the part of the filial sons, the eldest son taking the lead. At the conclusion of the sacrifice and worship, the invited relatives and friends are feasted.

The rich and many families in the middle class of society begin on this first seventh day a series of so-called 'meritorious' ceremonies for the benefit of the dead, which will be hereafter described. These ceremonies are performed by Buddhist or Tauist priests, as the family please to decide.

On the fourteenth day — that is, the second seventh day after the death of the individual, occurs another ceremony, attended with the presentation of four plates, consisting of various kinds of vegetables and wine, arranged on a table placed before the table in front of the spirit's place. Its particular object is to implore Buddha to ferry over the soul of ^{p.185} the dead. The Chinese are taught to believe that his soul in this manner becomes comparatively free from guilt.

On the twenty-first day the afflicted family generally provides an entertainment for those relatives and friends whom they see fit or are compelled by the usages of society to invite. The guests are expected to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

worship the dead in the way which has been previously described. The feast is first offered in the usual way on a table in honor of the ten kings of hell. A professor of ceremony is employed to read at the proper time a kind of sacrificial ode or prayer, praising the dead for his virtues, and calling for pity on his soul. After the guests are seated at the tables, the professor of ceremonies calls out the '*filial*' sons and grandsons, and great-grandsons, if any, of the dead, from an adjoining room. They come forward, and, kneeling down on the floor, incline their heads toward the floor three times in front of the guests, which performance is designed to be an expression of their thanks to these guests for their generous presents of money to the living, as well as for their kindness to the dead, as evinced by their coming to condole with the bereaved family.

The relatives and friends who do not come in person or send a representative to the feast on this day give great occasion for offense and hard feeling on the part of the family. The presents of such are very likely to be returned.

On the twenty-eighth and on the thirty-fifth day, the family purchase food and other articles, and present them before the picture of the deceased, so similar in manner to the ceremonies performed on previous days that it is not necessary to describe them. The rich continue to have some meritorious performance on these days done by priests, but the poor seldom have any thing more than a few dishes of food and a quantity of incense offered or burned at the established place, as a kind of sacrifice to the dead.

The forty-second day is generally regarded as a very important occasion. If the deceased have married daughters, it is their duty, and doubtless they feel it is a privilege, to be at the expense of ceremonies which are believed to benefit their departed parent. They are at the expense of a feast to the invited friends and relatives of the dead at the house occupied by his family.

p.186 They employ a professor of ceremony to read the sacrificial prayer

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and direct in worshiping the dead. They usually send from their own houses a quantity of boiled rice, several plates of meats, wine, a large quantity of mock-money, incense, and candles. They also provide tea, tobacco, cakes, or betel-nut, and a large variety of articles, for use as luncheon for the living, and for the worship of the deceased. They themselves make it a point to be present, when possible. After the oblations of food have been made to the manes of the dead, their brothers call men, and send back to the houses of their sisters a large part of the meats and some of the other articles. The brothers add, at their own expense, several feet or a whole piece of red cloth or silk, a quantity of velvet flowers, ten pairs of chopsticks, ten bowls, three plates of vegetables, one fish, one crab, and one fowl. The design of these presents to their sisters on this occasion is to furnish them with '*food and clothing*'. '*Food and clothing*', as the expression is used on felicitous and mournful occasions, is full of import to the Chinese, being ominous of good.

If their sisters are wealthy, they also employ several Buddhist priests to recite their classics, and worship images of Buddha, for the particular benefit of their parent, who, they imagine, may be in troubrous circumstances at this time. The performance is classed among those which are called *meritorious*, and is done on the premises occupied by the family of the deceased.

In case there are no married daughters, the sons send to an eating-house and purchase boiled rice, to be used on the occasion just as though it were furnished by their married sisters. The custom is fixed not to use rice which is cooked in the house on this day. The sons carry on the ceremonies, on a diminished scale, at their own expense, not sending anything away as if sending to the homes of their sisters.

It is the popular belief that the dead arrives on this day at a certain place in the spirit world, whence he looks back on his home and neighborhood, and becomes, for the first time, aware of his own decease. Consequently, sad and afflicted in mind, he loses his appetite, and is unable

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

to partake of rice cooked at home. In consequence of this belief, the family are unwilling to use rice cooked at home in these ceremonies.

p.187 The forty-ninth day is also regarded as a very important occasion. Its services consist principally in performing '*meritorious acts*' of various kinds. The mourning family again provide a feast for invited relatives and friends. These first, one by one, kneel down before the table in front of the longevity picture, and bow their heads toward the earth for three times. After the food, wine, etc., have been offered in sacrifice to the dead, the friends and relatives present proceed to feast upon it. The sacrifice is, of course, attended with weeping on the part of the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of the dead. Some families have a particular ceremony performed, which indicates that the '*sevens*', that is, the '*meritorious*' and other mourning services which have been performed on the *seventh* days from the date of the death of the individual, are now discontinued. This is a very busy and eventful day.

They perform the ceremony called 'ceasing to offer the rice'. — This ceremony is usually performed on the forty-ninth day, but some families defer it to the sixtieth, or even the hundredth day. The custom is always observed whenever the family decide to discontinue the offering of food to the dead at the regular meal-times. Some families procure several plates of meats, as pork, flesh of the goat, fowl, some vegetable dishes, bean-curd, wine, rice tea, tobacco, salt, a kitchen-knife, a wooden block, some wood, oil, water, and some luxuries à *la Chinois*, and place them on the table. Other families only provide a few small bundles of wood, a little uncooked rice, some salt, and some oil.

This is to indicate to the dead that he must procure and cook his own food after this, as his surviving descendants do not propose to furnish it to him any longer, cooked or uncooked, at regular meal-time. It is imagined the dead will understand these gentle hints, and make provision for his wants accordingly. In order to supply him with spending-money, a large quantity of mock-money is prepared and burnt at this time, his filial

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

children readily believing that now, as he must board himself, he will require a larger sum of ready cash than usual. At this time is burnt one stick of incense and one candle ; the sons, daughters, and grandchildren kneel down in front of the table, and break out into most piteous weeping, calling on the dead, using the most affectionate and endearing ^{p.188} appellations, according to the relation they formerly sustained to him whom they now lament, as wife, son, daughter, etc.

After this ceremony they do not offer the customary articles of food at meal-time to the dead.

The married daughter receives a present from her father to enable her to dry up her tears. — When a daughter's husband's father or mother dies, it is customary for the family to which the daughter belonged to send to the afflicted family, on the day they put on mourning, a quantity of common mock-money, and paper representing silk, incense and candles, cash for buying articles to be used in sacrifice, a sacrificial prayer, a 'gold' mountain and a 'silver' mountain, that is, paper made in shape like mountains, and covered with tin foil, some of a natural or silvery color, and some colored to resemble gold, all to be used in sacrifices to the dead. On the twenty-first day they make another small present for a similar design. On or after the *forty-ninth day* they send a present of two kinds, as it is termed, designed to be *eaten by the daughter*, called a *present to dry up the tears*. The idea is that for the last forty-nine days she has wept a great deal for the dead, and now it is time to dry up the fountain of tears, and partake of suitable food ; in other words, it is now high time to stop her crying. The meat is always of some kind which is regarded as particularly palatable and nutritious.

They celebrate the sixtieth day. — On this occasion they provide a number of plates of food, and incense, etc. But, besides these customary offerings, which are placed on the table, they place on it a wash-bowl full of water. On the water they put the half of the shell of a duck's egg, which is left to float on the surface. A likeness of a duck, made of bamboo splints

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

covered with paper, and painted, is brought forward. A paper image made in imitation of the human figure is placed on the duck, and the duck is caused to stand in the water in the wash-basin. The paper image personates the deceased individual. The egg-shell denotes a boat provided for his use. The duck signifies the means by which he *gets over*! The presentation of these emblems, and the more substantial articles of food, are accompanied with the usual tokens of grief on the part of the members of the family.

They observe the fourteenth and the thirtieth of every month. — p.189 It is a general practice at this place, on the occurrence of the fourteenth and the thirtieth of every month, after the family have intimated that no more rice will be offered to the manes of the dead at meal-time, to observe the following ceremony : In the evening the sons and daughters of the family all assemble together, if practicable. They provide a plateful of biscuit or bread-cakes, a plate of bean-curd, plates of meat, fish, cooked rice, a cup of wine, a stick of incense, and a pair of candles, which are placed on the table before the place of the spirit. They remember to provide a little of something for the special use of the *servant-devil*. The family simultaneously weep and cry bitterly, and THINK OF THE DEPARTED. The alleged reason why they observe this custom on the fourteenth and the thirtieth of the month is because it is believed that the spirit of the departed parent or relative returns home on these days, and therefore the family are in duty bound to provide a plentiful repast for it, and to show it proper respect and honor — which surely is a good reason, if the fact be as believed. This custom is kept up on the days specified until the three years of mourning are completed, or until the ancestral tablet representing the deceased is put in the niche or on the shelf where the other family tablets are kept.

At the end of one hundred days, and at the close of one year from the date of the death of the individual, several plates of food, wine, etc., are offered on the table, attended with weeping, much as on the sixtieth day, *with this vide difference*, there is no paper man, no shell of a duck's egg,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

no bamboo and paper duck, and no wash-basin with water in it, placed on the table or used on the occasion. At the expiration of one complete year married daughters and grandchildren remove their badges of mourning, while sons and their wives, and the widow of the deceased, if a man, are required still to wear their badges of mourning nominally two years longer.

They celebrate the expiration of three years, and remove the table before the place of the spirit. — At the end of three years in theory, in fact at the end of twenty-four months, the sons, daughters-in-law, and the widow remove their deep mourning, and put on light or half mourning, to be worn for three months. Before the deep mourning is removed from their garments, caps, and cues, several plates of eatables are offered on the ^{p.190} table, and incense and mock-money are burned. All kneel down, bow their faces toward the ground, and weep with accustomed bitterness. The rejected badges of grief are thrown into the censer or furnace where the mock-money is burned. They then place the ancestral tablet in its niche, if ready, and not already placed there, again offering food to the dead, kneeling down as usual. They now remove the table, the chair, and the frame having the longevity picture upon it from the places where they have been for so long a time, if these things have not been previously taken away ; the chopsticks and bowls, which usually were to be found on the table, the chair, and the stool which stood behind it, together with the two cash which have been used so many times in questioning the dead, are never hereafter used in the family.

Some, perhaps most families at the end of sixty days, remove the longevity picture or turn its face to the wall, leaving it until the coffin is buried, or until the end of three years, the table, cash, bowls, and the chair also remaining. Sometimes the table is, at the end of sixty days, turned around or placed nearer the wall than before. When the coffin is buried, whether sooner or later, the tablet is placed in its niche or shrine, and the table, chair, picture, etc., are taken away. The ceremony called 'observing the three years' is never omitted.

They observe the anniversary of the day of the birth and of the death of their dead. — After the tablet has been placed in the family shrine, the family twice per annum must observe a ceremony like the following, in memory of the day of the birth and the day of the death of their honored dead. Several plates of meats, cooked rice, with cups of wine, incense, candles, and a quantity of mock-money, are provided. They are presented to the spirit of the dead, before his tablet, in the usual manner. Some families only observe this ceremony to the third generation, while most families observe it to the fifth generation. At the end of five generations, some of the Chinese believe the spirits or souls of the dead may be born again into this world, or become the spirits of birds, beasts, or reptiles, according to their deserts, in obedience to the laws or principles of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Hence no tablet of the dead is worshiped after the posterity of the individual it represents have reached the fifth generation.

Meritorious Ceremonies performed for the Benefit of the Dead

@

p.191 Some of the ceremonies above mentioned properly come under the classification of 'meritorious' in the estimation of the Chinese, the performance of which will benefit the soul of the departed. Other ceremonies, also called meritorious, will now be described.

They are got up at the expense of the family of the deceased, though the merit is understood to be put to the credit of him they mourn. The performers are either priests belonging to the Tauist or the Buddhist sects, or priests of each religion, according to the pleasure of the family. If both are engaged at the same time, they perform in different parts of the house, never mingling together and acting in concert in the performance of the same ceremony.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Some families employ priests twice or thrice, or more of the seventh days which succeed the decease of the individual. These ceremonies must not be performed on any day but on some one of the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-second, or forty-ninth day , after his death, or on all of these days, as the family decide. Much depends upon the wealth of the family, the social standing or age of the individual, whether the meritorious ceremonies are few or many, cheap or expensive. It has been estimated that half of the trading and the mercantile class, four fifths of the rich, and three or four tenths of the literary class, have the meritorious ceremonies now to be described performed with more or less show and *éclat* when any of their number die.

Of the ceremonies which are almost always performed on the last day, *viz.*, *the forty-ninth*, four will be described when speaking of 'four superstitions practiced for the benefit of destitute and unfortunate spirits', *viz.*, '*mounting the platform*', '*letting go the water lanterns*', '*breaking into hell*', , and '*spirits passing over the bridge*'. It is not necessary to dwell on these ceremonies here, except to say that as performed in private houses with special regard to the soul of a single person, and at the expense of a single family, they are on a much smaller scale than when performed in some public place and at public expense, and with reference to the hosts of p.192 destitute and unfortunate spirits which are believed to abound in the land of shades or roam about in this upper world.

The ceremony of '*informing the ten kings of hell of the death of the individual*' is introductory to all these meritorious ceremonies. After its celebration by families which decide to have others performed on the following day, arrangements are made for the notification of the '*supreme ruler, the pearly emperor*', of the proposed celebrations. This service is performed late in the afternoon or early in the evening, and consists principally of burning two paper horses and two paper riders, and a document in the name of the eldest son, giving information to his '*pearly*' majesty of the transactions to be performed on the following day. This is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

done by priests, who burn incense and candles, beat the drum, and recite the usual formulas. This preparatory ceremony is performed only once during all the celebrations. Some explain its object to be to inform the gods generally in regard to the transactions of the succeeding day.

On the same evening, after the *issue of the notification*, a long bamboo pole is erected in front of the house. On the top of the bamboo is fastened the image of a crane, made principally out of bamboo splints and the fibres of the bark of a palm-tree. Under this image is a covering, oftentimes several feet square, made also out of the fibres of the same material, and so constructed as to ward off the rain, in ordinary storms, from a lantern which is placed underneath. On the outside of this lantern, which is coarsely constructed out of bamboo splints and white paper, are written in black or in red ink the names or titles of seventeen Buddhas or gods. Hence the name of the lantern, the '*bright lantern of the seventeen Buddhas*'. A candle is lighted in the lantern every evening. It is lowered and raised to its place by means of a rope and pulley. Now the grand object of thus erecting the lantern is said to be to *let all the Buddhas and the gods know of the performances* soon to be transacted, so that they can be present and partake of the food which will be offered. During the next day the meritorious ceremonies decided on are commenced.

In the afternoon, the priests who are employed to officiate, and the dutiful sons of the deceased, go forth to some hill, if there be one sufficiently near the house. Here the priests ^{p.193} light incense and candles, and chant their formulas a short time ; some one then sets on fire a sheet of paper, which has a statement designed for the inspection of the '*supreme ruler*', informing him of the approaching completion of certain ceremonies. They soon after return to the house. Some families never perform this ceremony on a hill-top, but always at home, and in or by the house.

For convenience sake, several ceremonies are here grouped together. A paper image, which has been provided, is taken by one of the sons and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

placed in a small paper sedan-chair, to which wheels have been attached. In front of the sedan, and connected with it by means of two pieces of bamboo, which keep it three or four feet from the ground, is a paper image of the crane, just as though the crane was to act the part of a flying pony and drag along the sedan. In front of the crane, and in a row, there are arranged several paper trunks, which contain mock-clothing and mock-money of various kinds, representing, in the fancy of this people, sycee, gold, dollars, and cash. The paper clothing is either paper cut into miniature articles of clothing and pasted together, or paper on which the likeness of coats, caps, and shoes have been printed or stamped, or it is simply rolls of paper of various colors, which are imagined to be silks, satins, or cotton goods.

Sometimes friends and neighbors of the deceased embrace the opportunity of sending to their relatives and friends in the world of spirits boxes or trunks of clothing and money by the 'politeness' of the individual for whose special benefit these ceremonies are principally designed. As the living take advantage often of a neighbor or a relative who intends to travel for health, or pleasure, or business, to send to distant friends parcels of value, so the Chinese have invented the happy expedient of sending to their deceased dear ones, *by the care of the dead*, money and clothing. It is certainly a cheap, expeditious, and convenient method of making remittances to the other world, if really sure of accomplishing its object. It is believed that the dead man will deliver to its real owners the valuable property intrusted to his care immediately on its reaching its destination. But whether the real owner in the spirit land gives a receipt for it on delivery the Chinese do not seem to know. They appear to trust implicitly to the ^{p.194} honesty of their acquaintance or relative recently deceased. Each trunk intrusted to his care is generally sealed up by two strips of paper, which are pasted upon its top from opposite corners, much like the letter X. These strips or seals are usually furnished by a priest. He also provides a strip of stamped paper having the name of the owners of these trunks who are in the infernal regions. This is called the '*proof*', and it may

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

be considered a letter to these persons on the subject of the articles sent. At the proper time it is burnt along with the trunks.

When every thing is ready, a priest recites a particular formula, the object of which is to procure the services of a guide to conduct the occupant of the sedan on his journey. All the sons, daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, grandchildren, etc., reverently kneel down on the ground at some little distance from the sedan, weeping and lamenting. The priest now sets on fire those trunks which are most remote from the sedan, and, gradually coming nearer and nearer the sedan, he at last sets it on fire, and the effigy of the deceased, the crane pony, and the paper sedan are shortly turned into ashes, amid the loud, mournful outcries of the bereaved family.

Among the paper trunks filled with clothing and money, burnt at the close of the ceremony just described, there is oftentimes a small paper money-chest of a particular kind, and designed for a particular purpose. The Chinese differ widely among themselves in regard to the special object to be attained by the burning of this trunk.

Some say that the design of these funds is to *pay the debts* of the deceased, whether known or unknown to him. It is intended as a kind of squaring up of his accounts. His surviving relatives do not wish him to be annoyed by demands presented in the other world for the debts of this, and therefore furnish a box of cash for the express purpose of liquidating these liabilities..

Others explain the remittance of the ready money as designed to be for the use of the animal under which the deceased was born. It is designed to aid him in getting the good will of the animal in question, without which he will be obliged to carry said animal after he arrives in the world of shadows. Now every Chinese is believed to '*belong*' to some ^{p.195} animal, i. e., he is born in a year which is said to belong to some animal. For example, if born in a certain year, he will '*belong*' to the '*Rat*', the rat being the horary character which, in the Chinese Cycle, represents that particular year. If born in a certain year he will '*belong*' to the '*Buffalo*', for a similar reason. If

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

born in a certain other year, he will '*belong*' to the Rabbit. In some way, the animal to which he '*belongs*', unless he brings a chest of money to propitiate it, is believed to get the possession or the control of the dead man on his arrival in Tartarus, *making him carry it*. To avoid such a fate for their lamented parent or relative, the members of his family send along a trunk full of ready cash, for the special benefit of the animal. How the latter manages to use the money so kindly or so selfishly furnished, the Chinese do not explain.

Besides the meritorious services which have been now described or referred to, which are performed at stated periods during the forty-nine days, there are several others which some families have performed when they imagine there seems to be a particular necessity or propriety for them, considering the character of the deceased and the circumstances of his death. What now remains to be mentioned are probably never performed on the forty-ninth day, but on some of the other set days, at the pleasure of the family.

On all of these occasions there are several priests employed to officiate. Usually, meats, vegetables, wine, and sometimes a vase of fresh flowers, incense, candles, and mock-money are provided. The ceremonies are supposed, as a whole, to constitute prayers 'for the diminishing of the calamities and the loosening of the difficulties' which the dead may have to encounter in the spirit world. The principle acted upon is, the more worship and the more ceremony performed by the living, the better will it be for the dead.

A large sheet is always put up for the inspection and information of the public when any expensive and attractive meritorious ceremony is to be performed. This notification or advertisement specifies what kind of performance is to come off. It often gives the name of the deceased, the names of his children, and the names of the relatives who unitedly make this effort to secure his forgiveness, or a betterment of his condition in the other world.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

p.196 The particular design of one ceremony is to free the dead from any calamity which might be sent on him as a punishment *for using in any way too much water in this world*, or for using it in an unworthy manner. Such a course offends the god of water, and he very properly punishes the sin in the other world. A certain classic or formula, relating to this subject, is chanted. The recitation of this particular formula makes the distinction between this and other ceremonies performed on the death of relatives. If children, on the death of a parent, do not have this ceremony performed, they are liable to be charged with a deficiency of filial regard for the happiness of him who, perhaps, is suffering from the cause above specified.

There is a ceremony when a book said to contain the *names of one thousand Buddhas* is repeated by each Buddhist priest employed. All their voices blend together as they chant it in concert. The object of this ceremony is the general one of engaging the friendly and the powerful offices of the Buddhas whose names are chanted to 'ferry' the spirit of the dead across. There is no meat used on the occasion. All the offerings designed for food consist of vegetables, as the Buddhist priests are pledged by vow only to the eating of vegetable food. There is no other essential difference between this and other ceremonies.

A ceremony called the 'Bloody-Pond' ceremony, as some explain, relates to married women who die, it may be, several years subsequent to their having children ; others assert it refers to those women who, having borne a girl, die within four months, or who, having borne a boy, die within one month. These say that a woman's uncleanness, in the case of having given birth to a boy, extends only to one month, while it extends to four months in case of having given birth to a girl. The Chinese believe that in the infernal regions there is a pond of blood, into which deceased married women generally, or, as some say, women who have died in childbirth, or within one or four months after confinement, are plunged on their entrance into that world. Virgins, and married women who have never borne children, on their death never have this ceremony performed on their

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

account. The object of the *Bloody-Pond* ceremony is to save the spirit of a deceased mother from ^{p.197} the punishment of the *Bloody-Pond*. Sometimes it is performed several times on the death of the mother of a family of children. This is one way by which they manifest their *filial love* for the deceased. The classic or formula, which is supposed to be peculiarly adapted to securing the benevolent end desired, is repeated by each priest employed. Either Tauist or Buddhist priests may officiate at this ceremony, at the pleasure of the family. The very poor can not afford the expense, but the rich often make a great display on the death of their mother, by having the ceremony now referred to performed several times, or at least once on a grand scale, before the conclusion of their public mourning ceremonies.

A ceremony designed to propitiate the good-will of the ten kings who rule over the affairs in the lower world is often performed for the benefit of either parent. It is believed that the punishment of the dead may be alleviated by obtaining favor with the governors of the ten departments of hell, through which they will be obliged to pass, and in which they will be obliged to suffer punishment for the sins of this life. If these kings are willing, they are supposed to have the prerogative, or, at least, to be in the practice of punishing the dead but slightly, imposing on him such penalties as are easily borne, or even of passing him along through the different departments without any penalty. Thus do this people fancy they can bribe the rulers of hell !

Let the above suffice to give an insight into the practices and the opinions of this people in regard to the condition of their beloved friends and relatives after death. Surely no Christian, after reading these statements, will say, '*The Chinese are well enough off without the Bible ; let them alone ! They do not need any other religion than what they already have*'.

@

1.CHAPTER VII

Death, mourning, and burial

continued

@

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Burial : p.198 Blood Burial. — The Coffin sometimes deposited temporarily in a Dead-house. — Ceremonies of Depositing it there. — Order of Funeral Processions. — 'Buying the Road'. — 'Gods Opening the Road'. — 'Arranging a Sacrifice' in Honor of the Dead in the street or at the House. — Lowering the Coffin into the Grave. — Eating certain Cakes as an Omen of Good. — Offerings to the Gods of the Hills, and to the Spirits of Beggars and Lepers in Hell. — Conclusion of the Ceremonies at the Grave. — Tablet of the Dead carried Home. — The 'Dotting' of the Tablet.

Miscellaneous Practices and Opinions relating to the Dead : Badges of Mourning worn by Widows and Widowers. — White 'Cloths to cry with'. — Presents to counteract unlucky Influences. — Grave-clothes sometimes only basted or pasted together. — Begetting Children during the Period of Mourning unlawful. — Solicitude relating to Coffins. — Incidents. — Purchase of Coffins during Lifetime. — Preparing for Death. — The golden Lad and the gemmeous Lass. — Use of a white Cock on the Coffin.

Singular or Superstitious Customs relating to Burial

@

The very poor are often obliged, in order to save expense, or for other reasons, to bury their dead in the course of a few days after death. This is likened to a mandarin who proceeds to his official trust by the swiftest post, without the usual delays, receptions of honor, etc., *en route*. It is considered disreputable, and a mark of the very lowest poverty, or that the dead is destitute of friends and relatives who take an interest in the honor of the family.

If the body is buried in the course of a few days after death, it is called '*blood burial*', or a burial of blood. The corpse is believed to have blood in it, or the blood has not yet dried up. '*Blood burial*' is used as a term of reproach, and refers to hasty burials, preceded by few mourning solemnities.

On the decease of the paternal head of the family, it becomes the duty of the sons to procure a burial-place, unless it has been previously

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

purchased, sufficiently large to contain at p.199 least two graves, side by side. The coffin of the father must be placed on the *left* side, leaving the other for the coffin of the mother. If the mother die first, her coffin must be placed on the right side, in like manner leaving room for the father's coffin. It is considered a mark of want of filial respect to separate widely the coffins of one's parents, unless circumstances make it necessary.

If the ground for burial is not ready for any reason, and it is not convenient to have the coffin remain in the house until the burial-ground is ready, a dead-house is built or rented, in which the coffin is placed for the time being. In front of this house, just after the coffin has been deposited in it, three plates of food are placed on the ground, and incense, candles, and mock-money are lighted. These are designed as offerings for the local deity presiding over the ground in that neighborhood. The coffin, while being conveyed to this temporary resting place, is followed by the dutiful sons.

Near the coffin are arranged, as an offering to the dead, a bucket of boiled rice, plates of meats, fish, vegetables, and a kind of cakes called *sî*, and two small lanterns, on one of which are the two characters which mean '*hundred children*', and on the other are the two characters which mean '*thousand grandchildren*'. While these things are being offered in sacrifice to the manes of the dead, the sons kneel down and bow their heads toward the coffin.

The tablet to represent the dead, and which has been lying on the coffin, is taken by the eldest son and placed in a sedan, and carried home ; or he sometimes takes it in his arms, and, entering a sedan, carries it carefully to his home, with the lanterns above referred to hung from the poles of his sedan as an omen of good, they being lighted with a candle, though it be in midday.

Rich families, and families which have children employed as mandarins, when the time has arrived to bury their dead, often rent a kind of hearse, on which the coffin is placed and carried to the burial-ground. Before the coffin is placed upon it, a sacrifice is made unto it or the god which is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

supposed to control it. This procedure, it is thought, will cause the soul of the departed to be more peaceful *en route* to the grave than it would have been had the sacrifice not been made. It ^{p.200} will help the bearers to carry it more easily. It is feared, unless it is done, the god of the hearse will injure the coffin in some way, making it difficult and heavy to bear. Either eight, sixteen, or thirty-two bearers are employed in carrying this hearse and coffin, according to the rank or the wealth of the family. The hearse is trimmed with emblems of mourning, having strips of white cloth, which cross each other at intervals, and are tied in knots, on various parts of it.



Part of a funeral procession

The order observed in funeral processions while going to the burying-ground, for the middle classes, is usually much like the following, though there is no general rule :

First come a pair of large white lanterns and a company of musicians, who play at intervals along the road.

Then comes a portable open pavilion, carried by four bearers, and containing the longevity picture and the tablet of the deceased, usually having burning incense in it.

Afterward appears a man scattering at intervals along the street mock-

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

money of a particular kind.

Relatives and friends of the deceased come next, who are sometimes attended by a band of music.

Then the coffin, with its bearers often wearing white coats, furnished at the expense of the family.

Following the coffin are the sons of the dead, and his grand-sons and great-grandsons, if any, all dressed in mourning. These are all on foot, if able to walk, and weep and cry as they walk along.

Next come sedans containing the females belonging to the family of the deceased. The occupants of the sedans endeavor to keep up a continuous wailing and weeping along the streets.

Finally come men with rice and food for offerings at the grave, incense, candles, and mock-money. Unless provision has been made for taking the tablet in the front of the procession, it is carried by one of the men who are employed to carry articles for sacrificial use at the burial-place.

As intimated above, near the front part of the funeral procession go one or two men, who scatter along the road pieces of mock-money. These usually are of white and yellow colors, and about two and a half or three inches in diameter, perforated in the centre. This money is designed to propitiate ^{p.203} the spirits along the road which may be disposed to make disturbance affecting the coffin or its contents. In this manner the right of way is secured for the remains of the dead. It is literally called '*buying the road*', and the cash-money employed are variously called the '*cash which buy the road*', or the '*cash which open the road*'. The unseen spirits allow the coffin to pass without molestation on receiving the cash. Sometimes the mock-money used is not the round kind above described, but pieces of coarse paper in the shape of a parallelogram, some five or six inches long, each sheet being perforated several times. Each sheet represents as many cash as it has holes.

In the front of a funeral procession, when a high mandarin is carried to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

his burial, sometimes will be seen two immense likenesses of men, one dressed to represent a civil, and the other to represent a military officer. These are very light compared with their size, being made out of bamboo splints, covered principally with red paper. Each is borne in a horizontal position by two men. They are from ten to fifteen feet long, and four or five feet in diameter. These are burned in front of the grave. Their design is to open and clear the road over which the dead is about to pass. The spirits which infest the road flee when they perceive these '*gods opening the road*', as they are called. Some explain their use by referring to the practice of great mandarins while living, to have runners or lictors precede them and clear the way when they go forth into the streets. These objects are never used by the common people while conveying to the last resting-place the remains of their honored dead.

An imposing ceremony is sometimes performed, at the expense of personal friends or relatives, in honor of a distinguished man, either a civilian or mandarin, at the house of the dead, and *while the coffin is en route to the grave*. Its distinctive name is '*displaying or arranging a sacrifice*'. In the summer of 1850 an illustration of this custom occurred at Fuhchau on the occasion of bringing home for burial the corpse of ex-Commissioner Lin, of Canton opium-destroying notoriety, who died while engaged in an expedition against the long-haired insurgents who have since attracted such attention, but who were at that time just beginning to elicit serious ^{p.204} action from the Peking government. A large number of tables were arranged along the sides of the street on the island in the river at this place. As observed at that time, the exhibition of articles offered in sacrifice to the manes of the honored dead was far more extensive than is generally employed when making a sacrifice on the premises occupied by the family of the deceased.

The ceremony performed at private houses is sometimes as follows :

Several tables are placed in a convenient court, having three sizes of bowls or plates arranged upon them. These hold meats and vegetables.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

There are also sixteen saucers — four holding the gizzards or livers of fowls, ducks, and pigs' tongues, and preserved duck eggs ; four holding fruits preserved in sugar ; four holding ripe fruits of the season ; and four holding dried water-melon seeds. There are also arranged on the tables either two or three, or all of the following animals, roasted or broiled whole : pig, fowl, duck, goose, or goat, and two or three kinds of mock-money, representing silver and gold. There is also a pail full of boiled rice, five bowls of five different colors of bread balls, each bowl having one color ; five bowls of five kinds of cakes, each bowl having one cake ; five small bread images of five animals, tiger, lion, elephant, buffalo, leopard ; also two paper deer and two paper cranes. Sometimes there are five large representatives of animals made of paper and bamboo splints, and placed on the ground. Families which have married with the family of the deceased, on such occasions are expected to furnish also a quantity of mock-money, and some mock material for clothing, and paper imitations of a silver and a golden mountain about three feet high and two feet long.

When every thing is ready, one of the principal persons who unite in making the sacrifice to the manes of the dead approaches and kneels down before '*the place of the spirit*', or before the coffin. Some of the articles are brought in and handed to the man on his knees, who presents it toward the dead. These are then put on the table standing before the 'longevity picture'. He retires, when another person takes his place, kneeling, receiving and presenting some food. The food is afterward removed and placed on the tables whence it ^{p.205} was taken when the offerers have departed. The food, or a part of it, after a day or two is eaten by the family.

A part of the sacrifice to the manes of the dead, when arranged on tables by the roadside while the coffin is *en route* to the burying-place, is presented in a manner similar to that just now described by some of those who unitedly make the offering. While the sacrifice is being presented, the procession stops, and the coffin is quite near those who kneel down and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

present the articles toward it. Such a sacrifice honors the memory and the virtues of the departed in a manner very gratifying to the family of which he was once a member.

At the appointed time fixed by a fortune-teller, the coffin is lowered into the grave amid the tears of the mourners. Immediately afterward, the sons of the deceased hasten to scatter some earth into the grave. This earth they have previously put into the lap of their sackcloth mourning garments, which they manage to shake out so as to fall upon the coffin if possible. After the grave has been filled up by the grave-diggers, the sons place in a perpendicular position their mourning staves on the new-made grave.

Afterward an offering is made to the buried man in the following manner : a pail full of cooked rice, with several plates of meats, is placed directly in front of the grave and quite near it. Among the eatables presented are two pails full of small round white cakes, made of the flour of rice. The ceremony takes its name from these cakes, called in this dialect 'si'.

At the proper time incense and candles are lighted, and a quantity of mock-money is burnt, attended with the usual solemn ceremonies. At the conclusion of the sacrifice to the manes of the dead, the cakes are divided among his children and grandchildren, attending relatives and friends, not forgetting the grave-diggers. Each consumes his portion of the si on the spot. Now the name of these cakes being in the dialect of this place the same in sound as the Chinese word for '*time*' or '*times*', the eating of them under such circumstances is regarded as a wish that the eaters '*may have a good time*', or that the times may be propitious and happy to the parties. The rice is always taken home with the other eatables offered in sacrifice at the grave.

It is believed that the hills which are used as burial-places p.206 in this vicinity have gods which protect the graves of those who are buried there. The friends and relatives of him who has just been buried must pay proper reverence to these local divinities, or they need not expect the coffin will

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

remain undisturbed, or the spirit of its occupant rest in peace in the lower regions. They therefore, before sacrificing to the dead on the day of burial, as well as on subsequent sacrificial occasions, must offer three plates of meats, wine, incense, candles, and various kinds of mock-money, all placed on the ground for the use of these local divinities.

Usually about this time of the proceedings an offering is also made to the distressed and destitute spirits in the infernal regions, such as the spirits of lepers and beggars. The offerings consist principally of mock-clothing and mock-money of a very inferior kind, incense, and several plates of steamed cakes, of a particular sort of which these spirits are supposed to be very fond. Seldom is any meat offered to these unhappy creatures, but sometimes a little cooked rice, and a bowl of vegetable soup, bean-curd, vermicelli, or a plate of bread-cakes or biscuits. It is a matter of wonder that the immense number of these hungry and naked spirits, which are believed to swarm about on such occasions, can be contented with such scant and poor provisions. But, according to the general supposition, they, on receiving what the friends of the dead are disposed to bestow upon them, allow the sacrifice to the dead to go on without interruption.

These degraded spirits are objects of frequent worship at this place, and in much the same manner as is described above, both on the part of shopkeepers in the streets in front of their shops, and on the part of the common people in front of their residences. In case of a slight illness, as well as oftentimes on planning business affairs, if one fears the matter will not succeed to his satisfaction, at dusk he causes mock-clothing and mock-money to be burnt for the use of these '*gentlemen of the lower regions*', as they are often called, and also some cakes are presented for their entertainment. These offerings are always placed on the ground. These imps are believed to have great influence in these upper regions, injuring the health of individuals, and causing derangement in business, etc., so that many are led to fear them, and to make them numerous ^{p.207} presents in order to propitiate their good offices. Health and success, if they are to be

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

secured by the use of these means, are within the reach of most mortals.

During the performance of sacrificing to the dead described above, the tablet which has been provided to represent the buried dead is placed in front of the headstone, or of the place where that is to stand. The mourners now kneel down before it, while the eldest son, also kneeling, repeats some sentence to the purport, '*Let the bones and the flesh return to the earth, and the spirit enter the tablet*'. Ever afterward this tablet is regarded with great interest, and especial care is taken of it. Sometimes the eldest son of the deceased enters a sedan and carries it home in his arms ; or it is placed in a kind of open pavilion, and carried back to the homestead with pomp. The poor carry it home frequently placed on the pail of cooked rice, which constitutes one end of the load of a servant, as suspended across his shoulders. A man is frequently sent with two small buckets to get water from the hill on which the grave is made, if he can find it, carrying it to the residence of the family. It is called '*dragon water*'. It is regarded as an omen of good, in as much as it comes from the *dragon's hill*, the hill where the grave has been made being referred to under this appellation, which is esteemed an auspicious term.

The tablet, on arrival at the home of the deceased, is first 'dotted', and then placed in the niche among the ancestral tablets of the family. An acting mandarin, if possible to engage the services of such a man for the occasion, is called in ; the higher his rank, the greater or the more auspicious the omen for good to the descendants of the person whose tablet is to be dotted. It must be premised that, to this period, one of the characters which have been written upon its front is deficient in one dot or stroke. The deficient character, meaning 'king', by receiving a small dot above the uppermost parallel stroke, becomes 'lord', which is what is desired. The mandarin dotter, or the dotter whatever his rank, uses a vermilion pencil. The eldest son kneels down reverently before the dotter, who dots the 'king' character with the required stroke, making it into the 'lord' character. He then returns it to the kneeling son, who reverently places it in the niche provided, where it represents the dead for three or five generations.

p.208 Some refer the dotting ceremony, when performed by a mandarin with a vermillion pencil, to the dotting of the eyes of the dragon's head which has been engraved upon the front of the upper part of the tablet. Of course but few families are favored enough to have mandarins to assist in the ceremony, whether it refers to the dotting of the eyes of the dragon, or the dotting of the 'king' character, as above described ; and oftentimes it is performed with a common pencil, using black ink, by a member of the family or a friend, without much pomp or ceremony. After this time the tablet is regarded as a *bona fide* residence of one of the three spirits of the departed. The performance is considered auspicious.

Soon after the performance of the important ceremony of '*dotting the tablet*', the relatives who have been invited sit down to a plentiful repast, and endeavor to assuage their sorrow of mind by replenishing the wants of their stomachs.

Miscellaneous Practices and Opinions relating to the Dead

@

The widow on the death of her husband is required to wear deep mourning for three years. No red may be worn. After the expiration of that time, when all the rest of her family cease wearing mourning, and when they may wear whatever kind of clothing and of any color they please, she, if belonging to the small-footed class, must on no account put on a bright red skirt, such as women of her class whose husbands are alive always wear when they appear in public or dress for company ; she may wear blue, black, or green, but may not wear a red skirt. The widow of more than three years' standing, if belonging to the large-footed class, usually has something about her dress or the ornaments on her head which point her out as a widow. Of course, when widows marry, every trace or badge of widowhood is removed. The widow is required to take a prominent part in the weeping and wailing on receiving the condolences of friends at the set

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

periods of public mourning. The widower is not required to put on as deep mourning on the death of his wife as a widow is required to use on the death of her husband. He does not wear sackcloth at the stated periods of weeping and wailing, nor does he weep loud and long, if at all, on these occasions. At such times he wears a white coat over his other garments, a cap without ^{p.209} red tassels, and a white cotton-cloth girdle about his waist. At other times he may wear garments made of silk or satin, if not of a gaudy color. He is required to wear the white girdle for one year. If he should take another wife before the expiration of a year from the death of his first wife, still he must, as some say, wear the white girdle at the time of his marriage and until the end of a year. Others say he may, at the time of his marriage, leave off the girdle, but must resume it in the course of a few days, and wear it until a year is completed. Those who marry before the expiration of a full year are apt to be laughed at by their neighbors and friends, because they do it while in mourning for deceased wives.

If one's father or mother dies, and there is no member of the family living as high in rank as grandparent, it is customary for the family to prepare strips of narrow white cloth, about two feet in length by one in width, measuring by the chopsticks used in the family. These are given to a class of relatives who come to weep with the family for the dead. A bit of red paper is pasted on each piece. A female relative coming to mingle her tears with the bereaved family receives also, in addition to the white cloth, two artificial flowers, as omens of good. These strips of white cloth are called *cloths to cry with*, and are designed to be used for wiping away the tears, and for holding up to the face or eyes of the weepers while lamenting, according to established rule. White being an emblem of evil or sorrow, the red paper is auspicious of good or joy to the possessors, indicating that they will, after all their grief, have *food* and *clothing* in their family. These strips are always taken away by their owners when they return home.

When two families are living in the same house, having a common hall

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

for receiving company, and a death occurs in one of them, the coffin is usually placed in the hall during the period of mourning, and the established ceremonies are performed there. The afflicted family purchases some artificial flowers and a set of red chopsticks, and presents them to the other family as an omen of good. Rich families buy also a piece of red cloth or red silk and present it, in order to aid in preventing any unlucky consequences to the other family. As death is an inauspicious event, and the presence of the coffin ^{p.210} containing the corpse in the common hall is an inauspicious circumstance, the Chinese have endeavored to dispel or prevent any unhappy results from reaching to the other family by the expedient of presenting red articles. These, under the circumstances, are emblematical of continued good fortune to that family, and are considered a surety that it will certainly have sufficient 'food and clothing', the unlucky presence of the coffin, tending to the contrary result, notwithstanding.

There are shops where ready-made grave-clothes can be had. These are patronized principally by the poor, who can not afford to buy good material and have it made up by tailors. What is strange and singular about these establishments is, that the caps and boots offered for sale, to be worn by the dead, are usually made of paper, or the very poorest silk or satin, and simply pasted together. At a short distance, and unless closely examined, they look quite well. The boots have soles nearly an inch thick, which are made very white by a kind of wash. The coats, pantaloons, skirts, etc., are also sometimes pasted together, or, at the best, are but slightly basted together. Those who purchase such grave-clothes for their honored dead feel that, to be considered respectable by their neighbors and relatives, they must conform to the absurd custom which requires that the dead should be clothed in several suits of garments when laid in the coffin, although they can not really afford the expense of procuring respectable materials out of which to construct these garments. Fashion, to save public appearances, grinds the face of the poor in China as hardly as it does the faces of the poor in Western lands. The son who should fail of dressing the dead body of his father with several suits would be regarded as destitute of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

filial respect ; and, instead of being laughed at should he feel himself obliged to use paper boots or paper caps, and garments made of very inferior material, and but basted or pasted together, he is regarded as exhibiting a dutiful and filial spirit provided the suits used were enough in number. Grave-clothes never have metal buttons, but are fastened together, if necessary, by strings.

It is unlawful for one to beget children for three years after the death of his father or mother — that is, during the period of mourning. In case this law is violated by the members of ^{p.211} poor and obscure families, as a general rule, no notice would be taken of the circumstance by the officers of the government. But if it should be transgressed by mandarins, or the gentry, or by literary men who have acquired the privilege of wearing a button in their caps, denoting that they are graduates, during the fixed period of mourning, it is affirmed that they would be fined, or degraded, or punished, unless they should be able to succeed in bribing those who otherwise would prosecute them for their unfilial conduct. The violation of this law is regarded as proof of a want of the respect they should bear the memory of their deceased parent — as proof that they are largely destitute of the sentiments of filial piety.

The coffin is an object of great solicitude and interest in China, as many instances might be adduced to show.

Several years since, a literary person stated to a foreign friend his perplexity of mind concerning the best way of investing a sum of money which he had lately received. One of the ways which had suggested themselves to him was the purchasing of some '*longevity boards*', as the four heavy pieces of timber out of which coffins principally are constructed are politely called, for the use of his aged adopted mother, when she should have need of such an article. The argument which seemed to weigh upon his mind was that, if he waited till she should die, he might not have sufficient ready money to procure the '*longevity boards*' and prepare them into a suitable coffin ; and, besides, such a present from her adopted son

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

would be all the more acceptable to her, as it would be a visible and tangible proof that he was intending to honor her memory in a becoming manner when Providence should furnish the occasion. On the other hand were to be considered the discouragements to purchasing the 'boards', as want of storeroom, danger from fire, and the expense of transportation in case he should be obliged to move.

Five or six years ago, a poor old widow woman living at Fuhchau came into the possession of fifteen dollars ready money. In order to secure having available funds for purchasing a coffin, and in part for other incidental expenses connected with her burial, in view of the poverty of her family and relatives, she determined to lay out this sum in *gold earrings*, which she could use during her lifetime, and which ^{p.212} could be at once converted into current money on her death. This purpose she carried out, and it proved a good investment ; for, on her death, her earrings were sold, and the avails used in the manner she designed.

These two instances may serve as illustrations of the solicitude felt by this people to have a respectable coffin for the use of their honored dead, or for themselves after death.

When the head of a family has arrived at the age of seventy or eighty years, if the family are in good circumstances, it is no uncommon occurrence to purchase materials for grave-clothes and for the coffin, and have them all made up in proper order, so as to have them in readiness when death calls away the beloved parent or grandparent. A piece of red silk or cloth is put on the coffin after it is finished, as an omen of good. Some red silk or cloth is also hung over the door on every succeeding birthday of the aged relative until he dies. An *intercalary year* is often selected ; also a feast is made on the occasion, relatives, intimate friends, and near neighbors of respectability being invited. The guests come and congratulate the aged one on having these arrangements completed, the idea being, *not may you die soon, but may you live a long while*. The intercalary year is an omen of good in this connection, because it has

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

thirteen instead of twelve months. This circumstance interpreted means, *may your precious life be lengthened out and made longer than the lives of ordinary persons, just as this year is longer than usual.* A large piece of red paper is pasted on the coffin, on which is written a sentence of four characters, which may be rendered '*enduring as the heavens, and lasting as the earth*'.

The expression '*preparing for death*', which, as used in Western lands, often means to settle one's worldly affairs, or to leave them in such a state that heirs or executors can easily arrange them, or which often means to repent of sin, leave off all wicked habits, and believe in the Savior, among the Chinese would rather be understood to indicate the importance of purchasing the coffin boards, and the materials for the grave-clothes, or the gathering together of a sufficient amount of money for these and other necessary expenses connected with mourning and burial, so that it would be immediately available on the death of a parent or grandparent.

p.213 The coffin is first made air-tight by the use of a preparation made of Chinese varnish and lime, or varnish and broken crockery pounded fine like sand. This preparation is put into all the cracks and crevices on the inside, together with strips of cloth. This, of itself, makes the coffin very tight. In addition, sometimes it is painted or varnished on the inside, at the expense of the sons-in-law of the deceased.

It is subsequently painted several times with oil, in which pounded crockery, or lime, or some other substance has been mingled to make the coating hard and firm, always on one of the seventh days after the decease of its occupant. At the last course the coffin is covered with black varnish. The rich usually have the coffin of their honored dead painted or varnished on every seventh day for seven times. A coffin made of good material, and treated in the way just described, may be left unburied for a long period of years without producing any unpleasant effects.

No coffin with a corpse inclosed is allowed to be carried into the city of Fuhchau, nor are those who die within the city walls allowed to be buried in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the city. One ancient grave, said to be the grave of one of the kings or princes who reigned here in olden times, is pointed out in the northern part of the city. But nowadays the corpses of even the highest officers, and of the oldest and the richest families and proprietors, are all required to be interred outside, though there is considerable unoccupied ground on the hills and elsewhere within the city walls.

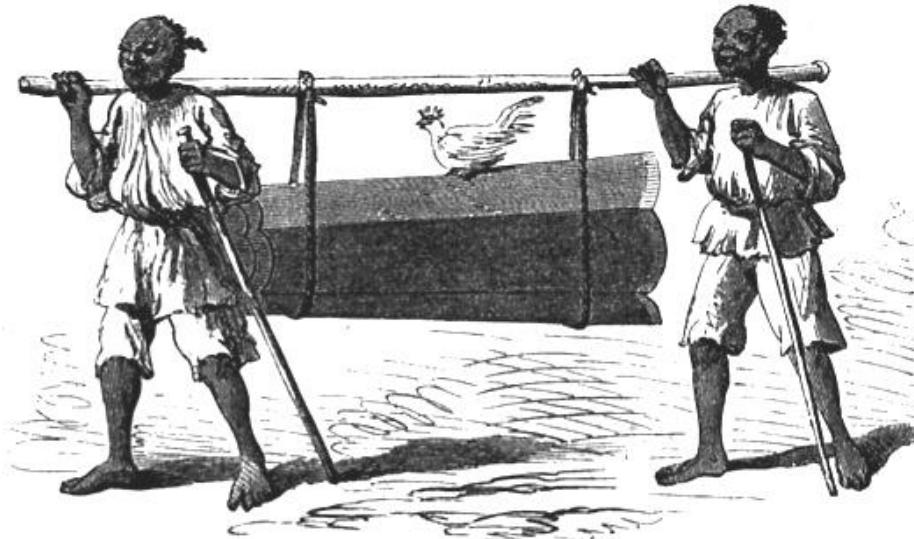
When the head of a family which has been in the habit of having servants dies, and it is determined to have meritorious ceremonies performed on an extensive scale, it is also generally decided to provide the dead with a male and a female servant to wait upon him in the other world. For this purpose an effigy is made to represent the dead person, which is placed in the chair between the table for 'the place of the spirit and the '*longevity picture*'. On one side of the chair, and near one end of the table, is placed a paper and bamboo representation of a male servant, called the '*golden lad*' ; and on the other side of the chair, and near the other end of the table, is placed a corresponding representation of a female servant, called '*gemmeous lass*'. The servant-boy is made to hold in ^{p.214} his hands the tobacco-pipe and tobacco-pouch, while the servant-girl is made to hold in her hands a tea-cup and saucer, or some other household utensil. These are designed as slaves or servants to the dead man in the future world. If not provided by his family, he, it is thought, would miss the attendance which he has always been accustomed to have in this world, and would be made so much the more unhappy. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, when the sedan, with its crane attached in front, is burned, these three effigies are also consumed. The effigy of the deceased is put in the sedan, and they take their departure for the world of spirits, the lad and lass keeping up with their master *en route*, or, finding him after arrival, serve him according to the understanding in this world.

A singular custom prevails in this part of China in connection with transporting to the residence of his family the corpse of one who dies while away from home. When still at a distance, some of the family go forth to meet the coffin, taking with them a *living white cock*, or an *image of a*

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

white cock, made as large as life out of bamboo splint and paper, colored so as to appear quite natural.



White cock on a coffin luring home one of the spirits of the dead.

The fowl, with feet tied together, is usually made to stand on the coffin, and the procession proceeds homeward, the cock retaining its position, amid the wailing of the mourners. Sometimes, as in the case of high officials, the cock is placed ^{p.215} in a sedan-chair, and borne home by four or eight bearers, according to the rank of the deceased. Sometimes it is placed on the top of the sedan which contains the wife of the deceased or the nearest of kin present. It is not an unusual sight to see a white cock perched upon the top of a coffin or the top of a hearse, where he rides along with a dignified gravity, as though the procession was designed to do him honor. The live cock retains its proper position, while the image of a cock most usually assumes an unnatural position, being inclined backward or forward, or over to one side, or some of its parts become broken or bent.

The Chinese say that one of the three spirits of the dead comes into the cock at the time of meeting the corpse, and that the spirit is thus allured back to the residence of the family. In case the corpse is not brought home to be buried, a letter, or some of the clothing recently worn by the deceased, or his shoes, or part of his baggage, is often sent

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

instead. The white cock and the mourners go forth to meet the letter or relic of the departed, just as they would go to meet the corpse. On meeting the letter or the relic, the spirit passes as readily into the fowl as it would pass into it were the corpse itself met, and the spirit is conducted home just as surely.

Occasionally along the road, and specially at the corners of the streets, the name of the deceased is loudly called by one of the procession. Sometimes two priests are engaged to beat along the road each a brazen instrument, and the spirit is greatly aided in finding its way by following their peculiar sound. At such times the spirit is not believed to have entered the cock, but simply to regard it as a kind of escort.

After having served as a temporary residence or the escort of a spirit of the dead, the fowl is never killed for the table, but is nourished with care until it dies a natural death. The Chinese seldom eat the flesh of a white fowl, and many will not rear such a fowl on their premises. Some explain this fact, and the use of a purely white to the exclusion of any other colored cock on such occasions, by saying that white is the badge of mourning ; others by saying that the white cock is a '*divine*' or '*spiritual*' fowl.

The Chinese can not explain the origin of this custom, or show its reasonableness or adaptedness to the end desired by ^{p.216} any course of argument. They are remarkably fond of accounting for their established customs by saying that '*anciently people did thus and so, and we nowadays imitate their example*'. They seem to think that this is a most satisfactory reason why they should do as they are in the habit of doing. They admit readily that there is no more reasonable or more satisfactory explanation which can be given for the observance of this custom than that their forefathers observed it before them, and that they have been taught to observe it. They seem not to care about investigating into the origin of their superstitions, nor do they leave them off when they fail to discern any connection between the desired object and the means they have been in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the habit of employing to attain it. They will readily confess the absurdity of many customs, and even the utter impossibility of obtaining the object which they wish to obtain by the customary means ; but, on the next occasion, they will perform with the greatest outward decorum and apparent sincerity what they have previously derided and pronounced irrational and useless.

@

1.CHAPTER VIII**Ancestral tablets and ancestral halls**

@

The ancestral Tablet used in private Houses : p.217 Two Accounts of the Origin of the ancestral Tablet. — Size and Appearance of the Tablet erected by the eldest Son. — Daughters not permitted to erect a Tablet. — Description of general Tablet erected by any Son but the Eldest. — Worshiped for three or five Generations. — Fixed Times for worshiping the Tablet.

Worship of Ancestors in ancestral Halls : General and branch Halls. — Permanent Fund for Expenses of Worship. — Six specified Times for annual Worship in them.

Visit to an ancestral Hall : Description of the Hall visited. — Cost of Erection. — Manner of Worship on the Day of the autumnal Sacrifice.

The ancestral Tablet used in private Houses

@

There are at least two traditional records relating to the origin of the ancestral tablet. According to one account, it originated during the Chau Dynasty, B.C. 350. An attendant on the Prince of Tsin cut a piece of flesh from his thigh and had it cooked for his master, who was perishing from hunger. He was unable to continue to travel on account of pain. He was afterward burnt to death in a wood which had been set on fire. His prince found his corpse, and erected a tablet to his memory, and offered incense before it daily.

The other account is derived from one of twenty-four popular stories relating to filial piety. According to this story,

Some time during the Han Dynasty, which ended about 25 A.D., lived Ting Sean, who, having lost his father and his mother when he was young, never was able to obey and support them. While thinking of their toils and troubles on his account, he carved images of them and served them as though they were alive. His wife would not reverence them. One day she took a needle, and in sport pricked their fingers, when blood ran out. Sean

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

afterward, on looking at the wooden images, observed their eyes filled with tears. Inquiring of his wife, he learned the circumstances of the case, and immediately divorced her.

In another edition of the book a different story is given of ^{p.218} the treatment which the wooden images received. It is there said that a neighbor's wife one day desired to borrow some article. Sean's wife first inquired of the images in the usual way. They returned for answer that they were unwilling to lend the article, and consequently she did not produce and lend it. On receiving this refusal and understanding the reason, the neighbor's wife was angry, and, taking a stick, struck the images, whereupon they wept. Sean, seeing them shed tears, inquired the reason. His wife having informed him of the circumstances, he was very much exasperated, and proceeded not only to beat his neighbor's wife, but prosecuted her before the magistrate. The magistrate eulogized him for his filial devotion, and petitioned the emperor to bestow on him an honorary tablet to put up over his door.

According to another tradition, when a little boy, Ting Sean was disobedient to his parents, but finally became very docile and filial. One day, as his mother was taking some refreshment to him while laboring in the field, she tripped her foot against the root of a fir-tree and fell to the ground. From the effects of this fall she died ; whereupon Sean took the root of this tree, and made some images of his parents.

If what Ting Sean did was the origin of the ancestral tablet, he doubtless did what he had no intention of doing. He easily and unwittingly effected what few are able to achieve, though myriads spend their lives in the pursuit — *he made his name immortal in history* — he *inaugurated* a custom which has been imitated by untold millions — that of worshiping deceased parents and ancestors under some visible and tangible symbol.

Perhaps it is impossible to ascertain at the present day, and practically it is of little consequence, whether Ting Sean, or the Prince of Tsin, or some other ancient personage had the honor of originating the worship of a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

wooden tablet representing the dead. Some one in very ancient times did certainly originate the tablet, and the worship of it by one third of the human race has long since been firmly and universally established in this empire.

Ancestral tablet representing one person

Whatever may have been the original appearance of the ancestral tablet, it now retains no resemblance to a human form. A minute description of its size and appearance, as found to ^{p.219} prevail in one part of the country, will not be applicable to an other part of the country.

The ancestral tablet, as used at this place in families, varies from eight or nine inches to about one foot and a half in height, and from two inches to three and a half or four inches in width. The best are made of fragrant wood, parts of which are elaborately carved, costing sometimes several dollars a piece ; while the most inferior and the cheapest are made out of common wood, and can be purchased for less than a quarter of a dollar. It consists of three pieces of wood, one of which serves as a pedestal, and the other two as upright pieces. The tablets used in ancestral halls, where the representatives of a family clan meet ^{p.220} several times a year to worship their ancestors, and the tablets commemorating ancient sages and worthies placed in temples, are much larger than those used in private houses, and often are made of only two pieces of cheap wood, *viz.*, a pedestal and a perpendicular piece.

A block, varying from about four to seven inches long, and from about



Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

one to two and a half inches thick, and from about two to three and a half inches wide, constitutes the pedestal of such tablets as are generally used in *private dwellings*. Into a mortise made in the upper side of this block, the two other pieces are inserted by tenons, the mortise and tenons fitting loosely, so as to admit of being taken apart at pleasure. The two upright pieces are of unequal lengths. The longer one is placed on the back side, and terminates on the top in a knob or head, which projects in front from one to three inches. The surfaces of these two pieces, which impinge on each other, are planed smooth, the front and shorter one being held in its place by a small tenon which enters a corresponding mortise on the under side of the projecting knob of the other.

On the front side of the block which forms the pedestal of the tablet there is usually carved the image of a fabulous animal which is said to flourish only when sages appear. On the front of the projecting knob of the longer of the upright pieces is carved the head of the Chinese dragon, another fabulous animal said to have existed in ancient times. On the right and the left hand sides of the front of the shorter of the upright pieces are often engraved what are regarded as side views of the dragon. It is on the central portion of the same piece, in a straight line beginning at the top and extending downward, that the name of the reigning dynasty, the title (if it has any) of the deceased whom the tablet is designed to commemorate, his ancestral and his given name, are engraved, usually in raised characters ; sometimes, however, the inscription is made with black ink, the strip on which the characters are written having been neatly painted or varnished. The name of the son who erects the tablet is also similarly carved or written, but in smaller characters, and is placed a little to the left-hand side of the bottom of the other characters. In the case of a tablet erected by a son in memory of his mother, the ancestral name of her father, that is, her maiden surname, ^{p.221} as well as that of her husband, is put upon the tablet. The engraved and the lettered portions of the tablet are generally overlaid with gold leaf. The other portions are often left of the natural color of the wood, though sometimes they are painted. The flat surfaces of the two upright pieces, where they impinge upon

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

each other, are always left unpainted. The dates of the birth and the death of the person, and the place of the grave, are sometimes recorded in black ink on the inner surface of one of the upright pieces.

This tablet represents only one deceased individual, either male or female, as the case may be. The tablet for the father and the tablet for the mother of a family are alike in form, though they may vary in size. The essential difference consists in the inscription or the engraving on it. Only one tablet of the above description is allowed to be erected in honor of one's father or mother. This belongs to the eldest son, and is usually kept in his house. All the ancestral tablets which belong to the father and mother of a family descend to the eldest son, and become his property on their death. When the eldest son dies, they fall into the hands of his son, if he has any. Almost invariably, when the eldest son, if of adult age and married, has no son, he adopts some child of his younger brothers, or some other relation, in order to keep up the family name and retain the tablets in his own family line.

Daughters are not allowed a tablet of either parent. After marriage they worship the tablets belonging to their husband's family. On their death their tablet is placed among the tablets which belong to their eldest sons, never among those which are worshiped in the families of their own brothers.

As long as the sons of a family live together, they worship the tablet erected by the eldest son. When, however, the family breaks up, and the younger sons, receiving their share of the patrimony, separate to live each by himself, if married, they may each erect a kind of tablet, quite different in several respects from the tablet already described. The tablet which the younger brothers may provide for their own use consists of a single piece of board, from ten to twelve inches square, fitted into a frame a few inches high. It is then painted or varnished either black or reddish. In the middle of the front side, reaching from the top toward the bottom, there is a ^{p.222} sentence written or engraved, and frequently gilded, which indicates that the tablet represents or commemorates all the ancestors of the family of a certain surname. The person who erects it also, if he pleases, has recorded on it the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

names of his male ancestors, beginning with his father, back to three or five generations, on the right of the inscription in the centre, his father's name occupying the place nearest the right edge of the board. In similar manner, he may have recorded on the left of the centre the surnames of his maternal ancestors, both before and after their marriage, back to the same number of generations, commencing with his mother's surname, which is placed nearest the left edge of the tablet. The names of his grandfather and of his grandmother are respectively placed next to the names of their father and mother, and so on ; the more remote the ancestor, the nearer his or her name comes to the centre of the board. This kind of tablet, as will be readily understood, is a *general tablet* for all his ancestors in common, and for his ancestors of three or five generations in particular, as he chooses to inscribe the names for three or five generations. At his death this descends to his eldest son, who has the exclusive right to erect the other kind of tablet to the memory of his father and mother, while his younger sons may each erect the general tablet to the memory of their father and mother, and of their more remote ancestors having the family surname.



Worshiping the ancestral tablet in its niche

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The ancestral tablet representing one's father or mother is usually worshiped only for three or five generations. During this period it is preserved with care in a portable niche or shrine, made in the general shape of a house, but only a few feet square. If unable to procure such a niche, the tablets are simply arranged on a shelf or table. If the family has a niche, it is usually placed in some of the inner apartments, where easy access can be had to it for the purpose of performing the customary worship before it. The niche is designed to hold all the tablets worshiped by the family and belonging to it, unless they are too numerous. After the third or the fifth generation has passed away, the tablets which represent it are sometimes taken away and buried in or near the graves of the persons they represent, or they may be burned to ashes ; at least they must be removed from the niche, to furnish room ^{p.223} for the tablets representing the individuals of a less remote period, every generation furnishing two tablets.

The ancestral tablets of both kinds are worshiped at fixed times or occasions, and according to certain established forms.

On the first and fifteenth of every month, tapers or candles and incense are regularly burned before them. Two tapers and three sticks of incense are lighted in the morning. The incense is permitted to burn up, but the tapers oftentimes are put out when about half consumed. At evening the tapers are relighted, and three more ^{p.224} incense sticks are burnt. For use



in worshiping the tablets, a censer to hold the incense is placed before them, and a pair of candlesticks is arranged one on each side of the censer, to hold the candles.

Censer

On the recurrence of the anniversary of the birthday of any living member of the family, or on the occasion of preparing cards to be used in negotiating for the engagement in marriage of any of the family, as well as on the evening of the twenty-ninth of the first month of the year, tapers and incense are burned before the tablets. On the birthdays an additional

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

offering of three bowls of a kind of vermicelli is also made. On the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the first month referred to, besides the burning of tapers and incense, there are presented before the tablets several bowls of a black-looking, dirty kind of rice-soup or congee, in which have been boiled together various articles, such as sugar, dates, and peanuts. The offering of this soup is believed to indicate the strong filial affection which exists in the heart of the offerer.

On the occurrence of joyous events, or on the anniversary of the death of an ancestor whose tablet is among those worshiped, not only are tapers and incense burned, but offerings to the dead are made of several kinds of meat, as fowl, fish, and pork. On the fourth day of the first month of the Chinese year, and on the last evening of the year, some boiled rice, in addition to meats, tapers, and incense, is presented. On the festival of sweeping the tombs in the second or third month, besides the meats, etc., some greenish cakes, made of rice-flour, and colored with the juice of a certain vegetable, are offered to the ancestral dead.

On the fifteenth of the first month, and at the festival of the Dragon Boats on the fifth day of the fifth month, and at the festival held about the middle of the seventh month, and at the festival of mid-autumn, and at a certain time in the twelfth month, tapers, incense, and meats are presented before them. The ceremony in the seventh month referred to is also attended with the burning of mock-clothing and paper houses, *i. e.*, paper on which the shape of different kinds of clothing, as caps, coats, shoes, etc., has been stamped ; miniature houses and household furniture, all made of paper, are also burned for the use of the departed relative in the spirit world. These ^{p.225} are believed to be changed into clothing, houses, and furniture, by the process of burning, owing to the potent agency of a charm which is also burned at the same time.

At certain festivals in the ninth and eleventh months respectively, besides the meats, candles, and incense, there are also offered before the tablets a plate of a certain kind of rice cake and a quantity of rice balls, as

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

a token of continued filial regard and remembrance.

Whenever there is an offering of any thing besides tapers and incense, it is customary for all the adult male members of the family present to kneel down once before the tablets, and bow their heads toward the earth several times. They also on such occasions burn a quantity of paper prepared in different ways, which is believed to represent gold, silver, and cash. In this easy and cheap method are remittances supposed to be made for the use of deceased relatives.

On the anniversary of the death of an ancestor, his surviving descendant embraces the opportunity to make of him or of her, as the case may be, some friendly and kind inquiries in regard to health or food, by dropping on the floor before the tablet two pieces of wood, each piece having an oval and a flat side. The character of the answer of the dead is supposed to be indicated by the relative positions of the same after reaching the floor. If the first reply is unfavorable, another trial is made, proposing perhaps a different question, and so on, until a satisfactory reply is given, for it would never do to desist inquiring so long as the reply indicated displeasure or dissatisfaction on the part of the deceased.

Worship of Ancestors in ancestral Halls

@

Few foreign residents in China, who have not made particular inquiries on the subject, have any adequate idea of the amount of ancestral worship in this empire, and of the aggregate expense of such worship. Ancestral halls may be divided into two classes ; those in which all the ancestors of families having the same ancestral name and claiming relationship are worshiped, and those in which the ancestors of a particular branch of the families having the same ancestral name and claiming near relationship are worshiped. These latter are called '*branch*' ancestral halls. A branch hall is usually p.226 erected at the expense of a wealthy family only when the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

families having an interest in a general hall are very numerous. This family and its descendants still retain their interest and rights in the general hall, and, at the same time, have the exclusive control of the interests connected with the branch hall which they have erected. The branch halls are less numerous in this part of China than the general or common halls.

Many Chinese do not profess to have an interest in any public or common ancestral hall in the vicinity. These are generally the descendants of immigrants from another part of the province or empire, who have not become sufficiently wealthy and numerous to erect an ancestral hall. All such, however, adhere most tenaciously to the worship of ancestral tablets in their houses.

Ancestral halls differ largely in size, plan, style of finish, and expense. The smallest perhaps are only twenty or thirty feet wide by fifty or sixty feet long, and consist of only two or three apartments. Others are some eight or ten times as large, as regards width and length, having a large number of rooms designed for different uses. The expense, of course, is variable, from a few hundred dollars to several tens of thousands, including the permanent fund.

At the time of erecting an ancestral hall, rules are made by the proprietor in regard to the qualifications of those who may have their tablets placed in it, or the sum of money which must be paid into the general or permanent funds of the hall, by the particular families to which the new tablets belong. These rules are very definite and strict, and are rigidly enforced, else the place devoted to holding or arranging the tablets in the halls would in a few generations become crowded. Some require that a large sum of money shall be paid into the funds of the hall for the privilege of entering a tablet, or that all those who become graduates of the second literary degree, or officers of government above a certain rank, may have their tablet placed in it gratis, etc. The fact that a certain family does not have a member whose tablet is entitled to a place in the hall, or that sufficient money can not be spared for the object of purchasing the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

privilege of entering it, does not exclude the family from participating in the worship in the hall and in the benefits which accrue from the 'institution'.

p.227 In case of the entry of the tablet of a high officer, as of a viceroy or literary chancellor, among the tablets of his ancestors in the hall, it is said that especial permission to do it is usually obtained from the emperor. It is not necessary to obtain such permission, but the family of an officer who holds a very high station takes occasion to obtain it in order to add increased glory to his family and to his ancestors. The procession got up at the time of carrying such a tablet from the residence of the deceased to the ancestral hall is as large and splendid as possible, and is accompanied by bands of music. In this procession a tablet, having two words which give the imperial sanction, holds a prominent place. It is a high day with the family. As a general thing, if a certain man may have his tablet placed in the hall, his principal wife may have her tablet also placed there as a matter of course.

The tablets placed in a hall for worship are generally at least two or three times as large as those made for use in private houses. They are oftentimes placed in a niche built expressly for the purpose, with divisions or shelves in it, so that they may not be all on the same level. At other times they are arranged on a platform or shelf at one end of the room devoted to their worship.

At the time of erecting an ancestral hall, a permanent fund is established by the family or the families who unite in erecting it. The profits of this fund are designed to be used in defraying the expenses of the worship and sacrifices made at the appointed or customary times. This fund usually consists of arable land, houses, or stores, the produce or rent of which is appropriated to the support of the hall. Such property is inalienable except by the unanimous consent of the elders of all the families interested in the hall. The business of providing the articles used in the hall is performed by the different families concerned, a year at a time, by turns, according to their rank as descendants, the family for a certain year

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

receiving the produce of the land and houses for that year. In a year of plenty, it generally occurs that the avails of the fund are more than sufficient to meet the necessary expenses. In such cases, the balance unexpended becomes the private property of the family, or is divided among the different families, or is reserved for repairs, according to the rules made. In a year ^{p.228} of scarcity, on the other hand, it is possible that the avails of the fund will not be sufficient to defray the expenses, when the family is expected to supply the balance, or collect it from the other families. The annual expense for each hall varies from several tens to several hundred dollars, graduated by the number of families concerned and the manner which has been established for the observance of the worship and the sacrifices.

The hall belonging to wealthy families usually is kept in order by some one who lives on the premises. It is the duty of this individual, or the keeper for the time being, to keep a record of the days of the death of each person whose tablet is placed in the hall. On the arrival of these days annually, he should carefully remember the fact, and burn incense, and candles, and mock-money before the particular tablet representing the deceased, in the customary manner. Sometimes feasts are made in honor of the deceased on such anniversaries.

Besides the observance of the anniversary of the death of the person to whom a tablet belongs, there are various other times when the dead are worshiped by their surviving descendants. These times are generally specified by the founder of a hall. In such a case, the descendants feel under obligation to follow his will. If the time and the manner of worship are not definitely fixed by the founder, those concerned in a particular hall soon come to agree when and how everything should be done. There are some five or six occasions per annum when worship of the ancestral tablets in the halls at this place is commonly observed.

1. On the '*opening of the temple*', generally before the third or fourth day of the first month of the new year. This refers to the first burning of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

incense in the hall after the beginning of a new year.

2. On the fourth or fifth day of the first month, when they worship in a circle. This takes its distinctive name from the circumstance that all the representatives of the families who are present stand *in a circle* before the tablets in the main room of the hall, with their faces toward the *inside*, and, at a given signal, each having grasped his own hands, make their obeisance once, after Chinese fashion. After this they sit down to a feast before the tablets.

3. ^{p.229} From the eleventh to the fifteenth of the first month, in the evening. At these times the halls are brilliantly lighted. Frequently a pair of huge candles for each of the living male descendants is burned before the tablets, each person sometimes furnishing his own candles. The one whose turn it is to superintend the affairs of the hall for the current year usually has his candles placed in the centre. Mock-money is always burnt at these times for the benefit of the dead. During this period, they feast together in the evening from two to four times after worshiping the tablets. This is called keeping company with the spirits of the dead by night.

4. A sacrifice is made to the spirits of ancestors, some time during the second month. This is called a '*vernal sacrifice*'. This sacrifice consists of meats, vegetables, fruits, etc., and is attended with considerable show and solemnity.

5. About the middle of the seventh month, another season of special worship and feasting is had before the temples in the halls. In addition to the mock-money consumed on other occasions, 'mock-clothing' must be burnt at this time for the benefit of the dead, and, among the other articles, there must be provided at the feast at least two ducks and one watermelon.

6. Some time in the eighth month, at the regular day, there occurs the '*autumnal sacrifice*' to departed ancestors before their tablets. In connection with large and rich ancestral halls, this sacrifice is also attended with considerable pomp and solemnity, and is terminated by a feast, of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

which all the representatives of the families who are present partake. It is customary at some halls to divide the pork sacrificed among the representatives of the different families, which they may take to their homes and consume. It is a saying that the meat thus divided will have a tendency to procure male children. If, among the descendants of the ancestors worshiped, there are any who have attained to office, it is usual to give such an extra pound of this pork, which is said to aid the sons of such a family in becoming celebrated, and competing successfully at the literary examinations. At some halls there is also an extra season of worship at the time of the winter solstice.

These few notes may perhaps serve to give some Western ^{p.230} readers a more adequate and intelligent idea of the importance attached to ancestral worship, and the expense attending it, among this people, than they were in the habit of entertaining. Generally speaking, the customs which relate to the worship of the ancestral tablet in private houses and in public halls are more fixed, and are deemed more important, than those customs which relate to the worship of idols and spirits, especially in literary families.

Visit to an Ancestral Hall

@

What resident in China from Western lands has not visited many a temple devoted to the worship of idols ? and who has not read descriptions of such visits ? Heathen temples occupy most conspicuous positions in this empire, and seem to invite a visit from the stranger. Ancestral halls are, however, erected in more retired places than temples, and, being considered private property, are not open to the public. Hence they attract less attention than do temples, and much less is known in relation to them.

On the morning of September 21st I visited one of the largest ancestral halls in this city. The invitation to visit it was given by one of the literati, who

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

had an interest in it, being a member of one of the families descended from its proprietor. He was my *cicerone* during the visit, and was very ready and frank in replying to my inquiries, which were not remarkably few.

The day fixed for the visit was the one for the 'autumnal sacrifice'. This enabled me to witness some of the preparations for that sacrifice, though it was understood that I was not to remain during the attendant ceremonies.

We arrived at the hall about 11 A.M. The outer doors were opened, and, being accompanied by the gentleman alluded to, there was no opposition made to my entrance. We found the tables and furniture already arranged for the approaching worship, though the articles to be offered in sacrifice to the spirits of the departed had not all been brought in, it being too early in the day.

The premises occupied by the hall and its surroundings were about fifty-eight paces wide, by about three times that distance in length, including a 'false hill' and an artificial ^{p.231} fish-pond. The latter was about thirty by fifty feet, and its sides were stoned up very substantially. The ground of the open courts between the buildings and in front of them was covered with large smooth slabs of granite. There were numerous halls or apartments. The primary hall, being nearly in the centre of the premises, was the place which contained the principal tablets, and where the sacrifice was to be offered and the worship performed. A large niche or shrine, the bottom of which was some three or four feet from the floor, and in which the tablets were standing, had in it several shelves or steps somewhat like a flight of stairs. On the back and highest step was placed a large tablet about four or five feet square, which represented all the ancestors of the families who were interested in the worship soon to be performed. In front of this were arranged, on various steps in the niche, nine tablets in all, richly gilded, and about three feet high and seven or eight inches wide, each representing, it was said, two individuals — that is, a man and his principal wife. On one of the lower steps was placed a kind of rack, which contained two small rolls. These were the 'credentials' or 'letters-patent' given to two deceased

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

members of the families by the emperor when they were commissioned as officers of government. In front of this shrine was a large table of a particular kind and shape, much used in worshiping. On this were placed a pair of high and large candlesticks, a large censer, and two high flower-vases. Near each end of this table, which was eight or ten feet long, were two small tables, designed to be used for holding the pig and the kid which were to be offered up in sacrifice. The hair and the entrails of these animals having been removed, they were to be placed, uncooked, on the tables prepared — the pig in a kneeling posture, with its nose resting on an upright peg, and the kid in a standing posture, resting on a frame. Two small pieces of cloth were prepared, ready to be put upon these animals after they had been arranged on the tables during the sacrificial worship. In front of these two tables, along each side of the room, were three or four tables, each having a pair of candlesticks ; but no censer, and also some singularly-shaped and odd-looking utensils, which were to be used during the approaching worship.

Directly in front of the shrine, and about forty feet distant p.232 from it, was a small table placed crosswise the room, which held nothing but a censer. This was the place where the head man or chief of the families represented was to stand during the ceremonies. The place where the others were to stand and perform their part was some thirty or forty feet still farther from the shrine, and behind the master of the ceremonies. A large iron censer, to be used for burning mock-money and the silk to be offered to the spirit of the ancestors, was directly between the places allotted to the chief actor in the ceremonies and to the other company of performers. On the right and left sides of this room were suspended on the walls two large pictures of some of the ancestors of the worshipers. Higher up, and fastened near the roof to cross-pieces, were arranged in this and in adjacent apartments fourteen honorary wooden tablets, given to members of the families concerned in the sacrifice as tokens of success at literary examinations. Another tablet contained the names of fourteen who had become masters of arts. Some thirty notifications of the success of the same number of candidates at the lowest order of literary examinations

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

were carefully pasted up on the walls of an adjoining apartment. In a part of the front portion of the premises were arranged, in a conspicuous position, under cover, a set of a certain kind of implements or portable tablets, oftentimes seen in mandarin or idol processions, designed to be used in case of the public carrying of a new tablet to the hall from the residence of the person it represented.

An adjoining apartment, called the 'secondary hall', contained a much smaller niche than the one in the 'primary hall'. This niche was designed to hold the tablets of the inferior wife or concubine of the members of the families connected with the institution, provided she was a woman of especial merit, such as being the mother of a son who became a very learned man or an officer of the government. There were only five or six small tablets in this hall, each representing a secondary wife or concubine, who in some way had become famous or distinguished in her family.

Another apartment contained one solitary tablet, designed to commemorate a woman whose husband died when she was twenty years old, leaving a son only four months old. She lived, it is said, for a long while, on account of extreme ^{p.233} poverty, on one meal a day, and thus was enabled to support and educate her son. He subsequently became a master of arts. She and her husband have a tablet erected to their memory in the primary hall ; but she, in consequence of her extraordinary virtues and merits, was adjudged the additional right and honor of a tablet erected in this 'chaste and filial hall'. Peace to her memory !

In another apartment is an image about one foot high, representing the local god of wealth.

Another apartment or hall was devoted to the worship of the god of literature. His idol is less than two feet high. In front and on the sides of it were several smaller images, associated with the god of literature, who is worshiped by students as the bestower of success in literary pursuits and honors. Several dishes of food are placed before this image, and incense and candles are burned there in his honor by members of the various

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

families interested in this ancestral hall, when they are successful at the examinations, and also at other times, whenever, according to the sentiments and customs of this people, there seems to be a call for such tokens of thanksgiving, or of supplications. On the first and fifteenth of each Chinese month, incense and candles are regularly burned before the god of literature in this particular hall, and also at the other fixed times for sacrifice or worship before the ancestral tablets, in the hope of obtaining this god's kind offices in promoting the literary pursuits of the members of the families connected with it. Besides the apartments or halls already mentioned, there are rooms designed for the reception and temporary accommodation of mandarins and their retinue, for study, for recreation, and for various other purposes.

This ancestral hall was built about seventy years ago by the great-grandfather of my informant and guide. The cost of the ground, buildings, furniture, walls, etc., including the permanent fund for defraying the regular expenses, he affirmed amounted to \$300,000, which seems a very high sum, though every thing about the establishment was evidently made in very good style. The annual expense for the stated sacrifices and worship is about \$300. During the year when my informant had the management of the hall, the second year of Hien Fung, the produce of the permanent fund which is ^{p.234} invested in arable land, was 1120 cwt. of paddy or unhulled rice. He took 600 for his expenses and share, the rest was divided among the other families concerned. The hall is put under the care of a male slave belonging to these families, who is married, and lives on the premises.

In the afternoon after I left, according to my informant's account, there were offered in sacrifice to the spirits of his deceased ancestors in the hall before their tablets a pig weighing one hundred pounds, a kid, five kinds of green vegetables, of each kind two heads or bunches, five kinds of fruit, and five kinds of seeds, as rice, wheat, beans, etc. Also salt, red dregs of wine, a piece of dried beef, bread-cakes made into five different shapes, a piece of raw pork, a small quantity of pigs' hair and of pigs' blood, ten cups

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of tea, and ten cups of wine. The vegetables and meats were all uncooked. Similar offerings are presented at the autumnal sacrifice from year to year. Besides these, there were also ten dishes of food already cooked, consisting of meats, fish, fowl, and vegetables, arranged on a table placed before the tablets.

A professor of ceremonies was present directing the worshipers when to kneel, bow, and rise up. The faces of these worshipers were turned toward the tablets. The head person among them was a lad some six or eight years old, being the eldest son of the eldest son of the eldest son, etc., of the remote male ancestors from whom all of the Chinese having his ancestral name living in this city claim to have descended. He was the chief of the clan, according to the Chinese law of primogeniture. This lad, instructed by a professor of ceremonies, took the lead in the worship, all the rest kneeling down when he knelt, bowing their heads toward the ground when he bowed his head, and rising to their feet when he rose. The head man, at the proper time during the ceremony, while on his knees, all the rest of the worshipers being also on their knees, received three cups of wine, which he poured out, one by one, upon some straw placed in the bottom of a certain vessel. These cups were then refilled and replaced on a table before the tablets, whence they had been taken by the professor of ceremonies. Before the wine was poured out, he lifted the cups up reverently in front of him, as though offering them to the spirits supposed to be in the tablets. Three bowls of ^{p.235} vegetables were presented, as if to the spirits, in like manner, and then taken away and placed upon a table. The professor of ceremonies, at the proper time, knelt down and read, or rather chanted, a kind of sacrificial prayer to the spirits of the departed ancestors of the company present. They being all the while on their knees, then bowed down their heads toward the ground three times, when several rolls of coarse silk, or something in imitation of silk, were burnt. The great drum was beaten. All rose up at the command of the professor, and left their allotted places. The cooked provisions intended for the feast were soon arranged on tables, in the proper or customary manner at feasts. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

representatives of the families interested in the hall took their seats, and partook of the feast provided in the presence, as they believed, of their ancestors. All of them were males, no female being allowed to be present or participate in the festivities or solemnities of such occasions. At the close of the feasting, each representative took home with him some of the flesh of the pig which had been offered whole before the tablets.

During the progress of the worship they all knelt down five times, and while on their knees bowed down their heads simultaneously three times. There was no weeping, no smiling, and no talking, except by the professor of ceremonies. All was orderly, still, solemn, and reverent.

I have only spoken of the manner of performing ancestral worship as practiced at one hall on a certain occasion. The practice at other halls doubtless varies largely in various particulars from what has been described. It will readily occur to the reader that a description of only a small part of the ceremonies performed has been attempted.

@

1.CHAPTER IX

Priests of the three religions

@

Priests of Buddhism : p.236 Buddhism not native in China. — Buddhist Priests live in Monasteries or Temples. — Governed by Abbots. — Description of Buddhist Costume. — Monkish. — Ignore the common Duties and Relations of Life. — Brief Description of Worship at the Monastery on Drum Mountain. Animals kept alive there as a Work of Merit. — Do not eat animal Food. — How the Sect is kept up. — Singular Method of Seclusion. — Cremation of the Corpses of Priests. — Worship of the Three Precious Ones.

Priests of Tauism, or the Sect of Rationalism : Tauism at Fuhchau less popular than Buddhism. — The Class called Tö-ing much like the Buddhist Priests. — The Class Tö-tai much unlike the Buddhist Priests. — Tauist Priests eat Meat as well as Vegetables. — Tö-tai much employed in performing meritorious Ceremonies. — Tauist Priests worship the Three Pure Ones.

Priests of Confucianism, or the Sect of the Learned : Professors of Ceremony or Politeness. — Two Classes. — One employed by Mandarins. — The other employed by the common People. — Brief Notice of the Doctrines or Principles of Confucianism. — No Nuns at Fuhchau.

Priests of Buddhism

@

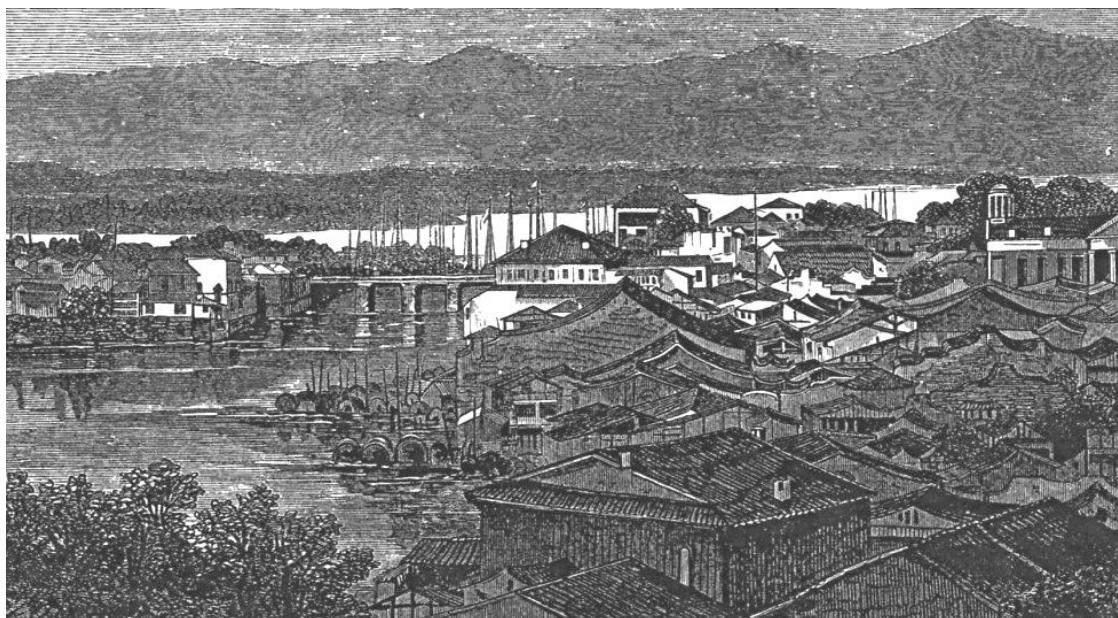
There are three classes of native priests in China, understanding the word 'priest' to denote a person who officiates in religious worship.

The Buddhist religion is not native to China. It was imported from India in the early part of the first century of the Christian era. It is usually regarded as more popular than the Tauist religion in this part of the empire. There are several hundred Buddhist priests in this city and its suburbs. The priests live in a certain kind of temples, dedicated to the honor and worship of Buddha, which, in English, are usually called monasteries, in order to distinguish them from other temples. Monasteries are used and designed as residences for the accommodation of a large number of priests, having kitchen-ranges, an eating-room, sleeping apartments, and libraries. Of these monasteries there are nearly thirty in all at this place, including those which are located a few miles east and west of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the city. Several of these are kept in good repair. Some of the temples are under the care of resident priests.



Middle Island

Stone bridge in front of
the (salt) granaries

Methodist Chapel

Distant view of Kushan, i. e. Drum Mountain

p.239 Three of the largest of these monasteries, have each an abbot, who has great power and influence over the resident priests. A large and celebrated monastery, situated about six miles east of the city, on Drum Mountain, has between one and two hundred priests connected with it. The abbot is not always an old priest, or one of a venerable and commanding appearance. The abbot of the large monastery above alluded to, a few years ago was a young man between thirty and forty years of age, of a retiring disposition, and of thoughtful and sedate cast of countenance. The priests who are trained at those monasteries which have an abbot, provided they are furnished with a certain document or certificate of character signed by the abbot, are entitled to claim admittance to any monastery in the empire, and to receive the rites of hospitality for a few days gratis.

Most of the large monasteries own land or other property, from which rent in rice or money is annually received, though usually not sufficient to defray the current expenses of the institution. The deficiency is made up in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

part by begging from visitors and worshipers, and by voluntary presents made by officers, the literary class, and the common people, either in consequence of some vow, or as a means of increasing their merits.

A company of priests from two or three of the largest monasteries in the vicinity parade the principal streets of the city and suburbs, for the purpose of begging for the support of their respective monasteries, or, in more polite terms, of receiving the voluntary contributions of the people. Sometimes they appear to the number of thirty or forty in one company, each dressed in the peculiar costume of the Buddhist priesthood, with uncovered heads, and carrying in their hands a kind of gong or cymbal, which they beat slowly at regular intervals. With solemn countenances, they walk leisurely along the public streets in single file, not unfrequently in profound silence, though sometimes chanting or reciting together the name of Buddha, or some formulary. The people who happen to be passing along the streets, and the shopkeepers, contribute what they please either in cash, rice, or oil. They are usually followed by men who take and carry along whatever is proffered.

p.240 Both the common and the official costume of the Buddhist priests is quite different, as regards color and fashion, from the costume of the common people. The coat is distinguished by its having a very wide turn-over collar. When they officiate they usually dress in yellow clothing, made of cotton or silk. At other times they commonly wear garments of an ash color, though sometimes they are white.



Buddhist priest

They shave off all the hair from their heads two or three times per month, so that their pates are perfectly smooth. From this circumstance arises the expression '*bald-headed asses*', which sometimes is derisively applied to them. Many of them, perhaps all who are regularly educated at a monastery, have several places or spots on their pates, burnt with coals of fire in such a manner that the hair never grows there again. Only an abbot

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

is entitled to perform this ceremony. It is a kind of badge of their profession, or rather of their standing in it.

They are monkish in their mode of life. They cast off and refuse obedience to their parents ; they never marry ; they do not acknowledge, much less exhibit, any affection toward their brothers or sisters, or other relatives ; they possess no friendships ; they reject and disown any common sympathy with the rest of mankind. *They profess to ignore the constant relations and duties of life.* Hence the common expression *Chōk-ka*, which is applied to them, indicating that they have left or gone out of the house or family. It is asserted that they may not sleep in a *dwelling-house* with other people. They profess to have wholly given up the world, and its honors, pleasures, and excitements, and to be supremely desirous of being entirely uninfluenced by things of sense, as other men are, seeking only to be absorbed into Buddha at death. They are solitary, unsocial, contemplative beings, reminding one of the monks of the Middle Ages.

p.241 They profess no allegiance to the emperor ; still, of course, they yield obedience to him through the civil magistrate. They are professedly under the control of an officer living in the southeastern quarter of the city, who, according to report, was formerly a priest himself, and who received his title of office directly from Peking for the special purpose of governing them. It is, however, found to be the fact that he has little or no real authority over them, except in unimportant matters, they being more immediately under the superintendence and jurisdiction of the abbots of their respective monasteries.

They spend their time variously ; much of it is occupied, when at their monasteries, in chanting their Buddhistic classics, or sacred books. Many of these are, substantially, a representation of the *sounds* of the words of the original books brought from India, by the use of Chinese characters, not a translation of the *sense*. They attach much merit to the repetitions of their classics, keeping an accurate account of them by means of a string of beads. Many of the priests are engaged more or less in conducting various

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

religious or superstitious ceremonies in the families resident in the city and suburbs, and surrounding villages. When not thus employed, they return to the monastery to which they belong, unless they are appointed to take the charge of temples.

In connection with the celebrated monastery lying east of the city there is a ponderous bell, which is struck so frequently and so regularly that the sound is said by the priests never to cease day or night from one year to another. In fact, however, the reverberation does sometimes actually cease for a moment or two through inadvertence on the part of the bellman, who is a priest officiating *pro tempore* in rotation. The priests are unwilling to admit that the sound ever ceases. The bell is rung, not by any machinery which would insure regularity, but simply by pulling a rope which causes a suspended stick of wood to strike upon it.

In the monastery on Drum Mountain, morning worship is held before daylight, and the evening worship about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. Length of service is from an hour to an hour and a half. All the resident priests are required to attend and join in the service. It is held in an immense room, where are three colossal images of Buddha side ^{p.242} by side. The altar is furnished gaudily and costly. In front of it are low wooden stools and mats for the priests to use when kneeling. The service consists principally of a chant or recitation of passages from the Buddhist classics in Sanscrit, represented by Chinese characters used for their sound, not meaning. The accompaniment is not organs and viols, but bells, large and small, a wooden skull, and an iron urn, which are struck with sticks from time to time. The chant is monotonous, but sometimes musical and impressive. All the priests keep exact time. Part of the ceremonies consist in leaving their places and moving in procession, winding their way, back and forth, between rows of stools, preceded by a little bell-ringer, all busily and solemnly chanting. Their tone of voice is slow, measured, and reverent. Some occasionally kneel down and bow their heads toward Buddha. At times the music and utterance increases to the very climax of rapidity, and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

then gradually diminishes. Repetition of Omito, the name of Buddha, is exceedingly numerous, and believed to be meritorious in a very high degree.

A large monastery has numerous rooms devoted to specific uses, as a library, reception-room for officers or other distinguished guests, as well as one for the common people, a large room for daily prayer or worship, a study-room, a place where living animals may be kept, etc. The animals referred to are not kept or reared for food, but as a work of merit. At the largest monastery near here there is a fish-pond, which is full of fine fish of various kinds, not one of which will the priests allow to be caught and used for food on any consideration. There is also a part of the establishment appropriated to the keeping of those animals which are supported at the expense of the monastery, or of the people who have placed them there in the fulfillment of a vow. Here may be found cattle, swine, goats, hens and chickens, ducks and geese. At that monastery, a few years ago, there were several tens of cattle feeding on the hill under the care of servants, kept there as a meritorious act. It is required that those who bring animals there to be nourished and kept alive should contribute money or grain, monthly or annually, to support them until they die a natural death. If domestic fowls, thus kept, lay eggs, the eggs are buried in the ground, not used as food. Such, at least, is the ^{p.243} theory. When any animal dies, it is buried, and the donor or supporter of it is duly notified of the fact, if it is considered a case of sufficient importance.

The priests and their servants, or the men employed to till the ground by the monastery, and do the heavy work about the establishment, professedly eat nothing but vegetable food. The consumption of meat of any kind, including fish, is believed to be a sinful act. Every thing that has had *animal life* is theoretically refused as an article of food. It is generally believed, however, among the common people, that many of the priests eat animal food when they can do it unobserved. Those connected with the larger monasteries, where there is an abbot, and where the laws or

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

regulations of Buddhism are more generally carried out, it is thought consume comparatively little meat. Most or all of the traveling, or, as the people often call them, 'wild' priests, probably indulge in eating meat quite often. The idea that water and vegetables are full of *living animalculæ*, when advanced to the Buddhist priests as a proof that they can not live without the destruction and the consumption of animate beings, is rejected by them with indignation, the fact being denied.

Although they are much detested and abused by the Chinese generally as men whose example in disowning the common and the constant relations of life it is neither reasonable nor even possible for all to imitate, they still are much sought after and employed to officiate at religious and idolatrous ceremonies at all seasons of the year. They always hold themselves in readiness to engage in worship in private houses when invited. They receive a small pittance in money for such services, besides being boarded at the expense of the family as long as the ceremonies last. They are employed principally to perform what are considered meritorious ceremonies for the benefit of persons recently deceased, or for the benefit of destitute and wicked spirits in the lower regions generally, or for the benefit of sick or feeble persons. The merit of their performances is supposed to accrue to the family which employs and pays them, or to the particular individuals on whose behalf the ceremonies are performed.

They keep up their sect, in part, by the buying of boys, who are trained up for the priesthood. The number of boys thus ^{p.244} bought and educated must be very few, at least in this part of China. Some persons, who have become sick of the world and tired of life in consequence of the death of relatives or of adversity in business, instead of taking their own lives, go and join themselves to the priests in a monastery, who gladly receive them, shave the hair from their heads, and instruct them in the tenets and ceremonies of Buddhism. Few leave the priesthood and engage again in the common pursuits of the world. It is also said that some who have violated the laws of the empire, in order to avoid arrest and punishment, run away

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and become priests, changing their dress and shaving their heads, and thus escape detection. Probably only those whose crimes are capital, or the punishment of whose offenses against the laws would be attended with great disgrace, endeavor to save their lives or escape the disgrace by becoming priests. The prosecution for crime of those who thus become Buddhist priests usually ceases when that deed is accomplished.

There are oftentimes, in connection with the large monasteries, one or more priests who, for a specified number of years or of months, have no intercourse with the outward world, spending their time entirely in their cells, usually in a sitting posture, very much like that assumed by tailors when at work in Western lands. Their simple food is brought to them, which they receive through a small pole in the door or in the side of their cells. Their thoughts are professedly fixed on Buddha, and their hope is to attain such a degree of blessedness, by the uninterrupted contemplation of him for so long a period, as to be absorbed into him or to become Buddhas when they die. Such is the prevalent opinion of the design of their voluntary and self-inflicted banishment from the world. It is regarded very creditable to the monastery to have such devotees connected with it, as well as very meritorious in the individuals themselves.

The corpses of the priests are burned soon after decease, instead of being buried in the manner common among other Chinese. I witnessed, over ten years ago, when visiting the large monastery to the east of the city, the burning of the body of an aged priest. The corpse was placed in the coffin in a sitting posture. The coffin was made of Chinese pine boards, p.245 unplaned, being about two feet and a half or three feet square at the bottom, one and a half or two feet square at the top, and three and a half or four feet high. It was carried to the burning-place by two men by means of a common carrying-pole laid across their shoulders, the coffin being suspended between them with ropes. Priests in their yellow robes, chanting some formula, accompanied the corpse to the place of burning, distant a quarter of a mile from the monastery. The coffin was deposited in a small building of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

brick and earthen walls, evidently erected for the purpose of holding coffins while they were being consumed. A quantity of wood was piled on and around the coffin, and fire applied. The priests, standing a rod or two in front of it, commenced their chanting, and in less than half an hour the ceremony was concluded, and the most of the priests retired to their monastery. The ashes were subsequently gathered up, with the unconsumed bones, and placed in an earthen vessel, which was deposited in a building devoted to containing such mementoes or relics of deceased priests.



The Three Precious Ones

Sang Pō, 'the Three Precious Ones', is the title by which the three large idols always found in Buddhist monasteries, arranged side by side, are generally known. They refer to ^{p.246} *Buddha Past*, *Buddha Present*, and *Buddha Future*, according to the adopted explanation, being three different incarnations of Buddha, either already actually accomplished or prospective.

There are three days in every year when it is said celebrations are had in honor of Buddha. The eighth day of the second month is distinguished as the time when he 'left the house', or devoted himself to the life of a recluse, eschewing his parents and family friends, and determined to reside away from the abodes of mankind. This was before he became a god. His birthday is said to occur on the eighth day of the fourth month. He 'became Buddha', or 'attained to perfection and entered nirvan' on the eighth day of

the twelfth month. Buddha is worshiped on these days with greater pomp and parade than on other days. His worship in monasteries is attended with chanting the classics, and with many genuflections and prostrations, and in marching around and around, or back and forth, etc.

Priests of Tauism, or the Sect of Rationalism

@

Judging from the number of Tauist priests and the number of temples which are exclusively devoted to the worship of gods of the Tauist sect in this place, this religion is much less popular than the Buddhist. There are only four or five temples belonging to the Rationalists or Tauists, and connected with them are not more than twelve or fourteen priests, properly so called. Of them very little is known by foreigners. They seem to shun the acquaintance of the 'stranger from afar' much more than do the Buddhist priests. They are very uncommunicative in regard to their opinions and practices. They confine their official labors principally to the temples where they reside, though on great and special occasions they sometimes officiate at other places. In many respects they are very much like the Buddhist priests. *They never marry*, nor do they confess to the relations of life, as emperor, parents, friends, etc. Their sect is perpetuated in much the same way as is the Buddhist priesthood. They do not confine themselves, even in theory, strictly to a vegetable diet. They may eat animal food. Their dress is different from that of the common people.

p.247 Some of their objects of worship are said by the common people to be the same as those which are worshiped by the Buddhists, but these are probably very few. Many of their customs and ceremonies are quite similar to those practiced by Buddhist priests. Buddhist and Tauist priests never officiate together, though they are sometimes employed in different parts of the same premises.

They do not shave off all of the hair from their heads, like the Buddhist priests, nor do they braid up what is left in a tress, like the common people,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

but coil it up on the top of the head after the costume of the Ming dynasty. They do not trim it and make it short. The Buddhist priests seem to act on the principle that to have any hair on the head is either a sin or a shame ; while the Tauist priests appear to believe that to have long hair on theirs is neither a shame nor a sin. Some Tauist priests do not shave the hair off at all, but let it all grow, while others shave off some on the outer edge or on the sides of the head, nearly as much as do the common people ; all, however, coil up the long hair on the top of the crown in a peculiar fashion, never braiding it into a cue. By the inspection of the hair on the head or the absence of hair there, one can tell whether a certain person is a priest or not, and if a priest, to which sect, Buddhist or Tauist, he belongs.

The above remarks relate to the class of priests called in this dialect Tö-ing, and believed to be, strictly speaking, *Tauist priests*. There is another class of priests called Tö-tai, who also belong to the Tauist sect. These have been frequently referred to as a 'certain kind' of Tauist priest. They are, however, very different in several respects from the former, as well as from the Buddhist priests.

They, except when officiating, usually wear the dress of the common citizen.

They do not live in temples, but in common dwelling-houses, and among the common people.

They marry and raise families, marrying and giving in marriage, after the manner of other men.

They neither shave off all the hair on their heads, like the Buddhist priests, nor coil up upon their crowns what they have unshaven, like the other class of Tauist priests, but shave, comb, and braid their hair in all respects as do the common ^{p.248} people, letting the cue dangle down their backs, except when engaged in officiating at some ceremony. At such times the coil up the cue on the back part of the head, or on the top of the head. It is usually fastened there by a wooden pin and the ceremony is completed.

Their food consists of meats and vegetables, as they please. There is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

nothing in their rules to prevent the members of their families from engaging in business. As a general thing, however, fathers train up their children to follow the same calling. Their wives and daughters take in sewing, or engage in any light employment which is profitable, as they please. It would appear that this class of priests become or continue priests in order to obtain a livelihood, just as other persons become doctors, fortune-tellers, musicians, etc.

They derive their living principally from the regular pay they receive for the performance of the ceremonies of their sect. They are always boarded when employed by the people at their houses. The head priest, who has several apprentices or journeymen priests under him, usually has twice as much wages as any other one — that is, he counts as two. If the others receive seventy cash each per day for their services, he receives a hundred and forty.

This class of priests is quite numerous, probably much more numerous than the Buddhist priests. They are also much oftener employed than are the Buddhist priests. Their services are very frequently in requisition, on mourning or funeral occasions, for the performance of so-called meritorious ceremonies in cases of sickness of adults or children, male or female, etc. On a multitude of occasions, in all seasons of the year, and relating to almost all subjects, they are invited to perform their singular, superstitious, or idolatrous ceremonies. Their great harvest is in the seventh Chinese month, when, according to the current adage, 'they need not buy any rite', from the fact that they are so constantly employed in the discharge of their official functions that they are not at home during the day. On the birthdays of gods and goddesses, and on established festival days, they are also very busy, oftentimes spending only a few minutes in each family where they have been invited, merely the time absolutely necessary for the customary ringing of cymbals and the chanting of their formulas.

p.249 This class of priests is under the control of a head man, who is a priest himself, but who has been appointed to the office he holds by imperial authority, having a title and a button of rank. The mandarins, if

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

they have occasion for the services of these priests in *saving the sun or the moon when eclipsed*, or in *praying for rain in a time of drought*, etc., have only to apply to their head man, who has authority to insure the attendance of the requisite number at the time and place appointed. If any violate the laws of the land, they come under the control of the civil mandarins, their head man having little authority over them except as regards the exercise of their official functions as priests.



The Three Pure Ones

Sang Ching, the 'Three Pure Ones', is the title of certain three idols found in temples belonging to the Tauist religion and worshiped by Tauist priests. The images are seated side by side. One of them, as some explain, represents Lö-chü, or the '*Old Boy*', the founder of that religion. Others explain that the three images refer to three different incarnations of Lö-chü. There is very little known among the common people about these divinities, and they are seldom worshiped by them. Tauist priests of both classes universally worship the Three Pure Ones. Those priests who dwell among the people, the Tö-tai, use a paper-hanging which has pictures of them when called upon to perform ceremonies in private houses. The other class, the Tö-ing, living in temples, burn incense and ^{p.250} candles incessantly before these images in their temples. Some account for the origin of this trio by the saying that 'Lö-chü in one breath was transformed into the Three Pure Ones'.

Priests of Confucianism, or the Sect of the Learned

@

These have been frequently referred to under the appellations of '*professors of ceremony*', or some equivalent term. They are of two classes — those employed by mandarins, and those employed by the common people.

All the mandarins, from the district magistrate to the viceroy, each have a professor of ceremony, who is paid out of the imperial treasury a small monthly stipend. Their official duty is to conduct the ceremonies which the mandarins, their masters, are required by the emperor to have performed at certain temples or elsewhere, at certain times of the year. When they go to make offerings to heaven and earth in the spring and fall, or to the god of agriculture, to the god of war, to Confucius, etc., the mandarins are accompanied by their teachers of ceremony. It is their part to read or chant the sacrificial or adulatory ode to the object of worship, to tell the mandarins when to kneel down, to knock their heads on the ground, and to arise to their feet. These teachers or professors are entitled to dress like graduates of the lowest degree, and to wear a cap with a gold button. They are always treated with great respect and deference by the mandarins. According to established usage and law, on state occasions, while the mandarins represent the emperor in worshiping objects terrestrial or objects celestial, objects real or objects imaginary, according to imperial rescript, they must obey the instructions or commands of these men. Although the mandarins might know what, according to the rites, should be done, and the precise time of doing it, they must not presume to do anything on their own responsibility. They must abide by the intimations of those who are called *priests of the Confucian religion*, or the religion of the learned, from the fact that they are a special class of men, who are appointed by government and paid out of the imperial coffers to conduct the ceremonies according to the established rites and laws. These persons profess to understand what the rites demand on all p.251 occasions of state ;

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

hence their appointment to the office, and their willingness to assume the responsibilities of it. Every thing must be done according to the programme the rites establish as proper, or rather as they understand the rites to establish, considering the circumstances of the case, the rank of the performers, and the object designed. These men are employed by mandarins when performing the rites of the state religion. They themselves are Confucianists, and so are the mandarins in their private sentiments.

Professor of ceremony

There is another class of these professors of ceremony who are employed occasionally by the common people to assist them when they please to invite them. These are not paid from the imperial treasury. Their assistance is rewarded by fees or wages, which vary according to circumstances. Besides their food, they expect a liberal fee from rich patrons. Those who can afford the small additional expense, invite the attendance of a professor of ceremony when they put on mourning for the decease of a parent, and at different periods during the mourning solemnities. The common people are not obliged by law to use these directors of worship. Custom makes their employment reputable and fashionable in wealthy and literary families. For instance, when making a sacrifice of food to the dead, if a teacher of the rites is at hand to instruct one when to kneel and when to rise up, when to begin doing a particular act or to cease from doing it, every thing is performed with less confusion than though he were to act according to his own memory or judgment of what was proper and becoming under the circumstances. It is a portion of the duties of the professor of ceremony to read the sacrificial ode at the proper time of ^{p.252} presenting a sacrifice to the manes of the dead, to instruct the mourning family when and how to make presents in acknowledgments of presents received from sympathizing relatives, etc. He makes himself generally useful and even necessary for those who endeavor to carry out an undertaking according to the rites.



Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

These men, who are employed by the common people, are quite numerous and influential. They, as well as those who are employed by mandarins, are necessarily literary men, of respectable connections, of polite demeanor, able to assume, when occasion demands, a grave and dignified appearance ; self-possessed and authoritative, else they could not discharge to the satisfaction of their patrons the functions of their calling.

The moral character of the priests which have been noticed has very little to do with their *acceptability and popularity*. Suavity of manners, tact in the management of business, and a clear understanding of the part he is to perform, have much more to do in forming the popular estimation in which any particular individual of either class is held than does purity of morals or integrity of character.

Confucianism consists of the religious, moral, and philosophical tenets and doctrines which are to be found in the Chinese classics, the writings of the sages and the worthies of antiquity. It numbers among its adherents and followers all the learned men of the country. Many of them might also be considered Buddhists and Tauists, if regard be had to what they perform as religious acts, or permit to be performed in their families. Confucius admitted that he did not know much about the gods. In his view they were beyond the comprehension of mortals. He does not inculcate obedience to one who has a right to the love and the services of the human race. The obligations of man, according to him, consisted in doing good to his family, his friends, and his country. He exalted filial virtue above all other moral and social virtues. The principle of obedience to superiors extends through all his writings, and forms the grand basis of society and of government as he would have them. A child should obey its parents, a wife her husband, and a subject his prince. This principle of subordination to superiors he elucidated and applied ^{p.253} to the most important departments and relations of Society. The subjects of his discourses to his followers, as well as the themes discussed in his books, are those which have a most important and practical bearing in a political and social point of view, and which the experience of more than twenty centuries has shown to be singularly adapted to meet the approval of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the Chinese mind, and to satisfy Chinese wants.

In the Chinese classics much is said on benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, and fidelity, the five cardinal virtues, which is beautiful in theory, but which the literati most woefully overlook or forget to put into practice. In general, it may be said that while every one nowadays applauds the sentiments of the ancient sages and worthies, there are few, if any, in China who attempt or profess to practice them. By many the literati are regarded as essentially and practically atheistic. One of their most learned and popular philosophers affirmed, in relation to the existence of gods and spirits, 'that sufficient knowledge was not possessed to say positively that they existed, and he saw no difficulty in omitting the subject altogether. His system is also entirely silent respecting the immortality of the soul, as well as future rewards and punishments. Virtue is rewarded and vice punished in the individual or his posterity on earth ; but of a separate state of existence he or his disciples do not speak'.

There are no priestesses of the Tauist religion or of Confucianism in this part of China, nor are there any of the Buddhist religion tolerated in this city and vicinity at the present time. Thirty odd years ago there were comparatively a large number of priestesses or nuns of the Buddhist religion dwelling in convents or nunneries at this place. But these were summarily suppressed about twenty-eight or thirty years ago, on account of the dissolute character of their inmates, by a provincial treasurer. About the middle of the reign of the grandfather of the present emperor, as the treasurer was passing by a certain nunnery in the city during the evening, his attention was arrested by the numerous lights connected with the establishment, and the manifest proof that it was improperly visited by men. After making ample inquiries in regard to the dissolute life of the nuns, he determined to suppress the nunneries in the city, and oblige the inmates to marry or leave ^{p.254} the section of country. Very many gladly changed their state of single blessedness for the state of matrimony, a sufficient number of unmarried men being found to marry them.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Buddhist nun with cap and rosary

Buddhist nuns with shaven heads are occasionally seen in the streets while passing through the place to nunneries located in adjoining prefecturates or townships. The blow dealt thirty years since by the treasurer upon the nunneries situated in the provincial city still is felt. The buildings they occupied, a kind of temple, have been used for other purposes than the raising of licentious maids under the garb and name of religious devotees. There has been since that summary act no successful effort made to establish and support Buddhist converts at this place.

@

1.CHAPTER X

Popular gods and goddesses

@

p.255 *Siâng Huông*, 'The Lord of the Province' — Image carried forth in Procession three times per Year. — *Ngük Huông Siong Tä*, 'The Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler', principal God of the Tauist Sect. — *Tai Sang*, 'Great or Universal Mountain', much worshiped by Tartars as well as Chinese. — *Hieng Tieng Siong Tä*, Supreme Ruler of the Sombre Heavens. — *Huo Sing*, God of Fire. — *Kuang Ing Huk*, Goddess of Mercy. — *Ma Chu*, Goddess of Sailors. — *Ling Chui Nä*, commonly called 'Mother', Goddess of Midwifery and of Children. — *Sang Huông*, the three Emperors. — *Kuang Tä*, Chinese God of War. — *Uong Tieng Kung*, King, Heavenly Prince. — *Ung Chiong Tä Kung*, the God of Literature. — *Ngûong Saùi*, a God of Play-acting, Wrestling, and Music. — *Tu Te Kung* and *Chai Sing*, Gods of Wealth. — *Lu Pang*, Patron Deity of those who use the Chisel and the Saw. — *Tü Këk Sai*, God of Swine. — *Tu Chiêng Kúi*, a God of Gamblers.

The ancient mythology of deities worshiped by the Chinese is yet to be written in English. The present, not ancient, customs and sentiments relating to the most popular objects of worship at Fuhchau and vicinity will be briefly attempted.

Nearly all the gods and goddesses have reputed birthdays. On the occurrence of such days, most of them have special ceremonies performed in their temples in honor of the event. Some of these celebrations of birthdays are very expensive and showy. By command of the emperor, at stated times in the spring and autumn of every year, and on the first and fifteenth of every month, officers of government must go to the temples of some of the principal gods and goddesses, and burn incense in their honor, or make sacrifices unto them.

Siâng Huông, the god called 'The Lord of the Province', is one of the greatest divinities worshiped here. His temple is the largest within the city walls, and is situated near the treasurer's office. It is the same in kind as the one frequently styled by Huc the '*municipal palace*', and by Dr. Williams '*the palladium, or municipal temple*'. It is also sometimes called 'the temple of the city wall and moat'. In theory, every provincial, every prefectoral,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and every district City has a temple devoted to this god. In the temple in this city p.256 are three images very like each other. The largest one represents the god which rules over the affairs of the whole province in the world of spirits. The other two images represent the gods which regulate the affairs of the other world, which are connected with the two districts intersecting each other in this city.

In times of great drought, and when it has not rained for three months, an iron chain is put around the neck of one of his portable images. The image is then sometimes carried forth in procession to the temple of the 'Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler' to pray for rain. Some believe he has the general oversight of this world and of Hades as regards life and death, the rewarding of the good and the punishment of the wicked, reporting matters to the 'Pearly Emperor', who decides authoritatively and unreversably in regard to them.

This idol is taken out of the temple and carried in procession three times per annum.

At the time of the Festival of the Tombs, in the spring, it is carried to the western altar, outside of the western gate of the city, where a ceremony is performed called '*letting out the spirits*'. It is supposed that at this time the spirits are allowed to come out of Hades and visit their old homes.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month, the image is again carried to the western altar, where a ceremony is performed called '*counting the spirits*'. He is expected to have a strict oversight of the ghosts which he has let out of Hades to visit the earth, and he regards it important to call over the roll.

On the first day of the tenth month, his image is carried through the principal streets of the city out to the western altar, where a ceremony is performed called '*gathering the spirits*'. The idea is, that he shuts them up on this occasion in Hades, after they have had a long recreation upon the earth.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The idol is then taken within the city walls, where it passes the night in some house, not in the temple, as, the work of the god being unfinished, he can not go home to sleep. Next morning it is carried out into the southern suburbs, and paraded through all its principal streets, returning home in the evening. The procession on these two days is very long. Several thousands of men take part in it as an act of homage in ^{p.257} the fulfillment of a vow. It is very common for people belonging to all classes of society to bow before the image of this god to perform a particular act of penance, or of thanksgiving, in case he grants them the object of their desires, as success in business, the restoration to health of their sick parents, the living of their parents to old age, the attainment of a literary degree, etc.

Ngük Huông Siong Tä, 'The Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler', is regarded by many as the highest divinity worshiped by the Chinese. Others speak of him as being the chief god of the Tauist pantheon. He is often referred to as the producer of all things and the governor of all things, seen and unseen, terrestrial and celestial. The common people believe him to receive the reports of the higher class of the gods in regard to the transactions done on the earth, and to examine into the merits and demerits of mortals, rewarding or punishing them according to their just deserts.

His birthday, all agree, comes on the ninth day of the first Chinese month ; but his pedigree is enclouded in mist. While some native scholars affirm him to be a descendant of Tiong Lu, of the Hang dynasty, others stoutly deny it, and declare that it is impossible to state his age, or to ascertain the time when he flourished on the earth. Some even venture to affirm that the being really worshiped under the name and title of 'Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler' is identical with God, the *only proper object of religious worship*.

In times of drought, the high mandarins go to his temple, burn incense, and pray for rain. Certain idols are also carried in procession there for the purpose of prevailing upon the Supreme Ruler to send down the much-

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

needed rain. After rain has fallen sufficiently, mandarins resort thither to render their thanksgivings.

In strict theory, the great gods, the divinities of high rank, may worship him, while the gods of lower rank may not properly worship him, in accordance with the established practice that only mandarins of high rank may wait upon the emperor in person and pay their respects, while officers of low grade may not approach into the emperor's presence. In fact, however, nowadays, on his birthday, and on other days at pleasure, images of gods which are not of the highest class are taken up ^{p.258} to worship him ; and some from all classes of the populace, in their private houses, before the heavens, very frequently worship him by the burning of incense and candles, accompanied with the offering of food.

The proper manner of worshiping the Supreme Ruler consists in the use of the 'three kneelings and nine knockings', or kneeling down on the ground three distinct times, each time bowing the head to or toward the ground thrice. Many of the people are not so precise and formal as this in their manner of worship, but perform the ceremony with more or less of disorder and irreverence. The common people have no image of this divinity in their houses when they worship him.

Tài Sang, the divinity called 'Great or Universal Mountain', whose temple is a mile and a half outside of the east gate of the city, is regarded by many as the most influential and important god worshiped in this part of China, unless the 'Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler' be excepted. He is sometimes referred to as the 'emperor of the infernal regions'. The 'Great Mountain' is spoken of as the grandson of the '*Supreme Ruler of the Sombre Heavens*'.

In books which describe the Chinese Hades, the 'Great Mountain' is represented as presiding over the seventh of the ten departments of that region. He is regarded as one of the rulers who have to do with the spirits of good and of bad men after death. Sometimes he is spoken of as the one who controls life and death.

The twenty-fourth day of the third month is spent by his devotees in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

carrying an image of the 'Great Mountain', placed in a large sedan-chair, and borne by eight stalwart men in procession through the principal streets of the city. The following day the procession passes out of the southern gate into the southern suburbs, which it visits and inspects in a similar way. A large multitude of well-dressed men engage in honoring the god on these days, as a kind of thanksgiving to him for benefits supposed to have been received from him in answer to special requests and vows. The streets are crowded on these days, and the people seem generally much interested and excited.

The birthday of the 'Great Mountain', which occurs on the ^{p.259} twenty-eighth of the third month, is observed and honored by many families with great rejoicing. Some use what is called 'great offerings', as a whole hog, a whole goat, a whole goose, or duck, or chicken ; others only a hog's head, goat's head, and a goose, and other meats, and various dishes of vegetables, with immense candles, and costly incense, wine, mock silver and gold, etc.

The Manchu Tartars resident in the city, as well as the Chinese, worship the Great Mountain. In procession, when the idol is paraded in the streets, Tartars take a prominent part. Some seem to regard the Great Mountain as the god of the Tartars, probably from the fact that they take so great an interest in every thing which pertains to this divinity and his temple. There is no other god worshiped at this place which the Tartars patronize with the same unanimity, and devotion, and liberality as this.

It has become a custom, for several days before the occurrence of his birthday, for Manchu ladies of the first respectability, and of high rank, to go to his temple and wait upon the image which represents his wife. They put one of her images to bed with one of his images, and properly arrange the bedclothes for several successive nights. In the morning they bring water with which to wash her face, and during the day, from time to time, bring tea, tobacco, and other refreshments for her to use, just as though they were waiting upon a lady of the highest rank in the capacity of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

attendants and slaves. During the nights which occur while these birthday festivities are celebrated, these Tartar women sleep on the premises in apartments provided for the use of guests.

The temple is very extensive, having many departments, or apartments for the worship of various subordinate divinities. It is kept in excellent repair.

A singular circumstance occurred a few years ago in connection with the principal image of the 'Great Mountain', which caused much talk at the time — *his head fell suddenly from his shoulders, just as though his neck had been broken off*. On examination, it was found that the principal posts or timbers which supported his head in position had become very much weakened by white ants ; they became too feeble to support the head.

p.260 The rest of the image was removed to a back part of the premises, and, together with his head, *buried*, and a high mound raised over the place where his *mortal remains* were interred. The occasion of this incident was made use of by the trustees of the temple to solicit the contributions of the deluded devotees of the god which was not able to retain his head upon his body, or to keep insects from committing depredations upon his framework, for the purpose of repairing the injury done and burying the old image. A large sum was raised without difficulty. For weeks, if not months, the temple was frequented by visitors in view of the idol's losing his head, even while workmen were employed to build up an image *de novo*.

Hieng Tieng Siong Tä, the 'Supreme Ruler of the Sombre Heavens', is much worshiped at this place. He is sometimes called the 'Sombre Ruler', or the 'North Ruler', and is believed to have special control of regions connected with the North. The people sometimes speak of him as the 'Water Ruler', or the governor of water. He is believed to be able to prevent conflagrations, and therefore, though he is not, properly speaking, the god of fire, he is often worshiped in order to secure his good-will and services against the breaking out of a fire in certain localities. There are many images of him, with a representation of a tortoise and of a snake near his

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

feet, and also images of thunder and of lightning, one on each side, erected near the entrance of alleys or of by-streets, under a pavilion or in a niche in the wall. The wind and the rain are represented by images, and are regarded as his assistants. Being reckoned as an eater of vegetables, no meats are used in making offerings to him.

Huo Sing, 'the god of fire', frequently styled '*the Fiery Ruler of the Southern Regions*', is much reverenced, because much feared.

In very many neighborhoods, annually, in the fourth month, there is a ceremony performed for the purpose of propitiating the good-will and aid of the god of fire in preventing conflagrations in the vicinity. The Chinese have, with good reason, a great dread of fires. Their houses easily ignite, and as soon as a conflagration breaks out, fellows of the baser sort, who are not few, rush to the scene for the purpose of robbery and ^{p.261} pillage. The family whose house is burning, if it have not friends numerous and promptly on the ground, fares sadly, for the plunderers will take clothing, furniture, and every thing worth carrying off.

The owners and renters of unburned buildings which are in the vicinity of a recent conflagration often invite some Tauist priests to go to the temple of the god of fire in their behalf, and perform a certain superstitious ceremony, and make an offering of various things before the divinity. This is designed as a kind of thanksgiving to the god for his having preserved their property from destruction by fire. Or they employ them to perform the ceremony on some part of the space burned over, for the same purpose. Sometimes this ceremony is attended with a display of many kinds of food, wine, and tea. The candles used on this occasion may none of them be red, the usual color, but all must be white, or yellow, or green ; red, being the color of fire, would be an inauspicious omen, and, if used, might have a tendency to produce a conflagration, which it is the object of the ceremony to prevent.

Kuang Ing Huk, the goddess of mercy, has various titles, which it is not necessary to mention. This goddess is held in very great veneration by this

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

people, especially the married female portion. She is often represented very much as a man, or, as the Chinese say, half man and half female. Her images are sometimes made of fine white porcelain, or of brass, or of coarse clay. Sometimes her name or title is simply written on paper, and used instead of an image, and, it is believed, answers just as well. She belongs to the Buddhist pantheon.

Married women, without exception, worship this goddess at their homes. If childless, they often go to some of her numerous temples and petition for a male child. This divinity is regarded as a goddess of midwifery and of children.

There are three particular days in every year when this goddess is specially worshiped besides the first and the fifteenth of every month. These are the nineteenth day of the second month, the nineteenth of the sixth month, and the nineteenth of the ninth month. The first period is represented to be her birthday proper, the second period is regarded as the time when she became Buddha, and the third period as the time when she first put on her neck the string of pearls which she ^{p.262} wears as an index of her dignity. Some say that the third period indicates the day of her death. On these days she is feasted and worshiped as though they were each her natal day. The worshipers on these occasions eat vegetables, because she is regarded as a vegetarian, and they present a vegetable offering unto her, arranged before her image, whether in the temple or in private families.

Ma Chu, the goddess of sailors, is very extensively worshiped by all heathen families which have business connected with the navigation of rivers or the ocean. Her temples are numerous, and sometimes large and expensively built. Probably the largest and most costly temple in the southern suburbs of this city was built by traders from Ningpo for the worship of the sailors' goddess. Traders from other prefectures or other provinces, who come here and live, usually build large exchanges or assembly-halls, where people from the same section of country as their builders may meet and transact business. These always, or with exceedingly few exceptions, have an image of this goddess put in them as their patron divinity.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Ma Chu, the goddess of sailors, and her two assistants

This goddess, it is taught, was the daughter of a man who, ^{p.263} with his sons, was engaged on the ocean in the pursuit of a living. He was born during the Sung dynasty, and lived in the Hing Hua prefecture of this province. One day, while she was engaged in the employment of weaving in her mother's house, she fell asleep through excessive weariness, her head resting upon her loom. She dreamed that she saw her father and her two brothers on their separate junks in a terrific storm. She exerted herself to rescue them from danger. She immediately seized upon the junk which contained her father with her mouth, while with her hands she caught a firm hold upon the two junks which contained her two brothers. She was dragging them all toward the shore, when, alas ! she heard the voice of her mother calling to her, and as she was an obedient girl, forgetting that she held her father's junk by her mouth, she hastily opened it to answer her mother. She awoke in great distress, and, lo ! it was a dream, but not all a dream ; for in a few days the news arrived that the fleet in which the family junks were had encountered a dreadful storm, and that the one in which her father was had been wrecked, and he had perished, while those in which her brothers were had been signally rescued. The girl knew that she had been the means of the salvation of her brothers, and that opening her mouth to answer her mother's call was the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

occasion of her failure to rescue her father's vessel.

This girl became, as the result of her dream, one of the most popular objects of worship in the empire. The Emperors of China have, at different times since her death, conferred various high-sounding titles upon her, some of which seem blasphemous. She is called '*Queen of Heaven*', '*Her Ladyship the Heavenly Queen*', or '*the Holy Mother in the Heavens above*'. One is often reminded by the titles given her, and the worship and honors paid her, of the titles which are given to the mother of Jesus by the authority of the Pope of Rome.

Sailors belonging to junks which go out to sea, and those who work the boats on fresh-water rivers and lakes, often take with them some embers or ashes which they obtain from the censer before some popular image of the goddess. These ashes they carry about their persons in a small red bag, or they suspend them about the junk in some convenient place, or they put them in the censer before the image of the goddess which ^{p.264} they worship. When there is a violent storm at sea, and there seems but little hope that the junk will outlive it, the sailors all kneel down near the bow with incense in their hands, and call out in doleful and bitter tones upon *Ma Chu* to send deliverance. In case they reach port without shipwreck, they are bound to offer to her an especial thanksgiving of food, with or without theatrical plays in her honor, according to their vow. It is affirmed by sailors that sometimes, in storms, a manifestation of this goddess becomes visible in the shape of a ball of fire going up or down a mast. If it is seen going up, they regard the circumstance as an omen of evil, as the departure of their goddess, and they look forward to serious disaster. If it seems to come down the mast, they interpret the appearance as an auspicious omen, and feel confident that they shall be preserved. The boatmen on the rivers and inland lakes in this part of China, when a very high wind arises and they are exposed to its violence, constantly keep calling upon *Ma Chu* to save them, crying out in piteous tones, '*Grandmother Ma Chu !*' '*Grandmother Ma Chu !*'

The sailors' goddess has two principal assistants, whose images stand

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

one on each side of her own in her temples. One is called 'Favorable-wind-ear', and is believed to have an ear which can catch the least breath of a favorable breeze. The other is called 'Thousand-mile-eye', and is regarded as having an eye of remarkable acuteness of vision, able to perceive clearly at the distance of a thousand li. The latter assistant has of late years, in this place, become celebrated for his skill in curing the fever and ague, as well as for his abilities as a seaman. A particular temple near the water-gate of the city contains an image of this sailor-doctor, which is frequently visited by those who desire to be cured of the fever and ague. The sick man, after burning some incense before the image, takes away with him some of the incense ashes which he finds in the censer, and, after arrival at his own dwelling, worships it as he would the image itself if he had one. After he recovers he must make the assistant god a thank-offering. A kind of very thin pancakes must form a principal part. This 'thousand-mile-eyed' assistant seems to be remarkably fond of these cakes. Perhaps he does not like the hard fare of sailors.

Ling Chui Nä, a goddess which is generally called simply ^{p.265} 'Mother' by the people, is believed by some to be the most frequently worshiped of all the gods and goddesses at Fuhchau. She was born in the southern suburbs of this city, and lived in the time of the Tang dynasty.

She seems to be worshiped in part on account of her superior skill as a midwife. The fifteenth day of the first month is celebrated as her birthday by married women generally by spreading before her image a table of edibles, accompanied with the burning of mock-money, candles, and incense. This worship is a thanksgiving for her aid previously received, if they are already mothers. They desire also to propitiate her good-offices in regard to the future.

She is also considered as a *goddess of children*. Children under sixteen years of age are regarded as under her special care and protection. If children are sick, their parents employ Tauist priests in some of her temples or at their dwelling-houses to perform a certain popular ceremony

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

called 'passing through the door' for the benefit of their sick darlings. She is sometimes represented in pictures as standing, with a sword in one hand and a horn in the other. With the sword she drives away enemies and evil influences, and with a blast from the horn she can summon to her aid hosts of heavenly assistants. She is also frequently represented in a sitting posture.

It is taught that every kind of meats may be offered to her in sacrifice excepting *ducks*. It is recorded as a veritable fact that once, while performing some of her arts for the purpose of procuring rain in a time of excessive drought, standing on a piece of matting which was simply placed on the surface of the River Min, opposite this city, and just below where the Big Bridge is situated, she was in great peril from the malicious attempts of some evil-disposed demon in the water, which tried to draw the matting down into the water. A certain tall white devil is charged with this mischievous attempt to undermine the security of her footing. What the sad results would have been to her personally, as well as to married women and children generally, had he succeeded, it is not necessary to attempt to deplore or depict ; for, as her good fate would have it, four ducks came boldly and bravely to her rescue. Each seized hold of one of the four corners of the matting with its bill, and held it firmly in position, so that the imp could ^{p.266} not drag it from underneath her. In view of this signal deliverance in her hour of peril, she vowed, as a *token of gratitude*, never to partake of *duck's meat again*. She is regarded as having no objection to ducks' eggs. A small island in the river at this place, called 'Duck Island', was raised from the bed of the river by the goddess in commemoration of her escape, and named after her deliverers ; so many Chinese soberly and stoutly maintain.

This goddess of midwifery and of children is assisted in the discharge of her onerous and numerous duties by a large staff of female assistants ; thirty-six of them constitute one class or rank, and seventy-two another. The images of the former class are paraded along the right and left hand of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

her own image in temples devoted to her worship. Some of these have children in their arms.

Sang Huông, 'the three Emperors', are explained to be the heavenly emperor, the earthly emperor, and the human emperor, *viz.*, *Fuh-Hi*, who invented the eight diagrams, and was the first physician whose name has been handed down to modern times ; *Shin-Nûng*, who first practiced agriculture, before whom men lived on roots and fruits ; and *Huang-Ti*, who was the first tailor, before whose time people dressed with leaves. Their birthday is unknown. These gods collectively are worshiped by a very large proportion of the common people, especially *cap-makers*, *shoe and boot makers*, *doctors*, *masons*, *stone-cutters*, *tailors*, *fortune-tellers*, *manufacturers and dealers in tin-foil*, and various other classes of trader people, artisans, and manufacturers. Generally speaking, each class by itself once per annum has theatrical exhibitions and a feast in the temple devoted to the worship of the three Emperors, designed to honor and praise these its patron divinities.

Kuang Tä, the Chinese god of war, or the Chinese Mars, was a distinguished military officer, as well as a 'faithful and honest courtier', who flourished in the time of the after Han dynasty, during the wars which agitated the three states. He has had a number of honorary and pompous titles added to his usual title by emperors of various dynasties. One of his most honorable titles is that of the 'Military Sage', a title by which it is indicated that he occupies a position in military affairs corresponding to that of Confucius in literary matters. ^{p.267} He has now come to be spoken of as the patron deity of the present *Manchu* dynasty. *Hien Fung*, the grandfather of



Kuang Tä, chinese god of war

the present emperor, added to his former appellations of dignity by

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

decreeing him to be the 'Joyous Sage'.

His image is worshiped by many people in their houses. He is believed to make men courageous and daring in their character, and successful in their undertakings.

Uong Tieng Kung, a divinity, the translation of whose common name is 'King, heavenly Prince', has an immense image in each of the temples devoted to the worship of the 'Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler', located on the hills in the southern part of the city. He is represented with three eyes, one being situated in the middle of his forehead. His whiskers are long, and of a fiery red color. He holds up before him in one of his hands a whip, or instrument of punishment.

Men from all classes of society, sick and poor, officers and populace, as well as some females, worship this three-eyed and red-whiskered god. The principal objects sought for are protection in times of evil, and success in business and in study. Prayer to him *à la Chinois* is affirmed to be very effectual in cases of sickness.

Kue Sing, the god of literature



Ung Chiong Tä Kung, the god of literature, is universally worshiped by literary men. He is spoken of as the giver of ability to write prose and poems of high literary merit, and as the arbiter of success at the literary examinations for the different degrees.

There are two stars which the Chinese profess to have discovered to have the supervision of the affairs of this world relating to 'literature and the pencil'. One of these, *Kue Sing*, is said to be the fifteenth star of the twenty-eighth constellation, answering to parts of Andromeda and Pisces. The other is commonly called the *god of literature*. His image is made in the form of a handsome man in a sitting posture. The other star is also represented as a man, but extremely ugly looking, with a head having two

p.268

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

long, crooked, horn-like projections. He is made to stand by one foot on the head of a large fish, with the other foot lifted up. In one hand he holds an immense writing-pencil, and in the other a kind of cap, such as is worn by the chief of a class of graduates. His image is always placed directly before the image of the other god of literature, though he is not regarded as his assistant.

There are said to be thirty or forty temples here devoted to the worship of these gods of literature. In large ancestral halls there is usually an apartment devoted to them, where the members of the families interested in the halls may burn incense and candles before them at the regular times of sacrificing with their ancestors, and whenever they please to worship them. In all the governmental colleges or high schools they are worshiped on the first and fifteenth of every month, in the usual manner. Besides superintending affairs which relate to literature, this god is believed to take cognizance of the merits and the demerits of men, their virtuous and their vicious actions. Some speak of him as the governor or the ruler of thunder, fire, and the pestilence.

Ngûong Saùi, a god of play-acting, wrestling, music, etc., is represented to be the third son of 'the Pearly Emperor Supreme Ruler'. *Play-actors, both apprentices and journeymen*, worship him regularly, for the purpose of securing his aid in enabling them to remember their parts, and to perform them in the established manner, and to the acceptance of their patrons. Those who *engage in sham-fights, fencing, wrestling*, p.269 *and similar athletic sports, for recreation or amusement, or who set themselves up as teachers of these*, also worship this god, depending upon him for protection against making false movements, and against injuring the life or maiming the person of others. By the side of his image in the temples erected to his honor there are usually four assistants — one playing on the harp, and one playing on the flute ; the other two are in the attitude of fencing or boxing.

He is said to have been distinguished for his success in literary and in military pursuits. Accordingly, he is sometimes represented as a literary

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

individual — that is, his image is plain and simple. At other times he is represented as being half in a military costume and half in a literary costume — that is, one side of his person is made plain, while the other half is arrayed in military apparel, as though it was covered with a coat of mail. From his head or his cap there are usually seen two long, curved feathers, projecting behind.

Tu Te Kung and *Chai Sing*, the gods who preside over wealth, are worshiped generally by traders, store-keepers, bankers, receivers of the customs, play-actors, clerks, and underlings connected with yamuns, and by some people in their houses, in order to propitiate their good-will in granting success to their plans for the acquisition of wealth. Those who have shops or offices burn incense and candles regularly before the paper inscription which represents one of the gods of riches, or the idol which represents the god, always found in their shops or offices. The first mentioned is a kind of penates, and is worshiped in households more frequently than the latter.

Lu Pang, the person who is now worshiped as their patron divinity by all who use the chisel and the saw in their professional employments, as house-builders and carpenters, shipwrights, umbrella-makers, cabinet-makers, etc., in olden times was a man who lived in the province of Shangtung, then called the kingdom of Lû. His ancestral name was *Pang* ; hence the designation by which he is now held in remembrance. He was celebrated for his skill and dexterity in the use of mechanical tools, some of which he has the credit of inventing. People who use the chisel and the saw, each class or profession by itself, meet once per annum in the temple devoted to the p.270 worship of their patron deity, for the purpose of consulting together about the interests of their trades and occupations, and regulating the price of their labor, or of the articles they manufacture, etc. They feast together, and witness the performance of theatrical shows, in honor of the memory of him who invented the chisel and the saw, and to propitiate his good offices on their future efforts to use them with skill.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Tü Kék Sai, the god of swine, is represented as a deaf man standing and holding in one hand a long staff, with which he controls swine. He is dressed in common plain clothing. Various reports are in circulation among the people in regard to the antecedents of this god. Some say he was, a long while ago, a butcher of hogs living in the city ; others affirm that he was simply a successful swine-raiser, who died from vexation because his swine suddenly died. The following store is related about him :

He had a stand in the city, where he vended pork. One day a poor but talented student, who had already become a graduate of the first degree, went to his stand and bargained for a small piece of pork, which the pork-vender was to let him have on trust, as he had not the cash in hand. The seller of pork, soon after the departure of the student with the flesh, changed his mind, and concluded not to trust the poor man. He therefore went secretly and took away the piece of pork out of the pot while it was cooking. This offended the student, who did not forget the circumstance. Afterward he became a very distinguished scholar, and attained unto the dignity of president of one of the boards at Peking. Coming back to his native place on business, as he was passing in his sedan the stand of the butcher, it happened that the butcher recalled the circumstances, and began to tell them to the by-standers at the precise moment when the high mandarin was passing. The latter, incidentally looking out of the window of his sedan toward the stand, saw the butcher gesticulating, with his knife (while telling the story) pointed, as he imagined, toward his sedan, as if in the act of threatening. The mandarin, indignant that he should be treated thus in his native town, proceeded at once to his lodgings, and drew up a statement for the inspection of the emperor, telling how he saw a butcher threatening to kill him with his butcher-knife while he was ^{p.271} riding along the public thoroughfare in the city, and requested the imperial consent and authority to decapitate him without trial, as a punishment for the insult, and a warning against other evil-disposed men. The emperor granted the request, and the man was summarily beheaded. Soon after his death he became an object of reverence and worship by his countrymen.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

This god is worshiped by swine-owners, not so much in order to procure his aid in raising swine as to prevail upon him to grant his assistance, after swine have been lost or stolen, in enabling them to be found. Such go to his image, and, having lighted some incense and candles, rub his ears, he being deaf, and pat him gently on the back, in order to excite and interest his attention. They then tell him what they desire, stating the facts, as nearly as they know them, in regard to the lost swine, and ask him to start off and search for them. If they succeed in finding the lost or stolen hogs, they must make a thank-offering to him in the usual way.

Tu Chiêng Kúi, a god of gamblers, represents a certain man who spent his time in gambling, until, having lost his property, he died of want. An image of him was subsequently made, and called a '*devil gambling for cash*'. His body was represented as clothed with ordinary garments, very much dilapidated, with his cue coiled around his head, and with a gambling card stuck into his hair. This god is much worshiped by gamblers, especially when there is a kind of lottery to be drawn. Having lighted incense and candles before him, they cast lots by the uses of bamboo slips, and kneel down and knock their heads on the ground. Some confirmed gamblers have an image of this divinity made for use in their homes, before which they pray for auspicious dreams, as aids in gambling. They prepare for having such dreams by lying down to sleep before the image, having first lighted some candles and incense. When this is done it amounts to a kind of vow. Sometimes tobacco and cakes are offered in the evening.

Sometimes the gambler takes thirty-seven slips of bamboo, each of which has certain characters written upon it, and arranges them before the image, covering each with some kind of shell. Incense and candles are lighted, as before, at bedtime. In the morning these slips are carefully examined to p.272 ascertain if any have been moved during the night. If one has been stirred, though but a little, the characters upon it are selected by the gambler, upon which to bet with regard to this lottery, under the idea that the god has caused it to be moved as a favor to him, indicating that

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

these characters will be the lucky ones for the day. One of these thirty-seven sets of characters are selected by the lottery directors to draw the prize for a particular day. The gambling consists in trying to guess the lucky characters for any specified day. Those who guess them make thirty fold on their venture. Oftentimes the phrase '*devil gambling for cash*' is used to describe a man who has become a desperate gamester, probably from his haggard and poverty-stricken appearance.

@

1.CHAPTER XI**Popular gods and goddesses**
continued

@

p.273 *Ngú Hieng Kung*, God of Thieves. — *Iöh Uong Chú Sü*, the God of Medicine. — *I Kuang Tāi Uông*, the God of Surgery. — *Uök Uông*, King of the Min Country. — *Ngu Tä*, the Five Rulers or Emperors. — What they represent. — Called corrupt Gods. — Titled Marquis by Decree of Hien Fung. — Processions in Public in the fifth and sixth Months very numerous. — Unions or Clubs formed to honor them. — Preparations for Processions in their honor. — Paper Boats. — Happy Bucket. — Sailors' Society. — Paper Boat sent out to Sea. — Tall white Devil and short black Devil. — Buffalo-headed, Horse-faced, Cock-headed, and Duck-mouthed Assistants. — Assistant carrying a Cangue, and Assistant carrying a Chain and a Lock. — The 'accomplishing' and the 'transforming' Assistants. — Four Assistants representing the four Seasons. — Five Assistants representing the five Directions. — Such Processions imposing.

Images and Pictures of Animals worshiped : The Monkey. — The Fox. — The Tiger (worshiped by Gamblers). — The Tiger (worshiped by Mothers in Behalf of their sick Children). — Heavenly Dog. — A Servant of the God of Music represented by a Dog. — The black Monkey and the white Rabbit. — The Dragon. — White Cock.

Ngú Hieng Kung. — The birthday of the 'god of thieves' falls on the seventeenth of the eighth month. Within ten or fifteen years, the number of the worshipers of this divinity has very rapidly increased in this place, and the number is now annually increasing. The main object of worshiping him is to *gain wealth*. Some sick people, travelers, and traders worship him. Nowadays many, who are not professed or regular thieves, worship him on the recurrence of his birthday. He has no temple devoted to him in the city or the suburbs, nor has he any image. He is worshiped under the open heavens. On his birthday, the Great Temple Hill in the suburbs presents an extremely animated appearance, as very many of his worshipers go there to present their offerings and make their devotions.

Sometimes the people use two characters, meaning '*midway in the heavens*', as a part of his title when speaking of this divinity. These words imply that he dwells in the midst of the heavens. He is believed to be unwilling to come down to earth, and therefore men do not prepare an

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

image of him, and worship it, as they do in regard to most other objects of worship.

Ngú Hieng, it is taught, was a thief himself, and was noted not only for his cleverness in stealing, but also for his filial piety. About daybreak one morning, it is told, he came home with a kettle for cooking rice, which he had purloined. His mother, kind-hearted woman that she was, scolded him roundly for stealing such an article, thus depriving people of the means of cooking their food, and finally told him that, if he sold it, and bought rice with the money he got for it, she would not taste a mouthful of it. He asked what should be done with the thing. She advised him to return it to the place whence he took it. But he objected, saying it was already light, and he would certainly be detected in the attempt. His mother replied that, if he would attempt to return it, the heavens undoubtedly would become darkened so that he could do it in safety. He concluded to try, and started off with the kettle, and, behold ! just as he reached the house whence he stole it, the heavens all at once became very dark. He embraced the favorable moment and deposited the kettle on the premises, and ran off with all speed to report to his mother the result of his efforts.



God of thieves

Iöh Uong Chú Sü, the god of medicine, is said to have been formerly a distinguished doctor, who, after his decease, was deified. Now he is generally worshiped by the vendors of medicine, and their clerks and assistants. The third day of the third month is the time which is celebrated by them in his honor, making a feast, and burning incense and candles ^{p.275} before his image at his temple. Practicing physicians seldom engage in these celebrations, nor do they often worship him.

I Kuang Tāi Uōng, the god of surgery, it is taught, was a foreigner,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

originally from the Loochoo Islands, who came to the middle kingdom and practiced surgery. Surgery, in the Chinese sense, relates to the cure of diseases which appear on the surface of the body, as sores, ulcers, cancers. As, while living, he was partially deaf, his devotees imagine this defect remains now that he is dead, though deified, and therefore are careful to make application by speaking into his ear, as well as to offer the customary incense and candles, which appeal more directly to his olfactories and to his eyes.

Uǒk Uông. — The temple which contains the image of an ancient king of the Min country, who reigned during the Han dynasty, is located on the Great Temple Hill, in the suburbs of this city. In a time of drought the temple is visited by rain-prayers in order to burn incense, hoping to procure rain thereby. The premises are extensive and well kept. There is a famous well upon them. In a time of drought, if the bones of a tiger should be let down into this well, called the '*dragon's well*', and kept there for three days at the most, there will, it is sagely affirmed, most likely be rain soon. The bones must be drawn up as soon as possible after the rain has begun to fall. The common belief is that the dragon and the tiger always fight when they meet, and that, when the dragon moves, the clouds will ascend, and rain will soon fall. The tiger's bones are used to stir up or excite the dragon. If he arouses himself and combats the tiger, alias his bones, clouds, it is asserted, will certainly ascend to the skies and rain will shortly begin to pour down.

The image of *Uǒk Uông* is placed on the right hand of the image of the goddess, his wife — that is to say, the wife is sitting in the seat of honor, according to Chinese notions. The occasion of the husband yielding the seat of honor to his wife, *an exceedingly unusual thing in China*, is related to have been the following : One day he jestingly, or rather boastingly told her that, by casting his boot into the dragon's well, he could bring the dragon to the surface of the water. She promptly denied its possibility, and, on the other hand, ^{p.276} affirmed that she, by throwing into the well one of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

her earrings, could induce the dragon to come up and get it. He promised her that, if she could thus draw up the dragon to the surface, while he could not produce the same effect by tossing his boot into it, he would yield the seat of honor to her, and she should henceforth sit on his left hand. She accepted the proposition. He threw his boot into the well, but no dragon came to the surface. She disengaged one of her earrings and tossed it into the well, and the dragon immediately came up for the pearl it contained ! The dragon is famed for his extraordinary attachment to pearls, as well as for his intense hatred of the tiger. The wife of the king, after this, always sat on the left of her husband, who was true to his promise, and, after the death of each, when their images were made, her image was placed in the seat of honor, *i. e.*, at his left hand.

Ngu Tä, or the Five Rulers. — The worship paid to the Five Rulers, taken in connection with the idol processions through the streets in honor of them, and the confused and monstrous notions which are prevalent relating to their powers, constitutes an idolatry of the most peculiar and extraordinary character.

The common people know nothing about the history of this form of idolatry, and the literary class profess to know but little. The prevalent impression appears to be that it is of comparatively recent origin. During the Chau dynasty (B.C. 1122-255), under the supervision of government, there were certain public processions, the object of which was to expel pestilences, or the demons which cause the pestilences. Subsequently, in process of time, the government ceased to regulate the processions, and the people took up the matter. In the tenth book of the Confucian analects, it is mentioned that 'when the villagers were going through their ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences, Confucius put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps'. Whether the processions spoken of in the Chinese classics or in ancient Chinese history were any thing like the processions in honor of the Five Rulers, the literary men do not agree. The general object of the ancient and of the modern processions are the same, the *expelling of pestilential influences*.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The opinions prevalent among the common people are ^{p.277} exceedingly confused in regard to the objects or beings these Five Rulers represent or denote. They are explained by some as referring to the five elements of Nature, which, according to the Chinese, are *metal*, *wood*, *water*, *fire*, and *earth*. They are also believed to represent the five colors, *yellow*, *green*, *red*, *black*, and *white*. They are also thought to denote the five directions, *North*, *East*, *South*, *West*, and *Middle*.

The following table was furnished by a priest, who is employed more or less constantly in performing ceremonies connected with their worship, and may be as near the popular notions as any which could be prepared. The people differ greatly among themselves in regard to them.

Names of the Five Rulers, and what they are supposed to represent :

Names	Five Colors	Five Elements	Five Directions
Tióng	Yellow	Earth	Middle
Chüng	Green	Wood	East
Lâu	White	Metal	West
Sü	Red	Fire	South
Tiep	Black	Water	North

The order above given is their order of rank. The chief, Tióng, is represented with a pleasant human countenance, and having three eyes, one situated in the middle of his forehead, and with a long red beard. Often his face is made of a golden hue, and, according to theory, the face of each should be of color corresponding to the color which each represents. This, however, is not always carried out in fact. The appearance of all the Five Rulers, except the one first mentioned, is ugly and repulsive. These four have hideous faces, having a snout projecting much like swine, or having extremely large noses, or having eyes and features generally similar to a monkey. Sometimes the mouth is four-cornered, or coming to a point like the mouth of a fowl. The images in different temples are not alike. There seems to be very much license taken by the architect in regard to shape and color.

The temples where the Five Rulers are worshiped are professedly dedicated to the god of war. There is a tablet, with his title or name upon it, attached generally to the front or the outside of the numerous temples

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

where they are worshiped. The origin of this custom is said to be this : Some fifteen _{p.278} or twenty years ago, a high official, whose yamun was in the city, one day met, while riding in his sedan in the street, a procession in honor of the Five Rulers. The procession did not yield him the right of way, but kept on as though it expected the mandarin would retire, or be carried to one side, while the Five-Ruler procession was passing along. This course highly exasperated the mandarin, who ordered his lictors to seize and flog some of the chief actors in the procession on the spot. This course broke up the procession, the members of which speedily dispersed in all directions. On inquiry, the mandarin learned that the worship of this class of idols, 'the Five Rulers', was not recognized by imperial rescript, and he determined to prevent all future processions in their honor, and to exterminate the images themselves. As soon as this purpose became known to the devotees of the Rulers, arrangements were made by which the title of the god of war, Kuang Tä, should appear on their temples, and an image of this god was placed in them. This title was used as a shield for the Five Rulers, as it could be said *these are temples of the god of war*. As the god of war was in high favor with the ruling dynasty, no mandarin dare interfere with any temple called after his name or title.

These Five Rulers, notwithstanding their immense popularity, are classed among the 'corrupt gods' — that is, they have not been honored with the approbation or recognition of an emperor — they have not been *declared to be gods* by some occupant of the dragon throne. The *corrupt gods*, those unacknowledged by the state, become *correct gods* by the decree of an emperor. After they have been officially and formally recognized by an emperor, no one, people or mandarin, would have the boldness to interfere with them, or treat them publicly with disrespect, unless they or their human directors and protectors should plainly be to blame, or violate some law of the land.

In the fall of 1859, the Emperor Hien Fung conferred the honorary title of '*Heu*', or *Marquis*, upon these rulers, on the representation of Uông Hi

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Taik, a viceroy who had finished his term of office here, and was removing to another place.

During the fifth and sixth months, the processions in their honor are the most numerous. Sometimes a procession requires from one to two hours to pass by any given locality. Chinese in common sedans must allow their sedans to be put down on the ground when they meet any one of the principal idols, which are borne by eight men each. If on horseback, they must dismount. The sedans containing the idols carried in procession are so large, and the bearers so insolent, that it is usually impracticable to pass in sedans following from behind, if one wished to go past. The common people observe a most respectful attitude while the large images, in their sedans, are passing them. It is believed that any insult to them would be speedily followed with colic or dysentery, or some similar painful and dangerous disease. Men of very respectable positions in society frequently engage in these processions in consequence of some vow, usually made for the benefit of the health of their parents.

There are numerous unions in this place, the particular object of which is to worship and carry in procession the Five Emperors through the streets, in order to expel pestilential diseases and influences from the country. These unions are usually connected with a temple where images of the 'Rulers' are kept. Each union every year collects enough money with which to purchase a *boat*, and, after carrying it in procession, sends it out to sea filled with the pestilential influences which have been collected.

The time of collecting money for the purchase of the boat, and other expenses connected with it, falls in the hot summer months, when there are more or less people sick with the kind of diseases which it is the laudable object to prevent or expel. The collectors go through the principal streets in companies, with drums, gongs, and flags, expecting to receive contributions from every shop. Private dwelling-houses in the neighborhood where the temple is located, or where the members of the union principally reside, are also visited in this manner. The collectors willingly receive incense, candles, or any thing worth money — as mock-money, mock-clothing, salt, and rice.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The boat is usually twenty or twenty-five feet long, and made as light as possible, the frame of it being of bamboo, and small and narrow pieces of wood. The frame is covered with paper. Various apartments are formed, professedly to store p.280 goods, and for the accommodation of people on board. It is carried by eight, or sixteen, or a larger number of men. In it is put a little of almost every sort of article used in families, as rice, salt, wood, fruits, etc., together with miniature articles of furniture, as tables, chairs, bowls, and plates, made out of paper, or paper and bamboo splints. Miniature paper images of the crew are also put in the boats.

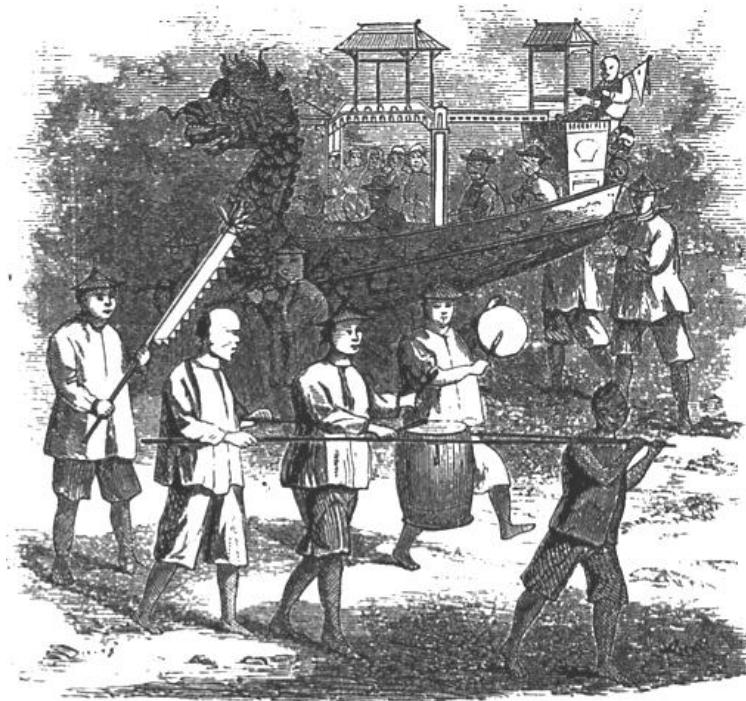
Paper images of the Five Rulers are made at establishments where such work is done, in order to be put into the boats when sent out to sea. When completed, they are usually escorted home to the temple with which the union that bargained for them is connected, with considerable pomp and parade. Each paper image is placed in a sedan carried by eight men, and in the procession there are more or less of the tall white and the short black devil servants. The procession is accompanied with men who beat gongs and drums. All this parade is to take away a few diminutive images made out of paper and bamboo, weighing in the aggregate not nearly what one man could carry with great ease. After arrival at the temple where they belong they are treated with great reverence.

At a convenient time, the wooden images of the Five Rulers, which are kept in each temple dedicated to them, are taken out and carried through the principal streets with a great show of honor. Each image is carried by eight men, and is accompanied by a set of servants real and imaginary. — The real servants are lictors, incense-bearers, and criers, who make every now and then a most doleful and prolonged noise. The imaginary servants are immense images (carried by men who get inside of them), made out of bamboo and cloth, of a variety of shapes, and representing a variety of assistants to the Five Rulers. This kind of procession usually takes place in the afternoon and evening. When over, the portable and substantial images are carried home to the temples to which they belong, and the company which composed the procession disperses.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

This procession with the boat is sometimes an imposing spectacle. The boat is carried along in the evening, lighted up with numerous candles or lamps. Very frequently, when a boat in procession from a large and rich temple is carried along, the sides of the streets are thronged with idle men, ^{p.281} women, and children, anxious or curious to see the spectacle. Usually in every such procession are a large number of portable hideous images, carried by men inside, accompanied by their lictors, and bands of music, and men who join in it, in consequence of some aid supposed to have come from the Rulers benefiting themselves, or their parents or families. They join it to express *their thanks*. In the procession there frequently is a well-dressed man carrying a couple of pails, which contain a little of the blood of swine, the buffalo, and fowls,



Boat carried in procession on men's shoulders

and some of their hair and feathers. He carries what are called the '*Happy Buckets*'. Carrying them in the procession is regarded an especial work of merit. Formerly it was performed only by hired beggars ; nowadays by a volunteer from a respectable family, out of gratitude to the Five Rulers for the recovery of a near relative from sickness, or in the hope of procuring such a result. The contents represent the filth which cause pestilence and ^{p.282} epidemic diseases. They are poured out into the river when the boat is burned.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Carrying the Happy Buckets

In many large idol processions there is also a man dressed neatly, carrying the instruments of torture and punishments in common use in a magistrate's office, as the cangue, leathern thong for slapping the face, instruments for compressing the ankles and the fingers, etc. It is supposed that some of the utensils for punishing and torturing employed in the other world are similar to the instruments used in this world. These instruments are paraded in procession ^{p.283} in order to indicate or intimate to the spectators the punishments which await the wicked in the world of spirits.



Carrying instruments of punishments and torture

Usually not far from the front of the boat are the members of a 'sailors' society'. This society is formed, and its expenses provided, by men who are fond of sport generally. They profess to desire to furnish men who shall row out to sea the boats which are provided for the accommodation of the Five

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Rulers. The directors select fifteen or twenty lads of ten or twelve years of age, and hire some music-teacher to instruct them in the parts they are expected to perform. They are taught to play, for a month or longer, on various musical instruments, and beat the gong and the drum in unison. When boats are carried in procession, these quasi sailors precede them on foot. Some of them play on their instruments. Two carry a pewter anchor a foot or two long. One carries a small oar, another a compass, such as is used on junks, etc. The trowsers and shirts worn by them are usually made all alike out of black cotton or grass cloth. They have a red or blue belt around their waist. Their braided cues are twisted up in a knot behind the head — not coiled around it, as usual. They wear a small hat made of bamboo splints and leaves. As they walk along before the boat, they sometimes chant a song praising the Five Rulers or relating to *peace and plenty*.

These boys work or play thus without wages. They have their food and clothing found them free of expense while engaged, and they like the prominence or notoriety their position in the processions gives them. The same company of boys usually perform in several processions during the season. They are not found in connection with any processions but these in honor of the Five Rulers.

On the boat arriving at the river's Bank, *where it is embarked on the water and sent out to sea*, or, in plain language, where it is *burned*, it is placed in some convenient position. All the images in which men have ensconced themselves run rapidly around the boat, and then kneel down in a circle not far distant from it, with their faces turned toward it. When every thing is ready the boat is set on fire and consumed, attended with the beating of gongs and drums, and this is called *sending it out to sea*.

But a small space can be devoted to a description of the ^{p.284} portable images found principally in processions of the Five Rulers, and in those in honor of *Tài Sang* and of *Siâng Huông*.

These usually go in pairs or in a company of four.

1. The *Tall White Devil* and the *Short Black Devil* are very numerous. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

former is said to be a policeman in the infernal regions. The image is ten or twelve feet high, as it appears carried in procession. The head, face, and hands are made of pasteboard and paper, and the body of bamboo, usually covered with white or whitish cotton cloth or silk. Its head has upon it a long, square, bent hat, two or three feet tall, with a strip of red cloth often wound around it. In one hand it carries an immense fan, and in the other a kind of wand, on which are words which teach that this assistant of the gods is designed '*to reward the good and punish the evil*'. Around the waist usually a strip of light blue cloth is tied as a belt. The face is long, hair disheveled, eyes protruding, tongue red, and often extending out of the mouth. The body is slim. The image is carried erect by a strong man, who gets inside. The clothing comes down only to the man's knees, leaving his feet and part of his legs to be seen as he walks along. An orifice is made in the clothing in front, where the head of the man inside comes, so that he can look out and see to walk. It is comportable with the dignity of this devil-servant to walk slowly and with long strides. There are usually two boys beating gongs in front of it. Oftentimes there are several men playing on musical instruments going before. Preceding the image there are generally two men, each carrying a large lantern upon a pole above their heads, having an inscription which implies that it belongs to some officer in the world of spirits. It is also often accompanied by one or two persons who aid the man inside when he requires to steady it.

The Short Black Devil is stubbed and pursy. Its face and dress are very black. It always wears a large black hat. A strip of red cloth is usually tied about it. Its tongue protrudes, and is red, as if covered with blood. It is moved about occasionally by the persons inside by means of a string, producing a very disagreeable appearance. Its gait is very undignified, as it is made to jump or spring suddenly from one side of the street to the other. Sometimes it turns around in ^{p.285} the street and gazes back, wagging its head and moving its tongue. This image is carried usually by a strong lad or a very short man, who has a looking-out place made in the forehead or hat of the image, whence he can see where to go. The face and framework generally are made out of pasteboard, paper, and bamboo splints.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

These assistants are represented by heavy stationary images in the temples where such objects are reverenced. Oftentimes their pictures are found on the walls of temples. The same remark is true of the assistants which remain to be described. All of these images are made in a similar way, with particular variations as regards shape, size, and features, to suit the fancy of those who have invented them or who use them.

2. The Buffalo-headed assistant, the Horse-faced assistant, the Cock-headed assistant, and the Duck-mouthed assistant, are images



Buffalo-headed assistant Horse-faced assistant
(like their stationary images or pictures seen in temples)

eight or ten feet high, and usually go together. There is nothing particularly frightful about their appearance. They, by means of the man inside, pass along slowly and solemnly in the procession. They are mainly distinguished by the peculiar shape of their faces or their heads. The color of their dress is usually white or bluish. They appear like immense giants, excepting their peculiar heads.

3. Two tall images in human form, which are distinguished p.286 from each other principally by the one carrying a *cangue* and the other carrying a *chain and a lock*, are sometimes seen. They appear to be ready to seize and put the cangue or lock the chain on offenders should their majesties the Rulers give the command. Their countenances are grim and severe.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

4. The 'one-horned' and the 'double-horned' devils appear with hideous countenances. One has the top of his head coming to a blunt peak, and the other has two horn-like projections coming from the right and the left sides of the top of his head, from which circumstances they derive their names. One carries a cudgel in one hand bristling with spikes, and something in the other resembling a large leaf. The other carries a smooth, large-headed cudgel in one hand, or a wooden sword, and in the other some chains. These, and the two just described, represent some of the lictors of the Five Rulers.

5. The 'accomplishing' assistant and the 'transforming' assistant are believed to perform important offices in preventing pestilential diseases. One carries in one hand a gourd-like vessel for the purpose of collecting the poisonous vapors and the unhealthy influences which prevail, and in the other a leaf of the banana, or something to represent such a leaf ; the other carries in one hand an immense wooden sword, to drive off, and in the other a large brush, to sweep away all the evil influences and unhealthy odors which may be encountered.

There are two classes of objects — human, because they are men, and inhuman, because their faces are painted to represent devils. These seldom appear in an idol procession.

One class is painted so as to represent, according to Chinese notions, *the four seasons* — *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter*. Spring is denoted by a man with a greenish face ; summer, by a man with a reddish face ; autumn, by a man with a whitish face ; and winter, by a man with a blackish face.

Another class is painted so as to represent the five demons or spirits which rule over *the five directions* — *North*, *East*, *South*, *West*, and the *Middle*. They are by no means pleasant-looking. The stationary images of the five directions, as found in some of the temples, or as they are sometimes painted on paper or on the walls of temples, are horrid and frightful in the extreme. As represented by men who appear in an idol procession, they are much less frightful than in the p.287 temples, but

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sufficiently horrid and ugly to produce a lasting and unpleasant impression when seen in connection with the many other unnatural and devilish-looking objects which have been enumerated.

It will require but little imagination on the part of the reader, aided by the above description, to conceive that idol processions constitute a very strange and imposing spectacle as a whole. Few foreigners who have seen one do not retain an abiding impression of its general appearance.

There are probably, at the least calculation, fifteen or twenty 'unions' connected with temples which send forth to the ocean one or more boats annually, and which have other public processions previous to those when their boats are carried to the water's edge and burned. There are not many days in the summer months which are not occupied more or less, either in the city or suburbs, with some kind of an idol procession. Not unfrequently there are days when for hours the main streets in places are almost, if not quite, impassable to those who in sedans wish to go in a direction opposite to that which the procession is taking. If going in the same direction, the progress is slow and annoying to a high degree.

Images and Pictures of Animals worshiped.

The facts given below will tend to illustrate *the nature and the genius of heathenism*, as existing and as practiced in this city and vicinity by the people who 'serve the creature more than the Creator'.

The Monkey. — It is represented as a man sitting, the face only being like a monkey. The image is usually made of wood or clay. Sometimes a picture of it is made on paper, or simply the title under which the monkey is worshiped is written on a slip of paper, and used instead of an image. There are several large temples at this place erected for the worship of 'His Excellency the Holy King', one of the titles much used in speaking of the monkey as an object of worship. Oftentimes the niche holding the image or the written name is placed in a hollow tree, or in the wall at the corners of streets, or at the heads of alleys or lanes. Such places, in this city and vicinity, where the monkey is worshiped, reckoned together with the small

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

temples or buildings dedicated to it, p.288 amount to several scores. The worship consists principally in the burning of incense and candles, sometimes attended with the presentation of meats, vegetables, and fruits. The monkey was first worshiped in return for some supposed services rendered the individual who went to India, by special command of an emperor of the Tang dynasty, to obtain the Sacred Books of the Buddhist religion — so some affirm. This emperor deified the monkey, or, at least, he conferred the august title of 'the great Sage equal to Heaven' upon that quadruped. The birthday of 'His Excellency the Holy King' is believed to occur on the twenty-third of the second Chinese month, when his monkey majesty is specially worshiped by men from all classes of society. The monkey is believed to have the general control of hobgoblins, witches, elves, etc. It is also supposed to be able to bestow health, protection, and success on mankind, if not directly, indirectly, by keeping away malicious spirits or goblins. People often imagine that sickness, or want of success in study and trade, is caused by witches and hobgoblins. Hence the sick or the unsuccessful worship the monkey, in order to obtain its kind offices in driving away or preventing the evil influences of various imaginary spirits or powers.

The Fox. — This animal is worshiped by the viceroy, and by other high mandarins at this place. The fox is supposed to have the control of the official seals belonging to high offices of government. In the viceroy's establishment is a room in the second story of a building which is devoted to the worship of the fox. It has no image, nor is there any picture of the animal worshiped. The viceroy, on arrival at his official residence after appointment, repairs to this room, kneels down, bows his head toward the ground three times, and offers three cups of wine, three sticks of incense, and two candles, in order to propitiate the good-will of Reynard, the keeper of the seal. Unless the fox should be worshiped in some way, it is asserted by the common people that it would cause the seal to disappear, and otherwise injure the mandarin, as setting the establishment on fire. There are very wonderful stories in convection with the power of the fox in mandarin establishments current in this city. The fox is believed also to have the power of changing at pleasure

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

into the human form, or of entering ^{p.289} the bodies of men and women. Sometimes diseases are attributed to this animal, which is accordingly worshiped by the sick one, or, on his account, by others, in order to induce it not to molest, vex, or injure the sick individual. Its invisible agency in preventing success in business is very much dreaded by the people.

The Tiger. — This animal is worshiped by two different classes of people and for two different objects.

By gamblers. — It is the god of gambling, or one of the gods worshiped by gamblers. Sometimes an image is made of wood or clay, or a picture is delineated on paper or a piece of board of a *winged* tiger, standing on its hinder feet, and grasping a large cash in its month or in its paws. Sometimes merely a title of the animal, '*His Excellency the Grasping Cash Tiger*', is written on a piece of paper. This is then put under the gaming-table, between two bunches of mock-money, which are suspended ; or it is placed on a table in the gambling-room, or fastened to the wall behind a table. Incense and candles are often burned before this image or this inscription. On the second and sixteenth days of every Chinese month, offerings of meat, fish, etc., are frequently made before it. Sometimes gambling saloons or dens are recognized from the street by the sign, placed over the outside door, of a tiger painted on a board in the position above mentioned. The

tiger is worshiped by the proprietor of a gambling den in order to bring success.



Tiger grasping a large cash :
a god of gambling

Goddess of midwifery and
children sitting on a tiger



By mothers in behalf of their sick children, not separately and alone, but always in connection with a goddess of children. This goddess is represented as sitting upon the back of a tiger in a crouching posture. The tiger is supposed to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

have the power of absorbing or of counteracting the p.290 pernicious influences which cause children to become sick. When a child, for example, has the small-pox in a very virulent form, and fears are entertained for the child's life, some one interested in its recovery burns incense and candles before an image of the woman and tiger, or before something which represents them, either in a temple or in a dwelling-house, promising to make certain specified thank-offerings in case the child recovers, as the burning of mock-money, and a fresh and raw pig's tail (of which the tiger is believed to be very fond), meats, fruits, and vegetables. It is estimated that a very large proportion of the mothers in this city — perhaps more than half — worship the tiger in connection with the goddess as above represented.

The Dog. — An image or representation of this animal is found in convection with several objects of worship at this place.

It occurs on a painting extensively used by married women as an object of worship in their sleeping apartments. It is called a 'heavenly dog', or a 'dog in the heavens'. The picture represents a certain *genius*, surrounded by several children. He is in the act of shooting a dog with a bullet by means of a bow, the dog being in the air much above the level of the shooter and the children. This dog in the heavens is believed to eat the children of mortals, and this *genius* is famed for his skill in shooting this bad dog. A literary man has furnished the following explanation of the use of this painting : Some women are born on days which are represented by the chronological or horary character which means 'dog'. p.291 These women, after marriage, and before they give birth to a child, must procure a picture of the *genius* shooting the 'heavenly dog', and worship it by the burning of incense and candles. The child then may be expected to live. In the picture, the children are represented as gathering around the *genius* in order to insure protection from the dog, which would certainly devour them if the shooter did not defend them. Twice every year, on the third day of the second month, and on the twenty-third of the eleventh month, offerings are presented to this *genius*, such as incense, candles, mock-

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

money, vermicelli, and seven balls made of the flour of rice. These balls represent the balls with which the hunter shoots the dog. At other times during the year, when the household gods are worshiped, only incense and candles are burned before this picture. Others say that this picture is worshiped by mothers in behalf of a child only when the child is declared by a fortune-teller to be under the influences of the 'heavenly dog', or exposed to them. In all cases, the *genius* is resorted to for the purpose of securing the child from the depredations of the dog.

One of the nine genii shooting a dog in the heavens



One of the servants of Ngûong Saùi, a god of music, play-acting, and war, is represented as a dog. This god is ^{p.292} represented in both a civil and in a military dress. When represented, whether by an image or in pictures, in the military costume, one foot is sometimes placed on the back of a *dog-headed* animal. At other times this animal is represented as having a *dog's head*, with the body, feet, and hands of a man, holding a flag. Ngûong Saùi, it is said, had a favorite dog, which afterward became one of his assistants when he was deified. Hence the association with him of an animal having a dog's head. This god is much worshiped here by certain classes.

In a celebrated temple located outside of the east gate of the city is an image of a large dog. It is currently reported that if bread-cakes or biscuits made of wheat flour are placed in the mouth of this image of a dog, and afterward eaten by children, they will prevent or cure the colic.

The Black Monkey and the White Rabbit. — These are represented both by images and by pictures, and are usually regarded as the servants of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

god of courtesans. This god is regarded as having power over men and women. He is said to have seized the spirits of the black monkey and white rabbit, and to have made them his assistants. In what manner he accomplished this feat, and how these animals aid him in his evil purposes, the Chinese are not able to explain with clearness. They are represented as having a human body, but the head of a monkey and of a rabbit, the monkey being black and the rabbit white.

The Dragon. — This is regarded as the giver of rain. In times of drought, it is worshiped in order to obtain the needed element. A temple located near the eastern gate of the city is devoted to the worship of this fabulous animal. It is among those objects or images which are worshiped, by command of the emperor, in the spring and fall of each year by certain mandarins.

In a certain temple near the governor's yamun in the city is an image of a white cock, which is worshiped in connection with a certain goddess. Some say that this goddess is the deified daughter of a governor of the province who lived in the time of Kanghi, and who killed himself during a local tumult or rebellion which he could not quell. She had a white cock, of which she was very fond, and which seemed exceedingly p.293 attached to her. On hearing of the death of her father, this girl threw herself into a well and was drowned. This cock, seeing his mistress leap into the well, leaped in also and perished. She afterward became, by order of some emperor, an object of worship, and an image of the faithful cock was made, and worshiped in connection with his mistress. She is reckoned now among those objects which are worshiped twice every year, in accordance with the mandate of the emperor, by the local mandarins. Few of the common people, it is believed, nowadays actually worship this goddess. When worship is performed before her shrine, incense and candles are always burned in honor of the white cock.

Various popular gods and goddesses, as the 'Three Precious Ones', worshiped by Buddhists, and the 'Three Pure Ones', worshiped by Tauists,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the goddess of small-pox and the goddess of measles, etc., have been already mentioned, and need not be described here. There are many other objects which are more or less commonly worshiped by the people, but which it would be tedious to describe in detail. Objects terrestrial and celestial, objects visible and invisible, and objects real and imaginary, are made the recipient of the homage of the Chinese. It is worthy of remark and remembrance, that among them all there is not one the object of the worship of which is to make the devotee more pure and more sincere, more honest, more virtuous, or more holy. The object whose attainment is desired is always selfish, sensual, or secular.

@

1.CHAPTER XII

Mandarins and their subordinates

@

p.294 Viceroy. — Governor. — Treasurer. — Judge. — Salt Commissioner. — Pro-vision Commissioner. — Prefect. — Marine Inspector. — District Magistrates. — Literary Chancellor. — Tartar General. — Major General. — Number of Sedan-bearers allowed to Mandarins. — Umbrellas of State. — Buttons or Balls on their Caps. — Cannon fired in Honor. — Respect paid to Officers in the street. — Retinue of high Officers in Public. — Lictors of the District Magistrate. — Uniform of Attendants not in good Taste. — Appointed Days for calling on the Viceroy and Governor. — Same Days allotted for filing Prosecutions. — Other Days for calling upon subordinate Mandarins. — 'Drum Pavilion'. — No fixed Charges for official Aid. — Bamboozing. — Deception practiced. — Official Documents must be Stamped. — '[Horses of a thousand Li](#)'. — Complaint must be made before a Murderer is arrested and punished. — Village Constable. — 'White' Deeds and 'Red' Deeds. — Fruit sent as Tribute to Peking annually. — Mandarins engage in [saving the Moon or Sun when eclipsed](#). — Arresting and chaining one's self. — Death by Strangulation. — Meaning of a Present of a Silk Cord from the Emperor. — 'Searching a Mandarin's House'. — Fining Part of Salary. — Degrading from Rank. — Removing from Office. — [Resigning Office](#) on the Death of one's Parent. — Asking Permission to resign Office on Account of Illness of a Parent. — Asking Permission to resign Office and remain with Parents until they Die. — Resigning a high Office because a Relative or Friend fills a subordinate Office — Asking for a short Respite from the Cares of Office. — Resignations often unaccepted. — Resignations on account of old Age proffered. — Asking leave to resign on Account of Sickness. — [Setting a Thief to catch a Thief](#). — Civil Thief-catcher. — Military Thief-catcher. — Once a Thief always a Thief. — Universal Custom of giving Presents to a Mandarin on his Arrival at his Mandarinate. — Mandarins greatly under the [Influence of Subordinates](#). — 'Great Sires'. — 'The Door-parcel'. — Door-keepers of Yamuns bribed. — Mandarin's Adviser or Teacher. — Manner of securing his Services. — Six Boards of Office in Yamuns.

The viceroy has the general superintendence of Fokkien and Chehkien provinces. His honorary title is 'President of the Board of War'. He has the power to behead ocean pirates, rebels, and traitors, and afterward report the facts to Peking. He exercises occasionally the power to degrade or deprive of office the prefect and officers below the prefect.

p.295 The governor presides over the province, and is frequently called the '*Lord of the Province*'. He controls, according to theory, the soldiers and the people, civil and military, as does the viceroy. *The viceroy is a kind of spy on the governor, and vice versa*. He has the honorary title of 'Vice-President of the Board of War'.

The treasurer is a very important officer. He is accountable for all the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

money paid into the treasury by the district magistrates in all the province. He pays out the salaries and the lawful allowances of the civil and military officers, and the wages of the soldiers, repairs the city walls, and superintends and pays for all the public works in the province. On the death of the emperor, or on his birthday, the treasurer takes the precedence of the higher officers in the mournful or the joyful demonstrations made in the emperor's temple. In the one case he is dressed in white clothes, the badges of mourning, and weeps as though he had lost his father, being sometimes called the 'child of the emperor' ; in the other case he is dressed in his official robes, and presents his congratulations to his imperial father before the yellow tablet which represents the emperor in the temple.

The provincial judge presides over the examination and the punishment of ordinary criminals from all parts of the province. The judge can revise and reverse the decisions of the prefect and inferior officers in any part of the province relating to criminals or persons charged with crimes. His is a place of great power, responsibility, and pecuniary profit.

The salt commissioner controls the manufacture and sale of salt in the province. He has the power to oblige rich men to carry on the salt business. The commissioner is responsible for the regular salt revenue, which he obliges the contractors to pay over to him at regular periods. In consequence of this, he takes usually but little pains to arrest and punish those who clandestinely deal in salt. Each new contractor is obliged to assume the sums yet unpaid due by his predecessor to government on account of the salt revenue. In this way the salt commissioner is safe from harm, though at the expense of justice. Those who are obliged by him to carry on the salt business always become poor. There are so many ways of disposing of salt clandestinely, on account of the deceptive ^{p.296} practices of their underlings, that they always lose money in the course of their connection with the salt business. When any salt contractor does not pay up promptly the monthly revenue dues to the salt commissioner, he is often dealt with very harshly. Sometimes he is thrown into prison, where he is beaten or otherwise maltreated. Being wealthy, and usually very

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

respectably connected, he always desires to avoid all contention with his superior, and therefore aims with great solicitude at having the necessary sum ready. When he is positively unable to meet his monthly payments, and falls largely in arrears to the government, some other rich man is compelled, by being flogged, or by being made to kneel on chains, or by some other distressing and unjust course, to consent to engage in the salt business, and to take upon himself the payment of the arrearages of his predecessor.



Mandarin and his wife in robes of state

The provision commissioner controls the provision and land-tax departments. He receives and accounts for the taxes, which are paid in grain, from all parts of the province. He provides the rice and provisions for the soldiers of the province.

p.297 The prefect rules over a prefecture or county, a division of territory next smaller than a province. He reports to the governor. He takes part in the regular examinations of the under-graduates, both civil and military. He is the head actor in the annual procession in honor of Spring. Foreign consuls have to do generally with the prefect.

The marine inspector presides over the marine affairs of this part of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

province. Ships from foreign countries come under his supervision. He has some revenue offices connected with ocean commerce under his control. He must report to the Tartar general on matters relating to revenue.

The two district magistrates rule over the common people in their respective districts. Many matters which are to come under the supervision of higher officials must first be brought before one of these magistrates, according to the section of the city or the adjacent territory to which they refer, or in which the parties belong. These officials report to the prefect the important affairs which are brought before them. They preside over the lowest series of examinations of civil and military under-graduates belonging to their respective districts, but have nothing to do with the examination, government, or punishment of graduates.

The literary chancellor is a high officer sent from Peking, whose term of office is of three years' duration, to examine the literary and military under-graduates, and govern the graduates of the first degree of the literary class.

The Tartar general governs the Tartars living in the city, and the affairs which relate to the city wall. He is the city keeper. The keys of the seven gates of the city, after they are closed, are delivered into his possession every night. It is the common saying that if the gates should be opened contrary to law during the night, owing to the neglect of the Tartar general, and it should be reported at Peking, his head would pay the forfeit. In fact, people go into the city and out of it nightly in large numbers by sealing the walls after dark, through the connivance and the assistance of the gate-keepers, whom they bribe. The Tartar soldiers fall to the Tartar general to inspect and drill. There are also two or three brigades or camps, consisting nominally of about 1250 Chinese soldiers, who are placed under his control. He has a part to ^{p.298} perform in the *spring* and *autumnal* sacrifice to Confucius, and all the important affairs of the province are communicated to him. The revenue derived from commerce belongs to his supervision and control. The funds received he transfers to the provincial treasury. One of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

his important duties is to *watch the Chinese people and the Chinese officials*. He is one of the few mandarins who may inform the emperor in regard to what is transpiring in the province in whose capital city he resides, secretly and on his own responsibility. Being a Tartar, he is supposed to be specially interested in whatever concerns the interests of the Tartar government and dynasty, and therefore will, under all contingencies, be faithful to his imperial relative and master, the Tartar emperor.

The lieutenant general, or the major general, who is always a Tartar, is *professedly* but little inferior in rank and power to the Tartar general. He has a voice in the decision of matters relating to the Tartar population. He is believed to be appointed by the emperor to *watch the Tartar general*. He is usually the poorest of all the imperial officers, but is eligible to the station of the Tartar general, an office of great influence and emolument.

The viceroy, the governor, the Tartar general, and the literary chancellor, may have eight bearers to their sedans when they appear in the streets, and four assistants to steady the sedans. The Tartar lieutenant general, and the Chinese admiral, and the Chinese general, may also use each eight bearers, and four assistants to steady their sedans, if they please, though they oftener employ only four bearers and the assistants. The low military officers usually appear in the streets on horseback. If the major general and the adjutant general choose to ride in sedans, they have four bearers. Of the civil officers, the treasurer, the judge, and the commissioners of the salt and of the provision departments have four bearers, and four persons to steady the sedan. The prefect, the marine inspector, and the two district magistrates have four bearers, and no one to steady their sedans. The incumbents of the offices still lower have only two or three bearers. Every thing about the mandarin procession is regulated by strict rule. For a low officer, entitled to have only two bearers, to appear in the streets with four bearers, would be an offense for which ^{p.299} he would be severely reprimanded, if he did not receive some heavy token of disapproval or disgrace, according to the pleasure of his

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

superior. But Chinese never commit such indiscretions. They know better than to violate established customs.

The rank of some officers may be ascertained by observing the color and the number of flounces on the umbrellas which are carried before them, and by the color of the buttons or balls on their caps. Some are bright red, and have three stories of flounces ; others have two stories ; while others still are of a dark color, and are plainly made. Some five or six of the highest officers, when they leave their yamuns and when they return home, have three cannon fired off as a salute of honor. They have the same number of cannon fired off when they enter the yamuns of other officers. When they parade the streets, some eight of the highest mandarins each have one or two men preceding their sedans, with a pole laid across their shoulders, having a gong



Lictor with whip in hand

on one end and a flag on the other. The bearer beats it occasionally three blows in regular succession. When entering a yamun it is beaten quickly and continually for a short period, and then it ceases.

When high officers appear in the street, it is accounted a misdemeanor for the common people to mix up in the procession. When it is passing by, a civilian in a sedan must cause his sedan to be put down upon the ground, and people bearing loads or walking must stop, and stand still by the side of p.300 the street : People on horseback must dismount and stand in a respectful manner. The sign-boards of stores and shops, which usually are placed in front of the stores, must be removed from the street when the high mandarins pass by, as a mark of respect on the part of the shopkeepers. Should they be left standing in their usual positions, it would

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

be considered disrespectful to the mandarins, as though civilians should sit in the presence of high officials. When the mandarin is below the fourth official rank, the common people may mix up in the street with his runners and assistants with impunity. In regard to high mandarins, the lictors are sure to see that the established customs are properly observed, beating unceremoniously and unmercifully any one who does not make haste to comply with their orders as they pass swiftly along.

High mandarins sometimes have quite a numerous retinue when they appear in public. The following enumeration relates particularly to the general retinue of the viceroy. The lower officers have a smaller retinue, according to their rank and station, sometimes comprising but six or eight attendants.

Two men bearing gongs and flags in front.

Ten or more men or boys carrying red oblong boards, with handles attached, having various inscriptions ; some of these denote the officer's rank, command the people to keep silence, and order idlers to get out of the way.

Two men on horseback.

Two men, one carrying a large official fan and the other a large umbrella of state.



Bearer of fan of state



Bearer of umbrella of state

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Two men carrying a trunk full of changes of clothing.

Eight men carrying whips, whose business it is to clear the way, call out when passing the yamuns ^{p.301} of other officers, and when turning around corners.

Four men carrying censers having burning incense.

Four men carrying swords.

Two men, whose business in part is to receive petitions, if presented in the street.

Four men to steady the sedan of the mandarin.

Four men on horse-back, holding each a flag having a long handle.

Sixteen soldiers following the sedan, carrying swords, spears, flags, hammers, iron chains, etc.

On occasions when he wishes to appear with extraordinary pomp and parade, he employs more men and more soldiers. When he pleases, he may dispense with many of the usual attendants.

When a district magistrate appears in the streets, he has two men dragging along two halves of a large bamboo, some five or six feet long, one end only touching the ground. There are also two who carry leather whips and perform the duty of lictors, and two who carry iron chairs in their

hands, as if ready to seize and chain any culprit they may happen to find. The ^{p.302} lictors with leathern whips, clear the way, preceding the magistrate in his sedan. Following him, usually on horseback, are a couple of his interpreters. There is almost always a servant on foot carrying pipe and tobacco, and his card-case.

Lictor dragging along the half of a bamboo



The uniform worn by the attendants of mandarins as they appear in the streets is not according to a cultivated taste. Many appear in dirty and ragged garments. The lictors are generally dressed in long black garments, having either tall black or tall red hats, made out of bamboo splints. High

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

officials usually have eight lictors, half having red and half having black hats. Lower officers have two with red and two with black hats. These all usually have leather whips in their hands, and go in pairs. They are cruel and hard-hearted men. The soldiers have a round piece of white or red cloth upon their back and upon their breast, with black characters upon it, indicating the camp or the Company to which they belong. The executioner belonging to the viceroy' yamun sometimes appears in his master's procession. He is dressed partly in red clothes made after the fashion of the Ming dynasty, wearing about his loins a kind of petticoat, and carrying a large sword of a peculiar shape. In his hat he wears two feathers of a kind of pheasant. It is the common saying that those who aspire to the position of executioner practice in striking at a mark. They take a turnip, and, drawing a black streak around it with ink, aim at cleaving it into two parts at a blow, striking precisely on the line. When they can invariably do it on successive trials, they feel qualified to become candidates for the post when there is a vacancy.



Executioner

The third, thirteenth, twenty-third, eighth, eighteenth, and twenty-eighth days of every month are the appointed days p.303 when the civil officers and the expectants of office in the city and suburbs are expected to call on the viceroy and the governor. They first go to the yamun of the viceroy and send in their cards. If he wishes to see any one he sends word for him to be ushered into his presence. All those who are not requested to remain consider themselves dismissed, and take their departure to call on the governor. When the one who has been invited in to see the great man has been shown out again, he proceeds to call on the governor, as the others have already done. There is always a great crowd of officers and their servants, and expectants of office, on the forenoons of these days, passing to and fro through the principal streets in the city.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The same days, those in which three or eight occur, are also the regular periods for the reception at the different yamuns of written complaints. On other days of the month the mandarins do not open their offices for the admission of accusations. When any one wishes to appeal to the law in regard to affairs which do not admit of delay until the next day for receiving complaints, he sometimes bribes a clerk connected with the yamun to which his business properly belongs to take his written accusation to the mandarin and recommend its acceptance. Without a bribe no one would be willing to present it to the mandarin.

There are certain other six days in the month when, early in the morning, all the officers below them in rank, and expectants of office below them, are expected to call upon the treasurer, the judge, the salt commissioner, and the provision commissioner, to pay their respects and receive instructions, in very much the same manner as has been described relating to calling upon the viceroy and governor. Unless the inferior officers and expectants should wait at the appointed times upon their superiors, they would be apt to incur their displeasure. The regular routine of attention and respect must be carried out between superiors and inferiors if the latter would stand well with the former, and expect to be promoted by them.

In front of the yamuns of some four or five of the high mandarins is a small eight-sided building called 'the drum pavilion', designed to be occupied by the band of music attached to the mandarinate, where they play at the usual times for the ^{p.304} amusement or in honor of the mandarin. When he rises in the morning, washes his face and partakes of his luncheon, they must perform on their instruments, the fact of the mandarin being thus engaged having been duly communicated to them by his servants striking a large, hollow wooden fish, or upon certain iron utensils, which are suspended in several of the different halls leading from his apartments to the outer gates. While employed in eating breakfast, dinner, and supper, they also play some airs. His going to bed is also

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

celebrated in a similar way. On various public occasions these musicians are also required to practice their parts. The band consists at least of six or eight men, with several kinds of instruments. They are paid from the provincial treasury, and the honor of having them is conferred by the emperor as a special privilege, hoping to gladden the hearts of his servants and induce them to be faithful to him.

There is no scale of fixed fees in China regulating the charges for official work performed by mandarins or by their underlings, as in Western lands. Here the official demands as much as he imagines he can get, considering the circumstances of the case. The mandarins have a regular salary from the imperial treasury. Within a comparatively short period (commenced in the reign of Kien Lun, of the present dynasty) an extra allowance has been made them by the emperor. The design of this was to remove the need of bribery and extortion by furnishing an ample support. It does not have the happy result designed.

Should a prisoner before the bar, in the judgment of the mandarin, deserve the rod, either as a punishment for acknowledged or proved crime, or in order to elicit confession of violations of law, or for contempt of court, he has only to throw down upon the ground some bamboo slips. Every bamboo counts five strokes. The whipper seizes the man and throws him down on the ground, and proceeds to beat him. He is often bribed not to strike hard, though he pretends to be inflicting very heavy blows. Sometimes, also, the prisoner has a man provided to receive the blows which should fall upon his own person. This individual is usually connected with the establishment. This can be accomplished only by bribing the assistants and underlings. It is done by the company of p.305 attachés rushing in between the magistrate, who is sitting on his tribunal, and the prisoner, who is some distance from him. In this way the magistrate is sometimes kept from seeing who actually receives the blows. Such a bribing of the inmates of the yamun requires the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, especially if the one who desires to escape a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

personal flagellation should be wealthy and accused of high crimes.

Every document, in order to be considered binding or genuine, issuing from a mandarin's establishment, must have his official stamp upon it, not his signature. The stamp is received when he enters upon office, and must be kept with great care ; for if it should be lost, or stolen, or burnt up, he would assuredly be severely fined, or punished in some way. He would be fortunate if not degraded from office. Mandarins do not sign their proclamations or documents with their names. The stamp makes them official and authentic.

The couriers who take government dispatches from one place to another are commonly called '*horses of a thousand li*' on account of their speed. It oftentimes occurs that some especial emergency, as a local rebellion, or scarcity of provisions or money for the army, requires the transmission of a dispatch with the utmost speed. At such times, in the absence of railroads and telegraphs, the courier is furnished with some hen's feathers, which are usually placed in the top of his lantern, to indicate to all whom it may concern that he carries messages which demand the utmost speed. Such a messenger must be helped on his way with all possible celerity by all those whose business it is to assist in the transportation of government dispatches. It is asserted that in some parts of the empire such messages are sometimes transmitted at the rate of eight hundred li per day, or over two hundred English miles. The dispatch is contained in a parcel which is bound on the shoulders of the courier, who is changed at certain intervals, using boats or horses, or running on foot, as circumstances show will be most speedy.

Generally speaking, cases of murder are never investigated by the mandarin unless a formal complaint is made, on the same principle that he never arrests thieves until a complaint has been made against them. The underlings of the magistrates often lend their help to do injustice to innocent parties ^{p.306} in circumstances like the following : A dead body is clandestinely placed during the night on the premises of some person, as

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

before his house or store, in order to injure him or to extort money, by an enemy or a rogue. For example : The corpse of a beggar found in the street is placed on the premises of a rich man. In the morning the rogue comes along and charges the rich man with having quarreled with and having killed his brother or cousin, or other relative, and threatens to apply the law to him. The man appears to be dreadfully shocked at finding the body of his dear relative under such circumstances in the street. If the man really only wishes to extort money, he finally agrees to compromise the matter. 'His relative being dead, he can not be restored to life. A public prosecution of his murderer would not bring the dead back to his family and to his friends'. In view of such philosophical and practical considerations, he is willing to desist from prosecution for a pecuniary consideration. Should the rich man, feeling that he was innocent of the crime of murder, and understanding the real facts in the case, refuse to silence the other party by giving him money, the latter has only to call to his aid a few of the underlings of some mandarin, and promise them a share in the spoils. They come to the house or store of the rich man and make a great disturbance, as though sent by their master to inquire into the circumstances of the case. The rich man by this time has probably counted the expense in case the other party should really inform against him, and knowing that it would cost far less to settle the matter at once than to wait until more harpies should arrive or a mock prosecution should have been instituted against him, has concluded to agree to the terms proposed by the other party, or make some offer which is accepted, and the matter drops. There is a large class of men who are none too good to engage in such an affair, and who are much feared and hated by the common people. They are exceedingly bold and violent, and are on good terms with the lowest class of official underlings.

In every neighborhood is a local officer, corresponding to a village constable, who is of great help to his superior, the district magistrate, in keeping the peace. It is a part of his duty to prevent quarrels from occurring in his neighborhood, and report any disturbance of importance to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

his superior. Should ^{p.307} any trouble arise which he can not quell or settle at once and satisfactorily, it is his duty to send in a notice of the facts in the case as soon as possible to the district magistrate in whose limits his neighborhood is situated. Should he delay to do so he is liable to be severely whipped, or put in a cangue for a month or two, or be degraded from his position. It is also his business to report in regard to important lawsuits which relate to his neighborhood. He is the organ through whom the magistrate communicates to the residents of the neighborhood his will in regard to matters which concern them. It is also his business to see that the villagers observe the regulations to promote the public interests which emanate with the magistrate. He acts the part of a policeman, permanently stationed at one place. His term of office usually continues during good behavior. Oftentimes it descends to his son, if he has one of sufficient years and discretion, when he dies or retires from the duties of his station.

The title-deeds to sales of houses must be reported, in order to be stamped and taxed, before five years after the sale. The treasurer, on application through the district magistrate, attaches a piece of paper to the deed, stamped in red with his official seal, and having also a few sentences relating to the deed written upon it. An unstamped deed would be worthless five years after date, as it would justify the seizure by government of the property involved. A sale of land must be reported within three years, that its deed may be stamped and taxed in a similar manner. The rate of taxing is fixed by law, being usually eight or ten per cent on the purchase money. A stamped deed is called a 'red' deed, because it has the impress in red of the seal of the treasurer. An unstamped deed is referred to as a 'white' deed.

There is a singular custom or law relating to this place which must be annually observed, or the mandarin whose duty it is to attend to the matter would be severely reprimanded, or perhaps deprived of rank and office. An annual tribute of three kinds of fruit, for the production of which this place has become celebrated, must be sent on to Peking so as to arrive there at a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

certain time. These presents, as *tribute*, are the *loose-jacket orange*, the *olive*, and a certain kind of very fragrant but inedible fruit called usually 'Buddha's hand'. The ^{p.308} oranges are required to be in Peking on the morning of new year's at the latest, so as to be used at the worship and sacrifice in honor of Heaven by the emperor. As soon as oranges are in a state fit to be dispatched, a quantity is picked with care and packed in wooden buckets, and started off for Peking, carried by coolies under the charge of two officers, one civil and one military. If they should arrive there with only a large plateful of good ones, the grand object would be duly accomplished. Comparatively a large quantity are started off for the capital, great allowance being made for rotting and spoiling. If none should arrive in season for use at the sacrifices to Heaven on the first day of every new year, the officers in charge would be punished for their tardiness, and the high mandarins here, whose business it is to attend to this important matter, would be liable to be fined or otherwise punished. The use of this kind of orange is considered felicitous and lucky on new year's day here as well as at Peking. The olives and the Buddha's hands are sent on in much the same way at the proper season of the year.

It is a part of the official duties of mandarins to '*save the sun and moon when eclipsed*'.

Prospective eclipses are never noticed in the Imperial Calendar, published originally at Peking, and republished in the provinces. The imperial astronomers at the capital, a considerable time previous to a visible eclipse, inform the Board of Rites of its month, day, and hour. These officers send this intelligence to the viceroys or governors of the eighteen provinces of the empire. These, in turn, communicate the information to all the principal subordinate officers in the provinces of the civil and the military grade. The officers make arrangements to save the moon or the sun at the appointed time. On the day of the eclipse, or on the day preceding it, some of them put up a written notice in or near their yamuns for the information of the public.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The Chinese generally have no rational idea of the cause of eclipses. The common explanation is that the sun or the moon has experienced some disaster. Some even affirm that the object eclipsed is being devoured by an immense ravenous monster. This is the most popular sentiment in Fuhchau in regard to the procuring cause of eclipses. All look upon the ^{p.309} object eclipsed with wonder. Many are filled with apprehension and terror. Some of the common people, as well as mandarins generally, enter upon some course of action, the express object of which is to save the luminary from its dire calamity, or to rescue it from the jaws of its greedy enemy.



Mandarin saving the sun when eclipsed

Mandarins must act officially, and in virtue of their being officers of government. Neither they nor the people seem to regard the immense distance of the celestial object as at all interfering with the success of their efforts. The various obstacles which ought apparently to deter them from attempting to save the object eclipsed do not seem to have occurred to them at all, or, if they have occurred, do not appear to be sufficient to cause them to desist from prosecuting their laudable endeavors.

The high mandarins procure the aid of priests of the Tauist ^{p.310} sect at their yamuns. These place an incense censer and two large candlesticks, for

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

holding red candles or tapers, on a table in the principal reception-room of the mandarin, or in the open space in front of it under the open heavens.

At the commencement of the eclipse the tapers are lighted, and soon after the mandarin enters, dressed in his official robes. Taking some sticks of lighted incense in both hands, he makes his obeisance before or facing the table, raising and depressing the incense two or three times, according to the established fashion, before it is placed in the censer. Or sometimes the incense is lighted and put in the censer by one of the priests employed. The officer proceeds to perform the high ceremony of kneeling down three times, and knocking his head on the ground nine times. After this he arises from his knees. Large gongs and drums near by are now beaten as loudly as possible. The priests begin to march slowly around the tables, reciting formulas, etc., which marching they keep up, with more or less intermissions, until the eclipse has passed off.

A uniform result always follows these official efforts to save the sun and the moon. *They are invariably successful.* There is not a single instance recorded in the annals of the empire when the measures prescribed in instructions from the emperor's astronomers at Peking, and correctly carried out in the provinces by the mandarins, have not resulted in a complete rescue of the object eclipsed. Doubtless the vast majority of the common people in China believe that the burning of tapers and incense, the prostration of the mandarins, the beating of the gongs and drums, and the recitations on the part of the priests, are signally efficacious in driving away the voracious monster. They observe that the sun or the moon does not seem to be permanently injured by the attacks of its celestial enemy, although a half or nearly the whole appeared to have been swallowed up. This happy result is doubtless viewed with much complacency by the parties engaged to bring it about.

The lower classes generally leave the saving of the sun or the moon, when eclipsed, to their mandarins, as it is a part of their official business. Some of the people occasionally beat in their houses a winnowing

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

instrument, made of bamboo ^{p.311} splints, on the occurrence of an eclipse. This gives out a loud noise. Some venture to assert that the din of this instrument penetrates the clouds as high as the very temple of Heaven itself ! The sailors connected with junks at this place, on the recurrence of a lunar eclipse, always contribute their aid to rescue the moon by beating their gongs in a most deafening manner.

Without doubt, most of the mandarins understand the real occasion of eclipses, or, at least, they have the sense to perceive that nothing which they can do will have any effect upon the object eclipsed, or the cause which produces the phenomenon ; but they have no optional course in regard to the matter. They must comply with established custom, and with the understood will of their superiors. The imperial astronomers, having been taught the principles of astronomy and the causes which produce eclipses by the Roman Catholic missionaries a long while since, of course know that the common sentiments on the subject are as absurd as the common customs relating to it are useless. But the emperor and his cabinet cling to ancient practices, notwithstanding the clearest evidences of their false and irrational character.

The blunders, or the ignorance, or the superstitions of the Chinese in regard to eclipses are sometimes made the occasion of flattering the vanity of the Emperor of China. Davis, in his History of China, remarks that during the dynasty of Sung, which ended about 1260 A.D., an expected eclipse having failed to take place, '*they congratulated the emperor that the heavens had dispensed with this omen of ill luck in his favor*'. Williams, in his Middle Kingdom, mentions that some clouds, on a certain occasion, having prevented the eclipse being visible, '*the courtiers joyfully repaired to the emperor to felicitate him that the heavens, touched by his virtues, had spared him the pain of witnessing the 'eating of the sun'*'.

It sometimes occurs that a high officer falls into disrepute at Peking, either because he is really guilty of maladministration, or because he has some powerful enemy who is poisoning the minds of those who are in

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

power against him, and he is required to appear in the capital for trial with chains about his neck, and in the attitude of a felon. When an officer is ^{p.312} commanded to '*arrest and chain*' a brother officer, he proceeds to arrest, chain, and forward him to Peking if he manifests any unwillingness to go, and if the exercise of force is necessary. It, however, seldom happens that positive force or personal violence are employed. The man usually, as soon as he learns his fate, resigns his office, and provides himself with a light wooden or paper cangue for his neck, and with a small chain for his hands, *arrests and chains himself*, and starts as fast as possible for the capital of the empire. He delivers himself into the custody of the proper tribunal there, and begs of the emperor the favor of a speedy examination and punishment for his crimes. If he can get the start of the official order from Peking for his arrest, it is usually reckoned as worth considerable in his favor ; it seems to denote a due sense of his deserts, and that he has no intention of endeavoring to thwart the administration of justice. It is utterly impossible for a falling mandarin to escape the officers of the Tribunal of Punishment, and experience shows that the mandarin whose official integrity is maligned beyond endurance can not do better than to proceed to Peking and demand an examination, as if not afraid to meet the worst. At such times he uses his money freely in order to secure the friendship and influence of the high officials at the capital.

Mandarins are sometimes condemned to suffer the penalty of death by strangulation for some flagrant dereliction of official duty, or for some willful violation of the laws which he did not succeed in concealing, etc. *According to strict law*, there are many cases where mandarins ought to be deprived of life as a punishment for their crimes. High mandarins oftentimes do not report the truth to the court at Peking because they are bribed not to report, or are prevented, from prudential reasons, from reporting it. They often pass over flagrant violations of law by others high in office or power, hoping mutually to shield and help each other — unless they are personal enemies. In cases where the facts become known at head-quarters, and the culprit should, according to law, lose his life and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

have his property confiscated to the government, high officials at Peking are very often bribed to intercede for him before the proper tribunal, and excuse his crimes by the invention of some plausible story. Such bribing costs a large sum.

p.313 In case of the highest officers, as chancellors of the empire, or presidents of the six boards and viceroys of the provinces, when they have committed deeds for which the emperor wishes to punish them capitally, instead of beheading them, he sometimes, in his clemency, intimates his wishes by sending them a piece of silk or a silk cord. They understand the meaning of the silken present to be '*strangle yourselves*', which they proceed to do. If they should hesitate too long, or decline altogether to commit suicide at the implied request of their imperial master, they would soon lose their heads by decapitation. Self-strangulation is more honorable than beheading by the executioner, as the body is left whole and un mutilated. Allowing those capitally convicted to take their own lives is considered a mark of especial favor on the part of the emperor, for which they are expected to return their grateful acknowledgments. Officers of low rank are seldom or never allowed the honor or the privilege of strangling themselves with a white cord or girdle of silk presented by the emperor. They are summarily beheaded unless they commit suicide, on their own account and responsibility. Swallowing gold-leaf is a very popular way of committing suicide by mandarins after their condemnation, or when in despair of an honorable acquittal during the progress of their trial, or when some great disaster occurs for which they will be held responsible.

When an officer has fallen largely behind in the amount of revenue which it is expected he will deliver over to the imperial treasury for government use, the high mandarins sometimes decide to '*search his house*', in order to ascertain whether he is able to pay the sum for which he is in arrears, or whether he is really poor, as he of course represents himself. The 'house' which is searched is not the yamun in which he lives, but his paternal or ancestral home in another province, where his parents,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

if living, reside, and where it is surmised his property will be found. The search is instituted without his knowledge by men deputed by his superior mandarins. If they should find a large amount of ready money, or valuable property, or the titles to large possessions in other places, the inference would be natural and generally just that he was a dishonest man, and that he had intentionally defrauded the government, and sent the missing money to his ^{p.314} ancestral home, or caused it to be invested for his personal or his family's benefit. In such a case, he would be arrested and summarily punished, unless he could account for the existence of so much wealth, or unless he should succeed in bribing his superiors to take a favorable view of the matter. If, however, the searching of his house should indicate that he was really poor, he would generally be dealt leniently with by the imperial agents, especially if he or his family should be able to persuade them to report favorably to their superiors. The searching of his paternal home instead of his actual residence is based on the presumption that, if he were wealthy, sufficient evidence would be furnished there. His parents, or the members of the family at home, would be living in luxury, the grounds and buildings would be spacious and kept in good repair. Chinese mandarins are famous for sending their gains of office home, or from the place where they play the mandarin and acquire it.

It is not a very uncommon occurrence for an officer of high rank to be fined the amount of his *salary* for one month, or two months, or a year, as a punishment for negligence in the discharge of his duties, or for some maladministration not requiring a heavier punishment. The occasions where the mandarins may be thus fined are numerous ; but, as their stated allowance from the imperial coffers is but a small portion of their actual receipts, the stoppage of salary for a short time is a matter of little pecuniary consequence ; and it is regarded as a thing of import only as it affects their character and prospects of advancement in rank and purse with their superiors.

In cases where maladministration is of a too flagrant character to be

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

punished simply by a fine, sometimes recourse is had to a heavier degree of punishment — that of degrading him from his rank and titles, but obliging him to continue to discharge his official duties. This punishment is generally only temporary. His cap, when worn during this period, must be without its button, and the feather denoting his rank or office must be laid aside until he has cleared up his character, or made for himself a new reputation. The occasions are sometimes comparatively trivial when a magistrate is required to perform his official duties deprived of his rank. It is frequently done when there is a long delay in paying over the required p.315 amount of revenue into the treasury. It acts as a kind of argument, expediting the settlement of his accounts.

When one degraded from his rank, but retained in office, is unable to clear himself from the charges against him in a reasonable time, to the satisfaction of his superiors, the next grade of punishment is to remove him from the official trust. In some cases he is degraded from his rank and removed from office at the same time. He returns to the position of a citizen, liable to arrest and further punishment, should the punishment already inflicted not be deemed sufficiently severe. Oftentimes he is commanded to appear as soon as possible at Peking, to be tried by the proper tribunal.

There are occasions when it is made the duty of a mandarin to resign his office for a specified time or for a special reason, expecting to take office again when the time has expired or when the reason no longer exists. For example :

Every civil mandarin, on the occasion of the death of a parent, must immediately resign his office, announce the sorrowful fact to the emperor by a memorial, and ask leave to go and mourn the usual period of three years at his ancestral home. He need not wait until an answer is returned. Such requests are never refused ; and not to resign one's office, and return to the home of the deceased parent, and engage in the established rites, would be a crime not tolerated by Chinese law or Chinese custom. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

duties of his vacated office will be cared for by the high officers of the province for the time being, until other arrangements can be made. Military officers of the three highest ranks only are allowed to resign their appointments and return home to mourn three years on the death of a parent. Military officers of some lower ranks are allowed to be absent a shorter period. Such a resignation of office oftentimes produces considerable confusion in the administration of government, but the derangement is regarded as unimportant compared with the sin of violating the ancient custom of resigning office and returning home to mourn, which custom Confucius himself honored and observed on the death of his mother, when he held office. The expense and fatigue to the filial son are also sometimes very great, as when he holds office in the southern part of the empire, while his ancestral home is in a northern province ; but such considerations are ^{p.316} of little moment compared with the transcendent importance of showing due regard to the memory of a deceased parent. It will not answer for a high mandarin to fail in the exhibition of filial piety if he wishes to stand well with the imperial government or with the people whom he governs.

When a mandarin has been a long while absent from his parents, or when he hears that they, or one of them, are very ill, it is very creditable for him to ask permission of the emperor to leave his office and its duties for a year or two, for the purpose of going home and taking care of his parents. Should he be made acquainted with their dangerous illness, and not petition for a release from office to go and visit them, he would be charged with a want of filial love, which is one of the most serious charges that can be made against the character of a man in China. And should the emperor, through the officials of the appropriate board, treat lightly an application from one of his servants in the provinces for leave to go home and visit his parents, on account of the great length of his absence from them, or because he has learned of their dangerous illness, he would be liable to be regarded as teaching men to think little of their parents, and to be unfilial to them, and, by inference, unfaithful to himself, the great father

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and mother of the people in all the empire. If the circumstances of the case seem really to require the absence from office of the petitioner, and the condition of the empire will admit of a favorable reply to the petition of the filial mandarin, permission is often given to him to do as he formally requested. The example of such men is regarded as praiseworthy, and is held up to approbation and imitation.

It sometimes occurs that a mandarin asks permission of the emperor to resign his office and return home, for the purpose of remaining with his aged and infirm parents as long as they live. He states the urgent circumstances of the case : that he has been long absent ; that they are very aged, etc. Before granting such a request, the emperor usually causes inquiries to be made in regard to the circumstances of the parents of the professedly filial mandarin by or through the high officials of the province where they reside. If the facts are as stated by the suppliant, and the emperor's advisors regard him as really desirous of spending his time with his parents as long ^{p.317} as they live, because of his filial affection for them — not because he wishes to enjoy or invest the money he has already made — his application is granted, unless there are manifest and urgent considerations of state which make it desirable that he should postpone the gratification of his filial heart to a more remote period. Such applicants are always treated with respect and honor, even if their requests are refused.

Not unfrequently does it occur that a man who is appointed to office is in duty bound to offer his resignation because some member of his family, or some relative or very intimate friend, has an appointment in the same province of inferior rank to his own. For instance, if a son should be appointed to the governorship of a province in which his father already held the office of a prefect, or a district magistrate, or any other office lower in rank than that to which he was appointed, it would be the duty of the son to resign his office without delay ; or if a younger brother should be appointed to some office in a province where his elder brother had official employment less honorable or less elevated in rank than the one to which

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the younger brother was appointed, the latter is required to tender his resignation. The general rule is, that the more honorable in family relations may not be in office of a lower rank under one less honorable. A son may not hold office in the same province of higher rank than his father ; a younger brother may not be put over his elder brother ; a nephew may not be a mandarin of superior rank to his uncle in the same province, etc. On the same general principle of reasoning, *à la Chinois*, two warm and mutual friends must not hold office in the same province of different ranks. A greater must not worship the less ; and equals must not be placed in official positions so that one must worship the other as higher or lower ; and friends must not 'worship' each other. Such a relation of things would be contrary to the order of nature. As a general rule, the emperor is also desirous that relatives and mutual friends should not be employed in office near each other, lest they should favor each other when occasion offers at the expense of justice, or lest they should combine to oppress and injure the people. This matter is a difficult one to regulate in China.

Sometimes a mandarin asks to be relieved from the cares of official responsibility for a short time in consequence of being ^{p.318} wearied out with his previous labors, secretly intending oftentimes never to take office again. The higher class of officers must get such permission from the dignitaries at Peking, and the lower class of officers must obtain it from their superiors living in the provincial capital. None dare ordinarily leave their official positions without consent previously obtained ; if they did, they would be arrested and severely punished by degradation or by fine, or both.

Mandarins who have amassed considerable wealth are oftentimes anxious to retire temporarily or permanently from government service, in order to secure the wealth and the titles and honors they have gained. If they remain in office they are liable to be fined, or degraded, or severely punished for innocent mistakes, and for unsuccessful efforts to do what falls to their duty to do. Their present office may be a poor and scarcely

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

remunerative one, and they are fearful of falling in arrears in revenue. If they can retire from office with their riches and their rank intact, they will have the reasonable prospect of handing down the former to their children, and of enjoying the latter, and the importance and the influence which it gives as resident gentry or retired mandarins in their native village or city. Their applications are seldom granted unless they bribe largely the high officials to report favorably, and to use their influence at court in their behalf.

Officers of an advanced age sometimes ask for leave to retire from office on the score of their old age and their increasing infirmities. The emperor is generally anxious to retain in office his long-tried and experienced servants as long as he can, and therefore is always loth to grant permission for them to retire to private life. Unless they can bring the emperor or his confidential or influential advisers to believe that they are really becoming more and more infirm, blind, or deaf, etc., it is usually quite difficult to obtain a favorable reply to their requests for a furlough on account of old age. There is considerable danger of urgently pressing the request for respite on this account, if there is not most manifest reason for it. The emperor may become displeased, and deprive the petitioner of his honors and titles, and let him go home as a plain citizen, which is a result not at all desired, and which is regarded as really tantamount to dismissal from office in disgrace.

p.319 When sick, mandarins frequently ask leave of absence or permission to resign office, in order to return home and take measures to cure themselves. Sometimes the emperor, in a manifestly urgent case, grants the permission to resign. At other times he permits them to remain nominally in office, but relieved of its cares for a time, thus enabling them to employ medical aid without the necessity of attending to official duties at the same time, expecting them to resume the responsibilities of office as soon as they recover. This is a very common excuse for trying to rid themselves of official duty, and danger, and responsibility, when they are

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

really not very unwell, and when the actual reason for desiring to be allowed to retire is to obtain an opportunity to secure or invest their property in some profitable manner, and to enjoy in private life the honor and rank which they have already attained in government employ. When this is suspected to be the real cause of preferring a request to be allowed to retire from office 'on account of sickness', of course the request is promptly denied. There is a saying here to the effect that those who feign sickness in order to go to their ancestral homes and enjoy their wealth and honors, will be sure to become really ill there, as a punishment for their duplicity and mendacity toward their sovereign.

A very singular state of things prevails in this part of China relating to the management of thieves, and the methods to be taken in order to obtain stolen property. The Chinese government seem to act on the adage '*set a thief to catch a thief*'. There is a class of men connected with civil official establishments, but living more or less among the people, who have the superintendence of matters relating to thieves and thieving. These men enjoy the reputation of having been great thieves themselves before they were recognized as chiefs of this branch of police. It is currently reported among the people that many of these men were detected in stealing, and, instead of being punished, they were pardoned on their agreeing to catch other thieves and to aid the magistrates to obtain possession of stolen property. The people affirm that they are head thieves, or chief of the local robbers which infest neighborhoods, and know, in case of any particular theft, who the robbers are, and where the stolen goods are deposited, p.320 because they instructed the thieves where to rob and where to carry the property taken, promising to protect them. After the robbery has been committed the thief-catchers are summoned, and make a great ado, pretending to be sincerely desirous of recovering the property and ascertaining the thieves, and having them arrested and punished. Unless, however, they are bribed largely to recover the property, it is seldom ever seen again by its owner. If the matter after a while should die away, they divide the spoils or the profits with the thieves. If, however, the party

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

which was robbed does not give up the affair, but makes repeated applications to the magistrate whose duty it is to attend to the affair, and there seems to be no other way of proceeding, the magistrate insists on the thief-catchers finding out the robbers and restoring the goods. The thief-catchers, in case they perceive their magistrate to be really in earnest, usually produce some one who confesses to the robbery, and perhaps a small part of the goods stolen is restored. The thief is flogged and put in the cangue for a month or two, and the matter is dropped. The people have no faith in the honesty of the official thief-catchers. They have the reputation of being partners or personally concerned in the principal places where stolen goods are deposited for a time, and afterward offered for sale. The places where they are sold generally are an illegal kind of pawnshops, not authorized or recognized by government, but simply tolerated. It is exceedingly difficult to arrest thieves and recover stolen property, on account of the complicity of the official thief-catchers with the real thieves, and their pecuniary interest in the profits of successful robbery.

The men connected with military yamuns, required to act the part of thief-catchers, are known by a different name from those belonging to civil yamuns. These are generally common soldiers, who are employed to patrol the street at night. In this way they have opportunity to find out, if they really desire to do so, all who in their section of the city or suburbs are regular or professional thieves. The theory is that they secretly watch any who are out thieving until they have entered a house. They remain outside, and when the thieves come forth with their plunder they seize them, and restore the property to its owners, but deliver the robbers over to their p.321 mandarins for punishment. The theory is a very fine one, but the practice does not correspond to it. They divide the spoils with the robbers, and let them go. The lion's share falls to the lot of their official protectors.

It is the current belief among the people that those who have once stolen, and have shared the plunder with the thief-catchers, may never

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

lead honest lives again if they continue to reside in the place, but must rob and plunder, dividing the profits with the official thief-catchers. If the former are afterward seen by the latter with any valuable property in their possession in the streets, they claim a part of it ; and if they have any respectable clothing upon their persons, they strip them of it, on the charge of being robbers. If they do not yield peaceably, the thief-catchers proceed to beat and abuse them, and threaten to take them into custody, and deliver them into the hands of their masters as thieves. It is said that many who would be as honest, and lead as exemplary lives as the majority of the population, are obliged to become thieves and robbers, sharing the profits with the thief-police, in order to gain a living, after they have once been detected in pilfering or stealing.

Common fame affirms that every mandarin receives valuable presents more or less regularly from subordinates.

On arriving at the place of his mandarinate, it is customary, in this part of the empire, for clerks and inferior officials connected with his own establishment to make presents to the new mandarin. He expects a present graduated in value according to the comparative lucrativeness of the stations which the officers fill. The amount from each is fixed by custom. Unless they should give it on the arrival of the mandarin, professedly as an expression of their satisfaction and respect, but really in order to ingratiate themselves in his good will, matters would not go smoothly with them. They would be frequently faulted and required to do their work over again, etc. They give the customary present to the mandarin, as soon as he arrives, as a bribe to treat them well.

All of the officers inferior to the new-arrived in the district, prefecture, or province, who are under his supervision, are expected to make him a present. The district magistrate expects a present from all who are beneath him, the prefect from ^{p.322} all who are beneath him, and the governor from the officers under his jurisdiction who report to him, and the viceroy from all the principal officers in the two provinces under his control. The value of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

these presents from the different officials who greet their new superior mandarin in this manner is regulated by custom, and has respect to the comparative rank and profits of the positions occupied by them. Those who do not make the customary token of respect may be sure that they are marked, and that they will suffer the consequence of their violation of custom in the subsequent inattention and ill will of their superior. Some of these presents, given by a single subordinate to his superior of high rank and in a high office, are said to amount to several hundred dollars, especially if he has a great favor which he hopes to gain from him, or if he desires to be promoted through his influence. It is easy to perceive that on the arrival of a viceroy or of a provincial governor at the place where he enters upon office, he ordinarily, before he has performed much work, receives in the aggregate a large sum of ready money, as presents or as bribes, from the large staff of subordinate officers resident in various parts of the province. Mandarins of lower rank receive much smaller, but still a comparatively large amount of money from their subordinate officers.

The newly-arrived mandarin is to a large extent *under the influence* of the subordinates whom he finds connected with his yamun. He is usually accompanied by a number of family relatives and confidential advisers who aid him. Still, he is necessarily very much under the control or influence of those who are attached to the establishment. The new mandarin is very frequently entirely unacquainted with the customs of the place and with its dialect. He finds sometimes several tens or scores of men belonging to the yamun who are strangers, and whom he can not understand when they converse with each other in their vernacular. The statement that he is to a great extent under the control or influence of his subordinates connected with his yamun will be evident in the course of the following observations :

There are a large number of men, called 'Great Sires', always found in yamuns of the higher rank, with whom the chief mandarin has constant intercourse.

p.323 Some of the great sires act as interpreters to the mandarin. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

mandarin, being generally from another province, requires an interpreter to explain the dialect spoken by natives of the place who may have business to do with him, if they can not speak the court dialect. In case of a criminal trial where the culprit is from a distant part of the province, and speaks the brogue of that section, it would be necessary for an interpreter to translate the language of the culprit to the mandarin, and the language of the mandarin to the culprit.

Should the great sire for any reason desire to favor the person interrogated, it is sometimes an easy matter to put a plausible coloring upon his statements, especially as he readily learns, from constant intercourse with his master, the manner in which he may dupe him ; and, unless he should receive a bonus from the party interrogated by the mandarin, it is very easy to misinterpret, or to fail of interpreting the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to that party from the mandarin, or from the mandarin to that party. It is for the interest of the mandarin to gain and keep the good-will of his interpreter, and it is also for the interest of the other party to stand well with him. Without the use of much imagination, it is not difficult to perceive that the mandarin necessarily comes under the influence of his great sires to a large extent.

Another of these great sires has the charge of the entrance-door to the yamun. All who desire to see the resident mandarin must have their cards of introduction, or their visiting cards, received and passed along by him or his assistants. He levies a contribution from those who wish to see his master called 'the door-parcel'. Sometimes he demands an exorbitant sum before he will receive and pass along the card, and announce the arrival of a stranger who wishes to see the mandarin on urgent business. On the arrival of a new incumbent of office at the yamun whose door-keeper he is, he generally reaps a large harvest, as a great number of official visitors must call to pay their respects to their superior. Unless the inferior mandarins call to see him or send in their cards, the newly-arrived will be offended at their want of politeness ; but to succeed in doing this they must come to terms with the chief door-keeper.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Only a few years ago, a high official in the city, recently p.324 appointed, having arrived, was waited upon by all his subordinates except one, who was a distant relative. He did not appear until after comparatively a long time, and then he found his superior in an unpleasant mood. In reply to the remark that he had not called, or even sent in his card, the late-caller said that he had been to the door several times, but the door-keeper had demanded a present of several hundred taels, a sum which he deemed exorbitant, and had declined to give, and that he had therefore returned to his own yamun without paying his respects. He farther stated that he had to force his way in at that time, the door-keeper demanding a very high sum, and attempting to obstruct his passage. On hearing this, the high official's wrath against his guest was mollified, and diverted toward his door-keeper, whom he embraced an early opportunity to reprimand sharply for his extortion, bamboo severely, and dismiss from his position. It is not every guest who would be tolerated in expressing dissatisfaction with the exorbitant extortion practiced by the door-keeper of the mandarin upon whom he was calling. Such complaints would in ordinary cases probably make him personally obnoxious with his host, and certainly such would be the result with his underlings. On occasion of making presents to the mandarin on the recurrence of his birthday, and of the great festivals during the year in accordance with established customs, the door-keeper must be largely bribed by those who would show their respects and intimate their congratulations to his master, else he will not allow their presents and the accompanying card to be taken into the premises. After a successful application for an office in the bestowment of the high mandarin, his door-keeper is usually sure to fleece the applicant when he comes at the appointed time to receive his credentials and return his thanks ; for, unless he calls to receive his credentials at the appointed time, the mandarin would be displeased at his want of punctuality, and might possibly change his mind ; and the other party can not proceed to the place of his mandarinate until he has obtained the requisite documents. The deeply-interested caller can do no better than come to terms with the door-keeper.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Among the permanent attachés, during good behavior, to a mandarinate, is a class of men usually called the mandarin's ^{p.325} 'teacher' or 'adviser'. Every civil mandarin has at least one whom he regards as his right-hand man and his chief 'teacher', who really is indispensable to him. He usually has been a long while connected with that mandarinate, and is acquainted with the recorded decisions of his master's predecessors, and with the laws bearing upon the matters generally investigated and decided at that yamun, and is familiar with local customs, sentiments, and feelings. In regard to these subjects the new occupant of the office is at first quite ignorant. In fact, he is often quite dependent on his 'teacher', who is always a man of talent and experience. In regard to most cases he is consulted and his opinion obtained. He is always treated with great respect by the mandarin ; eats at the same table with him, and occupies the post of honor, being the mandarin's *guest* according to Chinese notions of etiquette.

The process which it is customary for a mandarin to adopt at this place, when he wishes to engage the services of any particular individual to be his 'teacher' for a year, or to take the supervision of any particular department in his yamun, is like this : he prepares a large sheet of red paper, and on it writes his invitation, stating the business he desires to have him do, and the salary he offers him, and when to be paid, whether monthly or quarterly. In signing this document, the mandarin often styles himself '*his stupid younger brother*'. This paper and his card he sends by some one to the individual, together with a present of ten or fifteen dollars, more or less. If the man receives the present and the document, and retains them, it is understood that he accepts the terms and consents to fill the station. He considers himself engaged for a year. But if he declines to receive the present with the red paper and card, sending them back, the meaning is that he is dissatisfied with something, or that it is impossible for him to accept, being engaged or in feeble health. In this case the mandarin must make another offer if he wishes to secure his services, or he must look out for another suitable person to act as teacher.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

In connection with mandarin establishments of the first rank in the provincial city will be found six separate offices or boards, in imitation of the corresponding six boards at the imperial capital. The head clerk of each of these offices is a ^{p.326} man of ability, and well acquainted with the history and the condition of his department. The first relates to offices and vacancies ; the second relates to revenue, as provisions and moneys received for taxes ; the third relates to official ceremonies and rites, as sacrificing in spring and autumn ; the fourth relates to war, as the number of soldiers, their pay and rations ; the fifth relates to punishment, as regards degree and kind ; the sixth relates to public works, as building and repairs. These head clerks are paid out of government funds a regular and handsome salary. After they have served with credit for six years, they are entitled to the honorary reward of wearing a button on their caps, denoting the sixth degree of rank, conferred by the emperor. It is manifest that every new incumbent of the mandarinate is dependent upon these men to a very great extent in regard to the details of their departments, as well as in regard to the proper decision of important questions which concern them. Their opinions are oftentimes of necessity of more value, and generally much nearer the requirement of the law, than his opinions on disputed and delicate points.

These head men sometimes work under the personal supervision of the mandarin their master, and they submit their reports to Peking, and public notices for the region where they live, to him for criticism and correction. These are issued in his name, and have his official seal. They are men of ready talent, quick in the use of the pencil, and possessed of much more than an average amount of general intelligence. When they and the principal 'teacher' agree well with each other, every thing usually works smoothly ; but when they are not on good terms with him, the wheels of government turn with friction, producing oftentimes actual enmity and ill will.

@

1.CHAPTER XIII**Mandarins and their subordinates***continued*

@

Mandarins sometimes popular. p.327 'Umbrellas from ten thousand of the People'. — 'Garments from ten thousand of the People'. — Sons in Office obtain Titles of Rank for Parents living or dead. — Peacock Feathers bestowed as Rewards. — Transference of Titles of Honor. — Policemen connected with Yamuns detested. — Seizing and torturing Relatives of Culprits. — 'White Market'. — Mandarins held responsible for large Conflagrations. — Manuscript official daily Gazettes. — No Newspapers for the Million. — People instructed by public Proclamations. — Exhortations to subscribe Money for Use of Government. — Office obtained by Purchase or by Bribery. — First Class literary Graduates of third Rank enter on Office at once.

Legal Modes of Torture and of Punishment : Inferior and superior Classes. — Wearing the Cangue. — Beating on the Cheeks. — Beating on the Posterior. — Squeezing the Fingers. — Squeezing the Ankles. — Imprisonment. — Beheading. — 'Cutting into small Pieces' before Decapitation. — Strangulation. — Banishment beyond the Frontiers. — Banishment three thousand Li from Home. — Banishment one thousand Li. — Favors shown to Criminals by Grace of the Emperor.

Illegal Modes of Torture and of Punishment : Fastened on a Bedstead. — Frame of the flowery Eyebrow. — Monkey holding a Peach. — Standing in a Cage. — Smoking the Head in a Tube. — A Shirt made of Iron Wire. — Hot-water Snake. — Whip of Hooks. — Kneeling on Chains or Bits of Crockery.

Common but unlawful Practices : Relating to Gambling. — Keeping of Brothels. — Private and unlicensed Pawn-shops. — Clandestine Manufacture or Sale of Salt. — Counterfeiting Bank-bills. — Counterfeiting Cash and deteriorating Silver.

Few mandarins are popular, and have the confidence and esteem of the people over whom they rule. They generally are too desirous to become rich to administer affairs with justice, usually deciding the causes which are brought before their tribunals in favor of those who give them the most money as presents or bribes. But there are exceptions to the above remarks, which are the more honorable and noticeable because they are few. Some mandarins are universally spoken favorably of by the people, because of the general regard to justice which they evince in their decisions, and on account of their evident desire to promote the happiness and the p.328 prosperity of their subjects. When they die in office, their death is regarded as a public calamity ; and when their term of office expires, and they are transferred to some other station, their departure is regarded as a public loss.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

It is sometimes the custom, when such a popular officer departs, for the rich people and the gentry to join together and bear the expense of presenting him with one or more umbrellas of state, made in a rich style. From this circumstance they are called '*umbrellas from ten thousand of the people*'. It is presented in the name of the people. It is made generally out of red satin or of red silk, having three tiers of folds or flounces. Usually the names of the principal donors are put upon the outside of it in golden letters. When he departs from his yamun, *en route* to another place where he is to discharge the duties of office again, this umbrella is carried in procession in connection with his own proper retinue of lictors, servants, etc. Generally, also, a large number of those who live in the place which he is leaving join in the procession for a distance. This umbrella is received with great pleasure by the popular mandarin. It is a source of real joy and satisfaction to him and to his family, as, when spontaneously presented, it is a proof of his having the affections and confidence of the community.

On the same principle, and for the same reason, sometimes a certain kind of outside official garment is made out of rich red satin, at the expense and in the name of the people, and presented to him about the time of his departure. This is called a '*garment from ten thousand of the people*'. The names of the most prominent of the contributors are placed on the outside in golden letters. When presented it is borne on a kind of pavilion, so as to be seen by the public, accompanied by a band of music. This kind of popular testimonial to the character of its recipient is regarded as much more honorable than the umbrella of state, and is much more rarely given. It is a mark of the greatest respect and confidence.

It is contrary to the *principles of Chinese filial piety* for a son to enjoy a title of high rank and honor without getting a title of higher rank and honor for his paternal ancestor. According to law, a dutiful son must ask the emperor to confer upon his father a title of rank one degree higher than his own. ^{p.329} If the son is of the third rank, his father should be of the second rank. The mother of the hopeful and dutiful son also receives a proper and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

corresponding title. Whether living or dead, the parent must be honored if his son is honored.

One of the most common and most valued marks of imperial favor and approbation (promotion in rank and office excepted) bestowed upon civil or military officers as a reward for their faithful services, is one of a certain kind of feathers, generally called peacock's feathers. There are various kinds of these feathers, each kind indicating a certain degree of honor, or the comparative value put upon the services which the emperor wishes to reward and to commemorate. One kind is spoken of as the '*flower*' feather, another as the '*green*' feather, another as the '*one-eyed*' feather, another as the '*two-eyed*' feather, and another as the '*three-eyed*' feather. These are treasured up as marks of great honor by the recipients, and worn on public occasions. By simply inspecting the feather worn by a mandarin, and regarding its color, or whether it has one or more 'eyes', he who is acquainted with the comparative value set upon these things understands the degree of approbation which the emperor has been pleased to bestow upon the wearer. One of the great incentives to bravery on the part of soldiers is that of expecting to receive the reward of wearing a peacock's feather bestowed by the emperor.

When a mandarin considers himself under lasting obligations to a family relative (beside his father and mother) for services done him in former times, he sometimes endeavors to reward the person by obtaining some high title from the emperor for himself, and then receiving permission to transfer it to the individual. The title sought for is sometimes of a higher rank than the one enjoyed by the mandarin. The emperor is specially requested to transfer it to the person designated, not so much to bestow a favor upon the petitioner as to reward merit, and to indicate his approbation of the kindness shown to one who afterward rose to high official dignity. For example, the parents of the petitioner may have deceased while he was very young, and the individual referred to might have received the orphan lad into his family, and educated him with great care and wisdom, resulting in his becoming a high mandarin.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

p.330 The principle of transferring honors and titles which are of a *lower* rank than those enjoyed by the mandarin himself upon some of his family relatives, in return or as a reward for services formerly rendered, is also recognized by the laws or regulations of the land. The prospect of a talented but destitute lad hereafter becoming a high officer of government is sometimes a powerful motive with his richer and more fortunate relatives for treating him well and assisting in his education.

Every yamun has one or more head constables or policemen connected with it, whose principal employment is to arrest those who are charged with crimes. The position of the head man of these constables is often bought or obtained by bribery, and at other times it is bestowed as a reward for faithful services. If there is a large amount of business for them to do, they amass considerable money by their oppressive and extortionate course. They, as a class, are universally detested. Respectable people do not care to be associated with them in any way. They become very hard-hearted and unjust men. They abuse and oppress those who are accused of crime and those who are convicted of crime, demanding and often receiving large sums of money from the wealthy who fall into their clutches. They often enforce the giving of money, or treating with wine or opium, by the families to which the accused or the condemned belong, by destroying or injuring the chairs, or the tables, or the crockery which come in their way. The Chinese dread, as a great curse, having official business to do with them, on account of their lawless and extortionate demands, enforced with violence. Such a course is illegal, but there is generally no method of redress.

It frequently occurs, when the constables can not find the man their master bids them arrest, they seize, imprison, torture, and cross-question some near relative of the missing man in order to find out the place of his concealment. This is a very unjust and cruel course to pursue, but one which is authorized by custom and practice, if not by the laws. It is done on the supposition that the relative arrested is privy to the place of concealment, and perhaps interested in his escape. When he reveals the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

place where the suspected man is concealed, and he has been actually arrested and imprisoned, the relative is usually set at liberty on paying the policemen and ^{p.331} the jailors their fees for their trouble in regard to him. In this land of lawful lawlessness on the part of constables and mandarins in regard to suspected persons, it is impossible for friends and relatives to secrete one long from those who are seeking for him on account of the brutal course pursued toward his family. It usually occurs that the man who gives the constables considerable trouble to arrest and imprison, so as to be on hand when the mandarin desires to examine him, fares the worse after his actual arrest. They often treat him more cruelly, and make more extortionate demands as a compensation for their extra trouble.

It is the custom for shop-keepers located near the scene of any extensive disorder produced by mobs in the street or a fire, which calls together a rabble, to close their establishments by putting up the thick and long boards which form the front of their shops, just as they do in the night, lest they should be robbed. This is called '*white market*', and is an unlawful course for the people to pursue, or, rather, it is a course which the mandarins are anxious should not be pursued, lest unhappy consequences should result to themselves. They are held responsible for the preservation of the peace, and for protecting the people in an uninterrupted prosecution of their lawful calling. The existence of such a state of affairs as to oblige the people in self-defense to close their stores in daylight would be interpreted to the disadvantage of the mandarin in charge. He would be liable to degradation in rank, if not from office, if known to his superiors. He comes at once with his followers, not only to arrest those who make the disturbance, but also to persuade the people to open their establishments. The existence, and especially the continuance of the closing of the shops, indicates incompetency on the part of the mandarin in charge to keep bad men in check and preserve good citizens in the enjoyment of their rights.

The mandarins are also held responsible if a large conflagration takes place. If public property or buildings are destroyed by fire, they are liable to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

be degraded or punished in some way. Some twelve or thirteen years ago the Temple of Confucius, located near the south gate and inside the city, took fire just after it had been left one morning by the officers whose business it was to burn incense there. The city officers were ^{p.332} greatly alarmed lest the burning of the temple should be made known to the officials at Peking, in which case they expected to be punished. The affair, however, was managed in such a manner that none of them were punished for permitting the conflagration of the temple. Good officers, it is expected, will keep every thing in order. When any event occurs which ought not to have occurred, they are, *in theory*, held responsible for permitting its occurrence, and treated as though they were guilty.

In cities which contain yamuns of high mandarins, there is an office where manuscript daily gazettes are prepared, giving the public news relating to the important doings of the mandarins, and facts which concern them, such as appointments, advancement in rank, degradations, arrivals and departures of officers. This is prepared for the different high officials, the gentry, and subscribers generally. It corresponds somewhat to a *daily gazette*, but is not printed and published, and hawked about the streets. This costs for city subscribers several shillings per month. It is uninteresting and valueless except to those who desire to keep posted up with affairs relating to mandarins. Besides this daily, there may be had manuscript copies of the Peking Gazette as often as there is an arrival of one from the capital. Generally one copy comes down from Peking to this city, from which copies are made for regular subscribers. It is always very much behind its date. There are no regular dailies or weeklies to which the people have access containing the news of the day. Almost all of the public information in regard to current events in other parts of the empire is conveyed by family letters, and by travelers who detail the news as they go from place to place. The means of transporting letters are very dilatory, unsafe, and expensive, so that members of families widely separated, or personal friends remote from each other, seldom correspond, giving the news, unless it relates to their mutual interests.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

When it is necessary that the people should be instructed in regard to important affairs, the mandarins cause proclamations to be posted up more or less numerously, in the most frequented streets of the city and in the country villages, containing the information. These proclamations are sometimes printed and sometimes in manuscript. Those concerned are ^{p.333} supposed to make themselves acquainted with its contents, and learn thereby what they are expected to do, and what they are expected not to do. These proclamations, together with handbills, and advertisements, and notices issued by storekeepers, etc., constitute the newspapers of China, and are found on the posts and walls of houses and shops. They take the place of dailies and weeklies. There is this difference between them and newspapers of the West — they cost the public readers nothing, but are furnished gratuitously, and posted up conspicuously for the information of all whom they may concern.

During the reigns of the last two or three emperors it has become more and more common, and, at the same time, more and more unpopular, for the mandarins to 'exhort the people to subscribe money' for the use of the emperor in the administration of the government : Orders are occasionally sent down from Peking stating the urgent need of more funds, and authorizing the officials to 'exhort' the people to contribute to the imperial treasury. In obedience with the intimations from Peking, the mandarins undertake the task of endeavoring to 'persuade' the rich men and the gentry under their jurisdiction to supply the wants of the emperor. The kind of arguments used are sometimes very forcible and powerful, as threats, arbitrary arrests, or personal violence, together with the promise of obtaining an office or a title, or the privilege of wearing a button or feather denoting some degree of rank. It is put to their credit if they are able to report enormous sums paid into the provincial treasury as contributions from the people, and they expect to be rewarded in a suitable way for their patriotic efforts.

Many who are now in office in the Middle Kingdom have obtained it

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

principally by bribery or by purchase, or by the union of both bribery and purchase. The two are so intimately related that perhaps the obtaining of office by the dexterous and ample use of money, *as if by purchase*, is invariably connected with a greater or less degree of bribery of the officials who manage the procurement by purchase. A few years ago it was the common report that all of the high civil officials at this City had procured their places by *purchase*. It requires practical tact of a high order to manage the affairs of government with success. A talented business man is often ^{p.334} dull at his books and in the use of his pencil, and, unless he has money to help him in climbing the rounds of official employment and emolument, he would generally remain at the foot of the ladder, looking upward, but unable to ascend. A poor scholar without funds stands ordinarily but a sorry chance to become a mandarin of high rank, no matter how great his talent for governing and for transacting business may be.

It frequently occurs that graduates of the first or second literary degree, by the payment of a sum of money into the imperial treasury, may enter at once on the discharge of official duty and power. The sum paid by graduates of the low literary degrees varies with their rank as scholars, and the rank of the office to which they aspire. The higher their rank as scholars, the less is the sum necessary to pay for the position they seek. Some men, who are rich but not learned, and who desire to play the mandarin without any literary rank already obtained, must pay comparatively very dear for an office — much dearer than a scholar would have to pay. Those who buy any particular office usually enter without delay upon its duties, having the precedence of those whose talents have earned them the station, or who have acquired it by gradual promotion.

A man of talent, having arrived at the rank of doctor of laws by his own ability in the use of the pencil in literary compositions, need not fear that he will be long without official employment, if he desires it. Should he succeed in graduating at the fourth examination before the emperor, he is sure of entering the imperial college at Peking, or of receiving immediate

official employment somewhere, without the necessity of using much money in bribing the officials there. Should he fail to graduate at the examination before the emperor, and yet have arrived at a certain rank on the list of graduates of the third degree, he is entitled to enter upon the duties of some magistracy without delay. The particular place in the empire is decided by lot, and the incumbent of the position which falls to the doctor of laws by lot must give way to him, or the higher mandarins there must provide for him immediately on arriving with an office either temporary or permanent. The late incumbent must be supplied without long delay with another office.

Legal Modes of Torture and of Punishment

@

p.335 Legal tortures and punishments are divided into the inferior and the superior.

The inferior class includes

1. *Wearing the Cangue.* — This is a square collar made of boards, and is locked upon the neck. It is usually three or four feet across, having a hole in the centre for the neck of the culprit. It prevents the wearer from reaching his mouth with his fingers. It is locked on during the daytime, and generally taken off during the night. The crime for which one is punished by wearing this wooden collar, and the time for which he is to wear it, are indicated in writing upon the upper or the front side of it. He is placed in the daytime by the wayside, usually in the vicinity of the spot where he committed his offense. In the evening he is taken away from the public street by the constable of the neighborhood, who is responsible for his safety. In the morning he is returned to his usual place of exposure in public, where he begs his living, unless his friends supply him with food. The legal time of wearing the cangue is from one to three months.

2. *Beating.* — This is of two kinds, according to the crime : one consists

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

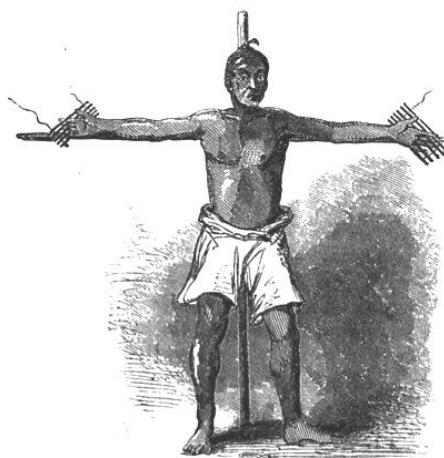
of *beating the cheeks*, and the other of beating the posteriors. When the cheeks are beaten, the culprit is usually made to kneel down. The instrument used is about a foot long and two or three inches wide, and is made of leather. The lictor seizes the culprit by the hair of his head with one hand, while with the other he holds the instrument with which he beats the man the number of blows ordered by the mandarin. The number of blows does not often exceed twenty or thirty.

When the posteriors are beaten, the person is made to lie prostrate on the ground, face downward, and the parts to be beaten are stripped of clothing. The instrument used is made of bamboo, and is of two kinds. One is about five feet long and two inches wide. With this only forty strokes can legally be inflicted. The other is about three feet long and one inch wide. An indefinite number of strokes can be inflicted with it, at the direction of the magistrate. In military yamuns, a wooden — not bamboo — ferule or stick is used, without ^{p.336} stripping the offender. When a female is whipped with the bamboo in civil offices or courts of justice, she is simply made to kneel, and then the strokes are inflicted upon her thighs or body, only her outer garments having been removed.

Immense suffering is very frequently caused by the cruel use of the leathern scourge and of the bamboo sticks. The lawful number of blows is oftentimes largely exceeded. The severity of the beating, however, is not to be estimated by the number of blows inflicted, but by the amount of strength which the lictor puts forth. If bribed to beat lightly, he lays on accordingly, though he may appear to strike very heavily. This method is oftentimes employed to produce or extort confession, as well as to inflict punishment.

Squeezing the Fingers

3. *Squeezing the Fingers.* — This is a kind of torture used principally to extort confession. The man is usually made to kneel

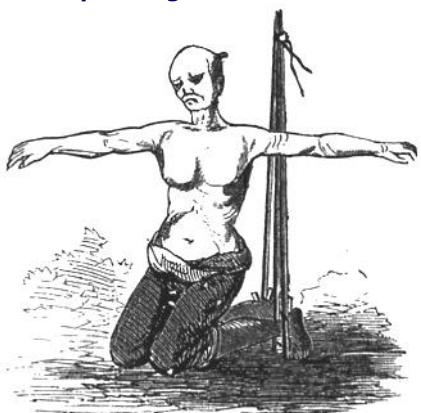


Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

down, and is then tied by his cue to an upright post. The fingers of each hand are then put between small rods (a rod coming between two fingers), which are so arranged that by pulling a cord attached to these rods the fingers are squeezed between them. The harder the cord is pulled or ^{p.337} twisted, the tighter are the fingers squeezed, and the more painful does the torture become. The victim is finally willing to confess any thing which his accuser desires, so dreadful is the pain suffered. He sometimes stands while tortured.

Squeezing the Ankles



4. *Squeezing the Ankles.* — This is also a species of torture. The prisoner is made to kneel on the ground, and his ankles are placed in a frame consisting of three sticks or poles fastened near each other at one end. Each ankle comes between two sticks. By pulling on the cords fastened to the other end of the sticks, the ankles are squeezed by the sticks as they are made to approach each other.

4. *Imprisonment.* — This kind of punishment, except in the case of those who are rich, or who have rich friends willing to bribe the jailers to treat them well, is awful and revolting beyond description. Insufficient and vile food is given them, and horrible tortures unknown to the laws are inflicted.

The superior class of punishments include

1. *Beheading.* — The condemned man is carried forth to the execution ground in a kind of cage or box made of slats or bamboo. The crime for which he is to die is written upon a slip of paper, fastened to a piece of bamboo, which is then stuck into his hair. In his cage is a pail for holding his head, which is often suspended on the city wall, or on a pole near the street, as a warning to the public.

Beheading consists of two methods, differing in degree of ignominy. One is that of simply striking off the head of the wretch at a blow, while kneeling,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Carrying forth to the place of execution

blow, while kneeling, with his hands tied behind him, and while bending down his head. The other is that where the body of the victim is mangled, or cut in several ^{p.338} places, previous to his head being struck off. This is called '*cutting into small pieces*'. It is described as cutting into the eyebrows or over the eyes, the cheeks, the fleshy part of the arms, and the breasts, in such a way that the skin or the flesh in these different places will hang down. Then a stab is made with the sword by the executioner into the abdomen, ^{p.339} which is followed by cutting off the head. Oftentimes the head is put into a kind of cage or pail, and hung up on the wall of the city, or on a pole in some public place, as a warning to the people. The second kind of beheading referred to, that of



Just before decapitation

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

'cutting into small pieces', is regarded as the most ignominious of all capital punishments. Women who are condemned to die as a punishment for committing adultery are oftentimes made to suffer death in this way. A parricide is also thus punished.

2. *Strangulation.* — This is regarded as the least disgraceful of capital punishments, because the body is left unmutilated. The condemned is sometimes made to kneel on a frame, with his hands tied behind him, or stretched out and fastened to a cross-piece. His head is secured to a perpendicular post by his cue, his face being turned outward, or away from it. In the post there is sometimes a hole made about as high from the ground as the neck of the prisoner comes. Through this hole the two ends of a cord, which has been passed around his neck, are put. Tightening the ends of the rope by pulling or twisting them soon produces strangulation. Oftentimes, when the victim is almost dead, the cord is loosened, and he is allowed to take breath, only to go through the pain of strangulation again.

3. *Banishment beyond the frontiers of the empire.* — This is a form of punishing state criminals, convicted of peculiarly aggravated offenses, when they are not sentenced to death by beheading or strangulation. High officers of government, when they fall under the displeasure of the emperor, or when they have political enemies sufficiently powerful to procure their ruin, are often condemned to be exiled to the vast territories which are tributary to China lying outside of the northwestern provinces. They are required to serve the emperor in the army. Oftentimes, by good behavior in their exile, they acquire such a stock of merit as to cause them to be recalled and reinstated in office. Banishment beyond the frontiers is a happy expedient of temporarily disposing of eminent men who have become too popular or too powerful, or for some reason obnoxious, until the time arrives when they may safely be again intrusted with power, or until their services become necessary in the administration of government, or ^{p.340} until their political enemies have become unpopular and are overthrown. This kind of exile is almost always preceded or followed by the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

confiscation of a part or the whole of the victim's property.

4. *Banishment three thousand li from home.* — This oftentimes is the punishment accorded to murderers of the second or third degree, noted robbers, or culprits whose high crimes are regarded as having some very extenuating circumstances, and who may have money and influence enough to escape the sentence of death. They are sometimes supported by funds derived from the imperial coffers. They are obliged to reside in specified districts, and are under the superintendence of a local officer. Sometimes they are allowed to engage in business and support themselves. They are required to return to their former homes at the expiration of their term of exile, unless they desire to remain where they have been living, and have influence and money sufficient to procure the consent of the government to remain.

5. *Banishment one thousand li for three years, or to another province.* — This is the lightest form of exile. It is said that under some circumstances those who have been condemned to this punishment can often escape its infliction by the payment of money as a fine. The crimes for which this punishment is usually allotted are gambling, fighting, thieving, and very mitigated cases of manslaughter.

There are occasionally to be seen in the streets of this city exiles from other provinces, wearing the badges of their banishment. These badges consist sometimes of an iron rod several feet long, or a stone weighing ten or fifteen pounds, attached to a chain locked around their necks. In such cases the stone or the iron rod is carried on the shoulder, steadied by the hand. When not in the public streets they unlock the chain, and lay aside the badge of their exile. According to law, it is affirmed, in the case of those who carry the stone on their shoulder, it ought to be made too heavy to be readily carried about, and the stone should be placed in the daytime, with the culprit securely locked to it, in public, near some yamun, as a warning to the people passing by.

There are occasions when the sentences of criminals throughout the

empire are remitted one grade or more — e. g., the ^{p.341} sentence of banishment beyond the frontiers is changed to banishment three thousand li, and banishment three thousand li to banishment one thousand li, or to another province, etc. The occasions referred to are such as the accession of a new emperor to the throne, the espousal of an empress, the birth of a first-born son to the emperor, or the celebration of an advanced imperial birthday. The emperor is not guided by any fixed rules when granting a full pardon, or a partial remission of these sentences to criminals. He sometimes remits punishments one degree ; at other times two or more degrees ; or he freely pardons certain classes of offenders, or he remits certain fines or arrears of taxes, according to caprice or the counsels which prevail in his cabinet, after professedly considering the circumstances which call for a display of his paternal love toward his distressed or erring subjects.

Illegal Modes of Torture and of Punishment

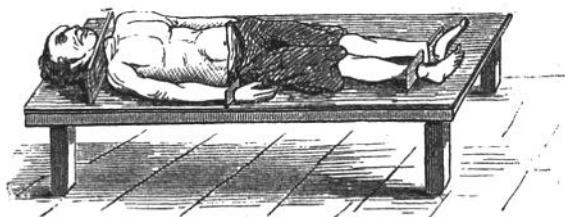
@

Jailers and magistrates frequently resort to modes of punishment and torture entirely unauthorized and unrecognized by law. Jailers unlawfully torture the prisoner for the purpose of extorting money, and magistrates unlawfully torture him for the sake of eliciting confession of guilt or information about his accomplices. The kinds of torture are not few, and the torment caused is often dreadfully excruciating.

It should not be supposed that all of the methods mentioned are in general use in every part of the empire. They are resorted to, with various modifications, when jailers and magistrates are pleased to use them. In different provinces, probably, there are in use illegal methods of torture different from those described.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Fastened on a bedstead

Fastened on a bedstead — If a prisoner does not promise ^{p.342} money sufficient to satisfy the demands of his keepers, he is liable to be *put to bed* on a wooden bedstead. He is placed on his back, and his body made nearly immovable in something like the following manner : Boards with holes are passed up through openings in the bedstead. One is placed over each ankle, and one over each wrist, and another over the neck. They are then pressed down, more or less tightly, on these parts of the body, and fastened under the bedstead in such a way that he can not change his position. Besides all this, sometimes a pole is fastened at right angles to a bar of wood placed across his ankles, the pole extending to his chin and pressing against it, so that his head will be thrown backward or upward. In this position he is made to pass the night, unless the jailers relent or he comes to their terms. No one is willing to sleep the second night on such a bedstead, if he can arrange matters with his keepers. Rich men are often unmercifully tortured by their jailers, in order to extort from them a large sum of money.



Three kinds of tortures (taken from Canton pith-paper pictures)

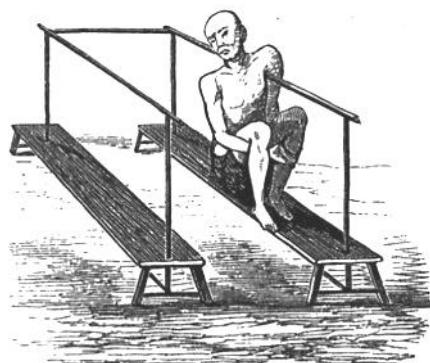
Frame of the flowery eyebrow. — Some say this instrument is named after a certain bird, which, being tied to a frame by a short string, is continually hopping about, or flying away to the length of its string, and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

then ^{p.343} returning. If such is the origin of the name, it indicates the incense agony which the wretched man suffers, not allowing a moment's ease. It consists of an upright post, and two crosspieces firmly fastened to it. The culprit is made to kneel on the lower of the cross-pieces, with his back to the post. His arms are outstretched, and fastened to the other cross-piece, which is placed several feet higher than the lower one. Across the calves of his legs is laid a stick several feet long. To the two ends of this stick are attached cords which pass through holes made in the ends of the cross-piece on which he kneels. By tightening these cords, the pressure on his legs becomes dreadful ; kneeling of itself would soon cause intolerable pain. To this is added the pain caused by pressing down the piece laid on the upper sides of his legs while he is in a kneeling posture. Some say that the wrists or arms are pressed at the same time and in a similar manner between the upper cross-piece and another stick placed on the upper side of the arms. This form of torturing a prisoner is sometimes employed by officers in order to extort confession.

Monkey grasping a peach. — The name of this torture is said to be derived from the fancied resemblance of the victim while enduring it to a monkey grasping something in his paw. It is used by mandarins to compel a prisoner to confess his guilt. It consists in suspending the man by one arm over a horizontal stick several feet from the ground, with the other arm passed down under one or both legs, and the hands then securely tied together by the thumbs under or near the knees. In this way no part of the body is allowed to touch the floor, and the whole weight comes under the arm-pit on one arm passed over the stick or pole. Simply to bind ^{p.344} together the thumbs of a person whose hands are brought in contact under the knees would alone produce intolerable agony in a short time, even if the victim were permitted to sit or take any position at pleasure. How dreadful, then, must be the torture when, besides the agony arising from such a cramped position of the



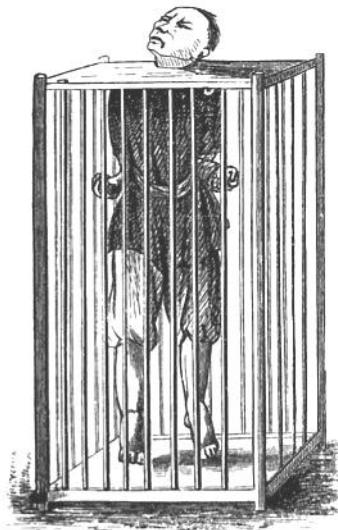
(culprit suspended by the arm-pit)

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

body, the whole weight of the prisoner is sustained on a small piece of wood passing under one of his arms !

Standing on tiptoe in a cage



Standing in a cage. — The cage is made of slabs of wood, and high enough to contain the wretch sentenced to stand in it, his head protruding out of the top of the cage. He is obliged to stand on his tiptoes, and the orifice in the top is only large enough for his neck. In this way the man is made to suffer intense pain. To stand long on tiptoe is impossible. But the victim is obliged to stand partially on tiptoe, or be hung by the neck if he draws up his feet in endeavors to rest himself. Only momentary relief is obtained by drawing up his legs, for that movement brings his whole weight on his neck. *It is said* that some time during the latter part of the reign of the emperor who died in 1850, a noted robber was compelled to stand in public in such a cage in the suburbs of this city until he died.

Smoking the head in a tube. — A large tube of bamboo, with the natural joint or division in one end still remaining, is put upon the head of the culprit, and extends down a little below the chin. Sometimes a small tub or pail, turned bottom side upward on the head, is used, the object being to incase the head in something air-tight on the top and yet open at the bottom. Some incense is lighted, and placed so that the ^{p.345} smoke shall ascend into the tube. As the smoke can not escape through the top, suffocation ensues unless the instrument is removed, or, to say the least, the victim endures indescribable agony. This torture is not very frequently used.

A shirt made of iron wire. — This kind of torture, it is affirmed, was formerly used in this part of China, and is now occasionally resorted to at Peking, A shirt-like garment, made of very fine iron wire, with interstices

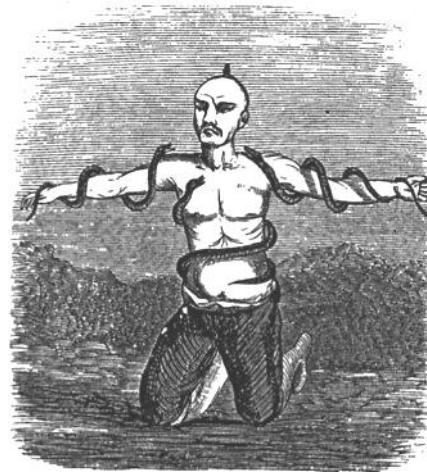
Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

something like those of a fishing-net, is put on the prisoner, the clothing from the upper part of his body having been removed. A cord is attached to it in such a way that when pulled the shirt will press down closely on the body, and the skin and flesh will protrude more or less through the interstices. A knife-like instrument is then passed over the wire shirt on the outside, cutting or rasping off the protruding skin and flesh. This operation is repeated at the option of the dispenser of justice !

Hot-water snake

Hot-water snake. — A coil in form somewhat resembling a snake, and manufactured out of pewter, or some other malleable metal, is arranged in such a way that an arm of the prisoner can be thrust into it. Each arm is put into such a coil, the head of the metal snake being higher than the other parts. Sometimes a similar tube is coiled around the body. A quantity of boiling water is then poured into the mouths of the snakes, and as it passes down the tube burns the flesh, and causes intense pain. It is asserted that this kind of torture is nowadays seldom resorted to in the south of China, though it is believed to be still ^{p.346} occasionally used at the capital on state prisoners. The Chinese place it in the list of illegal tortures.



Whip of hooks. — A large number of very fine hooks are securely fastened to a handful of the fibres of hemp. The whole is then used as a whip with which to beat the prisoner, in order to elicit a confession. When a blow is given with this whip, many of the hook will stick to the body of the victim, and, unless a satisfactory confession is forthcoming, the whip is pulled or jerked back by main force, and another blow given. The operation is repeated according to the dictation of the presiding officer. This kind of torture is represented to be more and more seldom employed in this part of the empire.

Kneeling on chains or bits of crockery. — The prisoner is made to kneel

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

down on chains or bits of crockery, with the arms outstretched at right angles to the body. If the culprit lowers his hands, he is mercilessly whipped. At other times he is made, with his hands tied behind his back, to kneel down on these hard and uneven substances. The pain induced by kneeling on one's bare knees on a chain or any sharp-pointed mineral substance, even without any whipping, and without being obliged to hold out the arms, is soon absolutely intolerable. Not unfrequently, in the case of stubborn criminals, are several hundred blows inflicted with a ratan thong while in the position above described — *so the Chinese say.*

The above outline sketch of some of the ways of torture and of punishment used by jailers and mandarins, though declared to be unknown and unauthorized by the statutes, are perhaps sufficient to intimate the inhumanity and injustice which accused, as well as convicted persons, are liable to experience at the hands of the administrators of the law. No wonder the people are exceedingly anxious to avoid falling into the clutches of the mandarins, especially if wealthy and of respectable connections.

Common but unlawful Practices

@

As illustrations of the customs which prevail here, touching the law and its violations, going to make up a correct view of Chinese society as it is, several practices will be described.

The opening of gambling dens, or the assembling of men for the purpose of gambling, and the manufacture of gambling p.347 utensils, as cards, dice, dominoes, etc., are forbidden by law, but are openly practiced. There are certain streets or alleys near the Big Bridge and the South gate of the city where almost every house is a gambling shop. In a certain part of the suburbs is a neighborhood where probably a majority of the population is engaged in the manufacture of gambling cards ; in another part is a public green, where oftentimes, day after day, may be seen

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

several mats, on which are strings of cash, with cards, dice, and other kinds of gambling utensils spread out on the ground, surrounded by a crowd of men openly engaged in the very act of violating the law.

Lotteries are also prohibited, in consequence of their exceedingly pernicious influence on society. Mandarins are anxious to prevent them, and succeed only by the use of the most stringent measures. A few years since, the head man of a certain lottery was arrested and beheaded by order of the viceroy, which decisive course struck terror into all who were engaged, or who were desirous of engaging in the business. The secret in regard to this consists in guessing which set, out of certain thirty-seven sets of names, is the successful one for a particular day. The set selected as the successful one for any specified day is, of course, known only to the managers of the lottery. Those who happen to guess it draw thirty cash for every one they stake. This great percentage of profit induces many to engage in this kind of lottery.

The opening of gambling shops, and the overt act of gambling, together with the manufacture of gambling tools, are connived at by petty local officers, constables, and official employés generally. The head men who engage in such violations of the law bribe these local officers, and the spies and servants of the high mandarins, to silence in regard to their illegal acts. The high officials, as some assert, are not aware of the extent of these unlawful practices ; but it is much more probable that they are content to have the law violated, if the neighborhoods particularly concerned permit it, and no one commences a prosecution of these violators of the law. Without the aid of their underlings, who are already in the paid interest of these men, magistrates would make but poor progress in ferreting out, arresting, and punishing the guilty. In fact, such is the condition of things here, that it would be next p.348 to impossible to prevent gambling or to suppress lotteries without the most extraordinary and determined personal efforts on the part of high officials. It is much more easy for them to let things go on in the accustomed way than to endeavor to execute the laws in regard to this subject.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The keeping of brothels is also prohibited by law, but tolerated by custom in certain neighborhoods. It does not seem probable that the existence of these establishments in such numbers can be unknown to the high officers of government, but they take no active measures to arrest the proprietors or suppress the establishments. No Chinaman is willing to commence in earnest, and from correct motives, a regular prosecution against them ; and the mandarins do not feel sufficiently interested to interfere and put them down, unless compelled, in the execution of the laws in consequence of legal prosecution, to do so. The local constables and the policemen, and runners connected with official establishments, have the reputation of being bribed to be silent, or represent matters in a favorable light to their superiors, should any prosecution be attempted. The quarter of the suburbs where brothels principally prevail has been burnt over twice during the past six or eight years. At the latest fire, while the buildings were being consumed and the inmates were being scattered in all directions, some of the mandarins, who were present with their body-guard, as is the custom at fires, made no great efforts to put it down. One of them is reported to have said he was willing to have the place burnt over. A certain class of sharpers, who live principally by obtaining money by false pretenses — either connected with literary and influential families, or on intimate terms with mandarin employés — sometimes go to the proprietors of these haunts of vice and threaten them with prosecution before the magistrates. The design and the effect of such threats is the obtainment of money ; for, should they be properly prosecuted before the mandarins, the latter would be obliged to execute the laws, unless they could find some pretext to defer the matter or dismiss the complaint ; and in all such cases the defendant would be required to spend comparatively a large sum of money in presents or bribes to mandarin runners. It is much cheaper for the brothel-keepers to make a present to these blacklegs who threaten to ^{p.349} prosecute them, than for them to delay to compromise the matter until it gets into the hands of the employés of the magistrate.

Private or unlicensed pawn-shops are illegal. The large and legal pawn-

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

shops have a license from the government. They are allowed to charge certain rates of interest per month on the money advanced on the estimated value of the articles pawned. This is now said to be three per cent. per month on the smallest sums advanced, and two and four tenths per cent. on larger sums. The smallest sum charged as monthly interest on a loan is one and six tenths per cent. The licensed pawn-shops receive, when first licensed, a small sum from government as a loan, on which they pay annual interest, professedly used as capital in the transaction of their business. Besides these there are unlicensed pawn-shops. Their proprietors charge an exorbitant rate of monthly interest on the sums lent on the security of the property they receive, being often nearly three times as high as that of the licensed pawn-shops. A part of their large gains is spent as bribes to gain the connivance of the mandarin runners and the local constables. These shops are willing to receive very inferior articles, while the lawful and licensed pawn-shops will have to do only with better and more valuable articles. The value at which articles are received by the former is estimated at comparatively much higher rates than would be allowed by the latter, should they be willing to receive them. These unlicensed and unlawful pawn-shops are opened only by widows, orphans, exiles, or by persons in their name and professedly for their benefit. Many of the employés of mandarins are deeply interested in the profits of these private pawn-shops, under the names of other individuals. It is said that the mandarins are aware of the existence of these unlawful establishments, but make no efforts to suppress them, if conducted by the classes of persons above mentioned as proprietors. Thieves, robbers, and rogues generally are the greatest customers of these establishments.

Clandestine manufacture or sale of salt is unlawful. Salt is a government monopoly. What is not made or what is not sold through certain agencies is liable to be confiscated to government. The gains of the illicit trade in it, if undetected, are great, prompting to the invention of various methods of violating the law, and of evading the vigilance of those who are appointed to superintend the manufacture, the transportation, and the sale

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of this indispensable article. It has been found impossible to prevent the illegal sale of salt and its smuggling because of the venality of the subordinate officials. They are sometimes principals in the illegal acts, or interested accomplices. When neither principals nor active accomplices, they are often ready to be bribed to wink at the violation of the salt regulations. The official agents not unfrequently steal salt from their superiors, and sell it as opportunity offers. It sometimes occurs that the very one who is sent to spy out and report illegal sales or smuggling of the article is the one most deeply interested in the surreptitious trade in it, and it is easy to conjecture the nature of his report to his employers. The sale of brine among the common people, in which fish or meat has been preserved, is also illegal. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that brine contains salt, and after evaporation the salt remains. If the sale of brine should be tolerated, it is feared that the revenue to the government derived from salt would soon be greatly diminished, as salt would be converted into brine to avoid the payment of customs dues, and brine could be easily made into salt if necessary. Brine, if containing a proper amount of something edible manifestly put in for preservation, is salable according to law. The illegal sale of brine is, however, connived at more or less by the agents of the farmers of the salt business. It may be retained by its owner for his own private use, but may not be publicly or privately sold for use in another place.

Some men have extraordinary abilities at counterfeiting bank-bills, which they cultivate, notwithstanding that such counterfeiting is, in theory at least, a capital crime, when proved against one. These men generally become known to the proprietors of banks, and, through them, to the employés of officers of government. Instead of having them arrested and punished, so as to prevent them from practicing their cunning in the future, the principal bankers, it is alleged, make an agreement with them not to counterfeit their bills, and not to teach others to counterfeit them, paying a stipulated sum per month or per quarter, according as they can agree. Subordinate officials of the mandarins, according to established custom,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

demand and receive money from these counterfeiters, if ^{p.351} they become known to them, as the price of not molesting them. It is said that in this way less counterfeiting of bank bills is really performed than would be performed if the counterfeiters were not hired not to counterfeit. If the mandarins should arrest a counterfeiter of bank bills, he would usually only have to fee largely the petty officials, and undergo the punishment of being bamboozled or of wearing the cangue in the streets a month or two, after which he would be again set at liberty and allowed to resume the practice of his art. The bankers protect themselves from being largely harmed by counterfeited bills by making it the interest of a head counterfeiter not to counterfeit their bills, and not to teach his art to others, and not to connive at counterfeiting when done by others, if known to him. A certain man who flourished here some fifteen or twenty years ago, is spoken of among the people as exceedingly successful in his efforts at counterfeiting bills. The imitations he made sometimes could not be distinguished from the genuine, even by the bankers themselves. This man became notorious for his illegal but tolerated cleverness, and received many presents from various rich bankers, who were desirous of propitiating his good-will and of securing his active efforts in their favor by inducing him to discourage counterfeiting on the part of others. For several years he received regular stipends from the proprietors of banks. He was the recognized chief of counterfeiters. By engaging such a man not to counterfeit, and not to instruct or abet others in counterfeiting the bills of their banks, they were comparatively safe from extensive frauds, and they could have his aid in detecting and individualizing other clever imitators. If he still lives, he doubtless receives regular stipends from those who are most deeply interested in his not exercising his gifts. All this is in perfect accordance with the Chinese system of employing a rogue to catch a rogue, and of making an honorable mandarin out of a notorious chief of pirates.

Counterfeiters of cash, and persons engaged in deteriorating silver, comprise a tolerably large class of men, who would be arrested and severely punished by mandarins if they could ascertain their rendezvous

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and reach it with faithful followers before the guilty have been warned of the attempt to take them. But policemen in the employment of government, and ^{p.352} the constables living in the neighborhood where the illegal work is secretly carried on, make it their interest to maintain silence on the subject when not personally called upon to furnish information or aid, and also to screen these men from detection and arrest, whenever possible, by giving them timely warning of the approach of a posse of officers, or by throwing the latter off the track. Holes are made in foreign dollars or lumps of silver, and quicksilver, lead, white copper, or brass, etc., is put into the centre, and the outer edge of the orifice is neatly filled in with pure silver ; or sometimes, in running ingots of silver, the baser metal is put into the centre of the mould, and then the pure metal is poured into it. In regard to foreign dollars, the skill exhibited in removing a part of the middle of them — filling up the cavity with some cheaper yet heavy metal, and closing over the orifice — is so great, that detection of the fraud from the external appearance is often very difficult. Silver wristlets, silver ornaments for the hair, and silver earrings, are very often served in a similar way. The common copper cash is sometimes counterfeited, the counterfeit being smaller and thinner than the genuine, and made out of adulterated metal. All the above-mentioned methods of deteriorating the value of dollars, ornaments, and sycee, and of counterfeiting cash, and some other methods not enumerated, either require the use of fire in melting the material, or in beating or working it, so that it is, in fact, found impossible for any great length of time to prevent the neighbors from learning what is being done. The local policemen, and finally some of the mandarin runners, come to know the illegal nature of the transactions. The neighbors, however, seldom or never interfere in what does not personally concern themselves, though known to be contrary to law, and practiced by one of their community. It is a common saying, that even a thief is never complained of or molested by his neighbors unless he should steal from them. As for the local petty officials who may become cognizant of the counterfeiting of cash, or of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

adulteration of the precious metals, in their neighborhood, they are, generally speaking, easily bribed, not only not to do any thing to molest the law-breakers, but to screen them from any attempt on the part of the officers to bring them to justice, if they can screen them with safety to themselves.

@

1.CHAPTER XIV**The state religion**

@

Enumeration of some of the Objects worshiped by Mandarins. p.353 What is meant by State Religion. — Burning Incense bi-monthly. — Vernal and autumnal Sacrifices. — Confucius, or God of War — Heaven and Earth. — Processions in honor of Spring and of military Utensils. — Goddess of Sailors and 'Mother'. — Expense defrayed by Government. — Emperor's Birthdays and Death celebrated. — Worship of the Flag. — Saving Eclipses of the Moon or Sun. — Seals of Office. — God of the Gate and the Fox. — This Worship not performed because proper. — No Christian can be a high Officer.

Worship of Confucius, illustrating the State Religion : Description of prefectoral Temple to Confucius at Fuhchau. — Its Cost. — Size. — Tablet to Confucius. — Autumnal Sacrifice in 1858 witnessed. — Preparatory Rehearsal. — Method of preparing the Articles to be offered. — Incident. — Method of arranging the Articles. — Place assigned by the Prefect. — Arrival of Mandarins and Musicians. — Manner of Worship and presenting Food to Confucius. — Musicians and Boys perform with their Instruments. — Burning of Silk. — Articles and Animals offered annually in China to Confucius.

Manner of national Mourning for the Death of Hien Fung, also illustrating the State Religion : Arrival of a Dispatch with the Blue Seal from Peking. — Time fixed for official Mourning. — Shaving, Marriages, and Theatricals forbidden for one hundred Days from the Death of the Emperor. — Sign-boards put in Mourning. — Many Marriages celebrated before forbidden. — Official Lamentations witnessed. — Mandarins in Mourning. — Description of Arrangements. — Ceremony of three Kneelings and nine Knockings performed. — The Mandarins pretend to Cry.

**Enumeration of some of the Objects
worshiped by Mandarins**

@

The Chinese usually speak of only three native religions — Confucianism, Buddhism, and Tauism. There is, however, another religion, using that term in a modified sense, which is properly and distinctively called the religion of the state, or the state religion, because it is intimately connected with the administration of the government according to the established regime. It includes the various superstitious and idolatrous acts which mandarins are obliged to perform in virtue of their being officers of government — whether demanded by the published laws and by the occasional rescripts of the emperor, or ^{p.354} by the established customs of the place where they are called to discharge their official duties.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The high mandarins are required to make sacrifices in the spring and autumn, and to burn incense on the first and fifteenth of every Chinese month, before certain gods or objects of worship.

The most important and imposing of the vernal and autumnal ceremonies are performed in honor of the 'Literary and the Military Sages', viz., Confucius, and Kuant, the Chinese god of war. These take place in the temples devoted to them. The principal officers are required to be present, each performing his respective part, as standing or kneeling, etc. There is much pomp and show on these occasions. A whole buffalo or ox, a whole goat, and a whole hog, and many dishes of meats, vegetables, and fruits, are presented, and the best kind of incense and large candles are burned.

The high officers must also make a sacrifice or burn incense in honor of Heaven and Earth, and in honor of the mountains and the streams of the province, in the spring and autumn of every year, at an altar on Black Rock Hill in the city, and at an altar on Great Temple Hill in the suburbs. They are held responsible for the performance of an appointed ceremony twice per annum at the altar of the Wind, Clouds, Thunder, and Rain. About the time of planting or sowing seed in the spring, it is also made the duty of the high mandarins to offer a sacrifice in honor of the gods of the land and grain, in a place not far from the south gate of the city.

The high officials, as the viceroy, the provincial governor, the Tartar general, etc., must themselves officiate in regard to the class of objects which have been referred to as requiring a vernal and an autumnal sacrifice and worship. It is not optional to do it by proxy, if they are in the city and in good health. The objects which the emperor himself at Peking annually or semi-annually worships, and unto which he makes sacrifices, it is the imperative duty of his high officials in the provinces to worship and sacrifice unto in person for him, *representing his majesty himself*. A failure to perform these official and representative acts with due solemnity and in accordance with the established rites would surely be visited with his displeasure, should it become known to him.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

p.355 The temples dedicated to the literary and the military sages must be visited regularly early in the morning of the first and the fifteenth of each Chinese month by some high mandarin or his substitute, in order to burn incense and candles before their images or their tablets. The time spent in the performance of worship is not long, but the worship must be punctually performed.

The prefect presides at an annual procession through the streets of the city, composed of mandarins lower in rank than himself and of the gentry, in honor of spring. In the suburbs, the marine inspector is chief of this annual procession. A military officer is chief in a procession in which military utensils are paraded through the streets of the city in the autumn. The vernal and the autumnal processions are accompanied with various superstitious or idolatrous practices.

Besides the altars and temples which have been specified, there are a number of others where high officials are expected, in person or by proxy, to make a sacrifice twice per annum, or to burn incense twice per month, according to specific directions from Peking. Among them are certain temples belonging to Ma Chu, the goddess of sailors, and to a goddess of children usually called '*Mother*', and a temple located near the centre of the city, often referred to as the temple of the '*city wall and moat*'. In that temple a divinity who corresponds in rank in the other world with the provincial governor in this is worshiped. There is no whole ox offered before this divinity, but a whole goat and a whole hog, with a large variety of fruits and vegetables, etc., are duly presented. There are also several temples where some local divinities are honored by command of the emperor — numerous 'neighborhood worthies', 'chaste and filial' widows and virgins, etc. These are seldom or never honored by the presence of high officials. Incense, candles, and meat or vegetable sacrifices are offered before them by persons deputed by the high officers.

The expense connected with these official sacrifices is paid out of the provincial treasury in the case of some ; in the case of others it is defrayed

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

by the neighborhoods in which the temples are situated, or by funds belonging to the temples. The actual expense of most of these observances is quite small. ^{p.356} Some of the temples have an annual stipend granted by the emperor for the purpose of meeting this expense ; others only receive a stipend at the time the divinities worshiped in them are admitted into the number of objects worshiped by officials.

On the recurrence of the birthday of the emperor, or in mourning on account of his death, the high and the low mandarins are required to 'rejoice' or to 'lament' in the temple devoted to him, or in some other place appointed, using the highest ceremony known in China, *viz.*, the 'three kneelings and the nine knockings'. In some of the temples where semi-annual or semi-monthly ceremonies are performed by imperial command, ceremonies betokening 'joy' or 'sorrow' on occasion of the recurrence of the birthday of the emperor or of his death are observed before the idols, just as though these things rejoiced or mourned.

The viceroy, as generalissimo of the Chinese army, whenever he is about to start on a warlike expedition, must worship his flag. Whenever he sends away with a detachment of soldiers any high military officer as his deputy to fight the enemy, and, generally, whenever any high military

Flag-bearer, or God of the Flag (worshiped by military mandarins and by soldiers)

officer is about to proceed into battle, the flag of his division or brigade must be worshiped. The worship is often performed on the public parade-ground in the suburbs near the south gate of the city. The viceroy sometimes chooses to sacrifice to the flag on his own ^{p.357} private parade-ground connected with his yamun. The time selected is often about daylight or a little later. Usually,



Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

however, the day, hour, and minute are fixed by some fortune-teller. Oftentimes the high officials, both civil and military, connected with the government are present. It is necessary that all of the officers who are to accompany the expedition should not only witness the ceremony, but take a part in it. The same remark is true of the soldiers who are to be sent away or to engage in the fight. In the centre of the arena is placed a table having upon it two candles, one censer, and several cups of wine. The candles are lighted at the proper time. Some officer, kneeling down, holds the large flag by means of its staff near the table. The viceroy, or the officer who is to command the expedition, standing before the table and the flag, receives three sticks of lighted incense from a professor of ceremony, which he reverently places in the censer arranged between the candles. He now kneels on the ground, and booms his head down three times. Some of the wine taken from the table is handed to him while on his knees, which he pours out on the ground. Then a cup of wine is dashed upon the flag, the professor of ceremony crying out, '*Unfurling the flag, victory is obtained ; the cavalry advancing, merit is perfected*'. The whole company of officers and soldiers, who had previously knelt down and bowed their heads in the prescribed manner, now simultaneously rise up with a shout, and commence their march at once for the scene of action or their appointed rendezvous.

On an eclipse of the sun or the moon, mandarins must engage in certain superstitious ceremonies to save the luminary eclipsed.

The mandarins, on arriving at their official residences from Peking, or from their previous homes — from the viceroy down to the district magistrate — (as some Chinese assert) are required by custom, if not by law, to perform three superstitious ceremonies. *They first worship their seals of office ; they then offer sacrifice to the god of the date or door ; finally, they worship the fox.* After these acts, they may proceed to perform official business with the hope of success.

There is, in connection with some of the principal civil yamuns, a small two-storied building, devoted to the worship of ^{p.358} his majesty, Master

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Reynard. There is no image or picture of a fox to be worshiped, but simply an imaginary fox somewhere. Incense candles and wine are placed upon a table in the room of the second story of this building, and before this table the mandarin kneels down and bows his head in the customary manner, as an act of reverence to Reynard, the keeper of his seals of office. This sacrifice, it is affirmed, is never performed by deputy. The Chinese believe the official seal of the mandarin, after he has arrived at his yamun, to be in the keeping of the fox. They assert, with great earnestness and apparent sincerity, that if the mandarin did not worship the fox on his arrival at his residence, his seal of office would shortly disappear in some inexplicable way, or some singular and strange calamity would certainly befall him or his yamun.

Probably this worshiping of the fox, as the keeper of the seals of office, is nothing more than a custom — possibly a merely local custom, and not required or recognized by the laws of the empire. It has, however, all the power of law in this place — a practice observed by new incumbents of high office as reverently as though it were one of the most important and momentous of duties. Any disrespect or slight of the fox, on the part of the mandarin, is said to be always sure to be remembered and avenged by his invisible majesty in such a manner as to produce repentance and the exhibition of proper respect and fear.

It is unnecessary to dwell at greater length on the personal complicity of mandarins with the worship of deified men, or heavenly objects, or imaginary divinities, in consequence of their official position, either by special command of the emperor, or the requirements of established law, or local custom. Enough has been said to show that native officials in the service of the emperor must perform regularly many very superstitious and very idolatrous rites and ceremonies, in virtue of their being in the employment of the state.

It ought not to be supposed that mandarins engage in these official superstitious acts because they believe them to be proper in themselves. Many are intelligent enough to know that some of them are quite absurd and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

useless. Most or all of the officials may indeed sympathize heartily in the worship paid to Confucius ; but, in regard to many of the other objects which p.359 they are required to worship officially, they would not think of reverencing them in the manner described if they were left to themselves, and if they would not be deprived of their official positions in case they declined or omitted to conform with the established practices. The Chinese people in large numbers, who are much less intelligent than are the mandarins, in theory admit the folly and the uselessness of many of these practices, but assert that the customs and the laws of their country must be obeyed and observed.

It is not difficult to perceive that under existing regulations no sincere Protestant native Christian can be an officer of government in China. He would be required, on occasions not a few, to take a part in ceremonies and rites which are in direct variance with the doctrines contained and the duties enjoined in the sacred Scriptures, and which he could not discharge in person or sanction by proxy, even if that were permitted. The emperor, by his requirements, really excludes honest and conscientious natives, who are determined to do only what is right, from taking office and assisting in the administration of the government. He can employ only those who are willing to do his bidding, whether reasonable and right, or whether exceedingly unreasonable and monstrously wrong. No wonder that the officials in China are venal, hypocritical, deceitful, and time-serving.

The Worship of Confucius, illustrating the State Religion

@

The manner in which the worship of Confucius is conducted will show the high estimate in which the sage is held, and will illustrate *by example* what is meant by the term '*State Religion*'.

There are three temples dedicated to the Chinese sage at this place. The largest was built ten years ago, and belongs to the prefecture. The two smaller ones belong to the two districts which join or meet in the city.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The old temple, on the site of the present prefectoral temple to Confucius, was destroyed at daybreak one morning in the fall of 1851 by a fire, which originated in the temple at the close of the usual autumnal sacrifice to Confucius. In two months a new temple, on the same site, was commenced, built by subscription of funds from the mandarins, gentry and p.360 literati of the city and vicinity. The needed amount was easily raised. It was considered a work of merit to aid in rebuilding the temple of the sage of China. In the summer of 1854 the building was finished, at the cost of 74,000,000 of copper cash, a sum at that time equal to about \$53,000. The mason's bill amounted to a little less than two tenths of the whole cost ; the carpenter's and the painter's bills to more than six tenths ; and the stone-cutter's bill to about two tenths. The same amount and kind of labor and material would probably have cost in England or America several times the sum reported as the entire cost of the new temple. The well-cut pillars or posts of solid granite, of which there are several scores of various heights and diameters, some of which are very tall and large, would alone have cost a very large sum at the West. This temple well repays the visit of a 'stranger from afar', who has never visited any Chinese temple but those devoted to the worship of idols. The temple inclosure is about three hundred and forty feet long by about one hundred and five feet wide, and consists principally of three parts. One is a large hall or room about seventy-five feet deep, in which the tablet to Confucius is erected, and the sacrifices and worship are performed. This tablet is about one foot wide and six feet high, painted red and partially gilded. Its inscription, in large gilded characters, denotes that it is erected to '*The Most Holy Ancient Teacher Confucius*'. The room also contains sixteen smaller tablets of Chinese worthies and famous scholars, among which, in the highest place of honor, stands that of the subsage Mencius. Near it is the tablet of the great commentator of the Chinese classics, Chufutze. Another part is a large court, to the south of the main hall, and is about one hundred and p.361 fifty-four feet long. On the east and the west sides are long buildings, in which are contained about one hundred and thirty four tablets of the pupils

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of Confucius and of distinguished scholars ; sixty-seven tablets are deposited in each building, arranged in eleven niches or apartments. In each niche is a long table or a stationary altar, made of stone, on which incense and candles, etc., are to be placed when the sage is worshiped in the spring and autumn. The open space between these long rooms is neatly paved with granite, and is kept in good repair. In this court are two gaudy



Mencius

Traditional likeness of
Confucius

Chufutze

pavilions, six or eight sided, each containing a large stone tablet covered with Chinese characters. Still farther to the south is another court, about one hundred and ten feet deep. On its east and west sides are several small rooms for the reception of officers and for tablets of very distinguished literary men. Some of the tablets represent men who were natives of this province. Within a few years, the tablet of a very faithful courtier of an emperor who flourished in the Sung dynasty — a native of this place — has been admitted among the tablets. The place which it formerly occupied in a temple outside of the west gate is now occupied by a tablet or an image of Commissioner Lin, of opium-war notoriety, who died in the summer of 1850. In ^{p.362} one of these rooms are five small images, the origin and design of which have not been ascertained, the keepers of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the temple always declining to communicate information about them on the plea of ignorance. These images offer a striking contrast to the tablets in the other parts of the temple, and to the large and numerous images to be found in almost all Chinese temples. Some have thought them to be local deities, which for some reason have obtained a place in the Confucian temple. In the old temple to Confucius, an image made of clay, brought from Shantung, his native province, instead of a tablet, was worshiped.

The established times for offering sacrifices to Confucius usually fall in the second and the eighth Chinese months. The autumnal sacrifice for 1858 came on the 11th of September. The vernal sacrifice for 1859 fell on the 10th of March. These sacrifices are performed about four or five o'clock in the morning, by torch and candle light.

It was my good fortune, in company with two other missionaries, to be present at the autumnal sacrifice to Confucius which occurred on the 11th of September, 1858, in the prefectoral temple.

On the afternoon of the 10th, two of us went into the city to witness the preparatory rehearsal, which was attended in a large temple adjoining that of Confucius. A crowd of noisy youngsters, and of dignified and self-complacent literati, had collected there, together with some of the subordinate officials of the city, to look on while the business of rehearsing some of the parts of the ceremony, to come off in grand style on the following morning, was being performed by those who were appointed to help in the ceremony. None of the high officials who were to take a principal part in the worship were present. They received private instructions from their professor of rites and ceremonies in regard to what they were to do. At the close of the rehearsal we called at the Confucius temple.

We found a crowd of idlers loitering about, while some men and boys were busy at work preparing for the approaching sacrifice. We noticed a large number of vessels, made after strange and unique patterns (said to be like those used in ancient times), of various sizes and shapes, and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

capable of ^{p.363} holding from a quart to several quarts apiece. They were designed to be filled with rice, malt, fruits, uncooked vegetables, etc., and to be put upon the stationary stone altars which stood in front of the tablets of the sage and the worthies. We counted over one hundred and eighty vessels already prepared, and the attendants were preparing others. We observed that instead of honestly filling up the vessels from the bottom, they sometimes pasted a paper around the sides, just below the brim of the vessels, designed to hold small articles, leaving the space in the vessels underneath the paper quite empty. On this paper they carefully laid rice, salt, and other articles comparatively dear. One kind was put on one vessel — not several articles mixed together ; there was quite a large number of vessels having the same kind of article upon them.

On some one of our party asking whether they expected to deceive Confucius, and how they dared to try to deceive him by offering to him vessels containing only a very small quantity of the articles, while the bottom was empty, a young man pertly answered, 'Yes, it will answer to deceive Confucius, but it will not answer to deceive Jesus'. True, thought we ; Jesus requires His followers to be sincere, and to put away all deception. How different from the theory and the practice of those who worship Confucius ! The explanation of the conduct of these persons undoubtedly is, that having agreed to prepare for the sacrifice a certain number of vessels filled with certain kinds of articles, *by the job*, they planned to make as much money as possible — pasting paper near the top of some of the vessels, and then using only as much of some fine articles as would fill the vessel from the paper to its top, leaving the space below unfilled. The vessels containing most of the coarser and cheaper vegetables were filled up from the bottom.

While two of us were making our observations on the temple and the preparations for the approaching sacrifice, the other, standing with his back toward the tablet to Confucius, addressed the crowd (which gathered about him as he began to speak in the vernacular of the place) on the folly and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the sin of worshiping deceased men, and the duty of worshiping and serving the only true and living God — perhaps the first Gospel discourse ever delivered in a temple dedicated to the worship of the Chinese sage.

p.364 The next morning, about four o'clock, we repaired to the temple to witness the sacrificial worship rendered to Confucius by the high mandarins. The promises were lighted up with fires built on elevated iron racks and by torches. A large number of idle spectators of the lower class and of literary men had already gathered together, though the high officials had not arrived. We improved the opportunity to notice the arrangement of the articles to be offered as sacrifice.

On a large stone altar, which stood directly in front of the tablet of Confucius, were placed two large tall candles, and four shorter and smaller ones, already lighted, and a quantity of burning incense, a large piece of cooked pork, a piece of venison, and quite a variety of other kinds of food. A few feet in front of this stone altar were one large and two small tables. On the large table, which was placed between the other two, was the carcass of a yearling bullock. On one of the small tables was the carcass of a small hog, and on the other that of a very poor goat. The hair of these animals had been carefully removed, and the bodies, uncooked, were placed in a kneeling position, with their heads toward the tablet of Confucius, as though they were devoutly contemplating the virtues of the sage. On the large table there were also several dishes of food, two large and two small candles, and a quantity of incense already ignited. Besides the altar before the tablet of Confucius, there were four other similar but smaller altars. Two of these were placed before the eight tablets representing eight worthies on one side of the room, and two placed before other eight tablets on the opposite side of the room. In front of each of these altars were a pig and a goat, arranged on two tables, but no bullock. On these altars were several plates of food, with candles and incense. The various vessels seen on the day previous, containing fruits, grains, vegetables, etc., were partly arranged on the altars in the main building, but the most of them were distributed about on the altars before the tablets in the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

two long rows of rooms on the sides of the large court in front of the main building. Before the large altar in front of the Confucian tablet, behind the bullock, and at several other places in the main hall, pieces of matting were spread on the pavement at the spots where the high officials were to kneel.

p.365 While we were awaiting the arrival of the high mandarins, one of the district magistrates came to us, attended by an interpreter, and very courteously said that he had been sent by the prefect to assign us a place, so that there should be no confusion during the service. Accordingly, a very eligible position was assigned to us, just outside one of the large doors of the main hall, enabling us to observe to a great extent what was going on within and without. We could not have selected a better position.

Soon after, the beating of an immense drum suspended near the most eastern entrance to the main building, and the sound of musical instruments at a distance, betokened the approach of the expected great ones. A herald proclaimed their arrival, and the flare of a multitude of torches and lanterns confirmed the fact. These officers and their attendants halted at the proper places in the large court, while a company of twelve or fifteen players on musical instruments, together with some twenty-four boys, attended by two or three persons who directed their movements, marched up an inclined plane leading to a level arena in front of the main hall. The musicians entered the hall and disposed themselves in several parties. One company stood near the left, and another near the right end of the altar, in front of the Confucian tablet. The boys, with their directors, stopped on the open arena in front of the hall, and divided themselves into two companies, arranging themselves along the opposite sides of the large central doors. These urchins were clad in an embroidered tunic, much the worse looking for service, and they wore on their heads the red official cap used by Chinese on grand occasions. They were provided with instruments about two feet long, consisting of two parts. One of these parts was hollow. The other was solid, and passed partially through the hollow one. A nail or spike was driven into the upper end of the solid sticks, and, according to the regulations of the ceremony, there ought to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

have been a feather of the pheasant stuck on this iron point. But on this occasion the feather was wanting, if our observation was correct. Perhaps only very small feathers were used, which could not be seen in the distance.

When every thing was ready, at signals given by the drum, some five or six officers, attired in very rich dresses and caps, ^{p.366} were seen slowly and solemnly ascending the stone steps on the east and west sides of the arena in front of the main hall, one following another at a short interval. Each mandarin was preceded by one or two '*professors of ceremony*'. The viceroy was not present on this occasion, being absent from the city on a rebel-quelling expedition in the western part of the province. The highest functionaries who took part in the sacrificial worship were the provincial governor, treasurer, criminal judge, the two commissioners of the salt and of the provision department. The Tartar general, and other Tartar and military officers, and the prefect, and other subordinate civil officers, not being allowed to participate personally in the main hall, stood below in the court in front, ready to bow down at the proper time, which they doubtless did. Our position did not admit of our seeing them perform.

The officers, having ascended to the elevated arena with great solemnity, entered the hall by the doors on the right and the left of the centre, and proceeded to the places appointed for kneeling in front of the altars and the tables covered with offerings, all under the escort of their professors of ceremony. Here they slowly knelt down, and bowed the head toward the pavement three times, holding with both hands some sticks of burning incense, which, after the bowing was completed, they delivered back to their attendants from whom they had been received. The attendants handed to their officers, still kneeling, a vessel taken from the altar or the table in front of which they were, which, having received very carefully with both hands, they presented with a very reverential air toward the tablet in front, whether of Confucius or of some of the worthies, as though requesting them to partake of the contents. They then returned the dish to the attendants, who replaced it upon the table or altar whence it

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

had been taken. Sometimes the same ceremony was repeated with other articles of food. Some or all of the officers passed from one altar to another, performing similar ceremonies.

The musicians all this while were playing on their instruments, and chanting the words of an adulatory ode to Confucius. The big drum gave forth its sonorous peals occasionally, and the urchins outside of the hall were performing certain evolutions with their sticks, accompanied with kneelings and ^{p.367} bowings. These manœuvres, in the estimation of the Chinese, indicated great reverence and majesty, but, in the humble opinion of the foreign observers, were eminently ridiculous. The manipulations of the two sticks seemed to consist principally in moving one up through the other as far as its handle would allow, the movements being slow and deliberate, designed to be in accord with the music.

Soon the high officials, piloted by their professors of ceremony, walked slowly out of the hall and descended into the court, taking the same route by which they ascended. Shortly afterward they and their *cicerones* came up again, went through with similar performances, and retired. The same routine was repeated for the third time, with slight deviations. At a certain period of the performances, while the officers were below in the court, a professor of ceremony entered the hall, and, proceeding to a particular spot where was placed a small stand by itself, reverently knelt down and chanted, in a shrill and most doleful tope of voice, a sort of sacrificial ode to Confucius.

Shortly after the third and final descent of the worshiping officers into the court, a company of men walked out of the hall through the large central door, and passed directly down the inclined plane into the open area below, each holding with both hands a roll of coarse white silk above his head. These rolls of silk were burned on the pavement of the court as a special offering to the Chinese sage.

A few moments more, and the ceremonies were brought to a conclusion by the retiring of the chief and subordinate mandarins in their sedans, a fact

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

indicated most unmistakably by a tumultuous rush of idle men and boys toward the torches and fires, which until this time had been kept burning brightly, each seizing what he could of the ignited brands. Confusion prevailed at once, and lasted until the multitude had dispersed. In a very short time comparative darkness and silence reigned throughout the precincts of the temple where there had been so much pomp and parade.

Only those who had a public and official part to perform seemed solemn and reverential, while many of the spectators laughed, talked, and jested, apparently enjoying the performance in much the same manner as circus goers enjoy a circus, ^{p.368} or urchins at the West enjoy a show of rare and strange animals. The lictors or subordinates of the officers several times checked the idlers who happened to be near us, lest their mirth should attract the attention of their superiors.

It is said that, according to the established regulations, the carcasses of the animals used in sacrifice on the occasion of the vernal and the autumnal worship of Confucius are subsequently cut up and divided among the principal officials of the city. Some one has estimated that the number of temples dedicated to the Chinese sage, in all parts of the empire, is 1560, and that 27,000 *pieces of silk*, and 62,606 *pigs, rabbits, sheep, and deer*, not to specify the quantity of fruits, vegetables, etc., are annually presented upon their altars — an estimate which seems not to include the number of bullocks slaughtered and offered as oblations in his honor.

Manner of national Mourning for the Death of the Emperor Hien Fung, also illustrating the State Religion

@

The Chinese are all required to mourn for the death of the emperor, the empress, and the widow of an emperor, in certain established ways, according to their rank and position in life. I propose to describe the national mourning, as it was observed at this place in the fall of 1861, on

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the occasion of the death of Hien Fung. It will be remembered that he died at Yehol, in Tartary, on the 22d of August, 1861, whither he had fled in October of the previous year, not long antecedent to the destruction of his summer palace by the allied English and French troops.

The courier, bringing an official dispatch from Peking, with a blue seal on it, announcing his death, arrived here thirty-four days after it occurred. The news of his decease had been made known to the public several days earlier, having arrived by steamer from Shanghai, but the mandarins could not recognize the fact until they had received official intelligence in the established manner. The viceroy immediately issued a proclamation, announcing the fact and date of the emperor's death, and commanding all the civil and military officers, the gentry, and the people to put on mourning, commencing from that day. The mandarins accordingly had the large and hideous figures on the doors of their yamuns painted black, and p.369 the neat red inscriptions on their door-posts and the posts of their yamuns covered over with reddish blue paper. They removed their buttons of rank from their caps, began to use sedan-chairs covered with plain black cotton cloth, and wore plain black clothes, with a white long coat or tunic on the outside, which extended down to their ankles, and which was fastened around their waist with a girdle or belt of white cotton cloth.

p.370 The imperial rescript, giving specific directions in regard to the public mourning, after being waited for quite a number of days, not arriving, the high mandarins decided not to delay longer for it, but to mourn and weep according to the method practiced in 1850 on the death of the preceding emperor. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, the viceroy issued a proclamation, ordering the civil and military officers, and the gentry and others who ought to take a part in the public demonstration, to meet twice per day, on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth days of the said month, in a certain temple adjoining the prefectoral temple to Confucius, and there to 'lift up their lamentations'. The times specified were seven o'clock A.M. and three o'clock P.M.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



Chinese gentleman, or one of the gentry

On the same day he issued another proclamation, notifying the common people that *thereafter*, reckoning for one hundred days from the day of the death of the emperor, *they should not shave their pates as usual*, nor should there be any *marriages* nor any *festivities* whatever. On the following day, the governor of the province issued a proclamation to the same general effect, rehearsed the news previously made known by other proclamations, and reiterated the commands of the viceroy for the officials and the gentry to meet together and 'weep' at the temple and on the days above specified. On the following morning, the 19th of October, appeared proclamations from the two district magistrates of the city, ordering the people to put the usual badges of national mourning on their sign-boards, if engaged in trade, and on the common red inscriptions found very numerously on the posts of their houses.

The sign-boards of the stores, hongs, banks, etc., which had the names

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of the firms painted thereon in red characters or gilded, were put in mourning, in obedience to the proclamations of the district magistrates. Those having black lettering, according to my observation, remained as before. But of the other sign-boards, some had yellow, others had green, others had blue or white paper attached to them in some way. Sometimes the sides of the sign-boards were first covered over with green paper, and then the name of the firm was written on the paper with black ink. At other times, the paper attached to the sign had two characters written on it in black ^{p.371} ink, which indicated that the 'nation was in mourning'. Sometimes several such pieces of paper, of a square or oblong shape, were pasted on the same sign ; at other times only one, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or perhaps that of his clerks. Red paper was not used, red being the symbol of joy.

According to law, on the death of an emperor, barbers, play-actors, and players on musical instruments, are deprived of their usual methods of obtaining a living for the space of one hundred days. Barbers may not shave the crowns of their customers, though they are allowed to comb and braid their cues. In fact, however, some persons whose business does not call them into the public street, if not connected with the families of the gentry or of acting mandarins, do have their heads shaven more or less during the interdicted season, but it is at the risk of arrest and punishment. The proclamation ordering the people not to shave their heads did not appear here till more than fifty days had elapsed after the emperor's death occurred, and some twenty or more after the news had arrived per steamer ; during all this time they continued to shave as usual.

Before official news of the emperor's decease arrived, and after reliable intelligence of that event had reached this port, a large number of marriages were celebrated among the people. This was owing, in many cases, to the law, that for one hundred days subsequent to that event, marriage processions through the streets in the customary manner — that is, with the bride seated in a red bridal chair, and preceded by a band of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

music — would not be allowed. Some marriages that, according to previous expectations, would have been celebrated during the latter part of the hundred days, were hastened so as to be over with before the prohibitory proclamation should make its appearance. If the parties are willing to have the bride carried through the streets in a plain black sedan, with no show of rejoicing and without any band of musical performers preceding it, marriages during the period of national mourning could be celebrated, and no notice of them would ordinarily be taken by the mandarins. But few respectable families are willing to have a marriage connected with them celebrated in this private manner.

p.372 On the afternoon of the 19th of October, in company with several friends, I went to see the mandarins, gentry, and expectants of office of certain ranks engage in the 'lamentations' on account of the decease of Hien Fung. It was an occasion which none of us will soon forget. We were rather early, and found a rabble of men and boys assembled around the outer door of the temple where the lamentations were to take place, and desirous of slipping into the premises along with the attendants and retainers of the persons who were entitled to enter. We were at once allowed to enter, but several Chinese friends who tried to follow us were summarily pulled back by the guard stationed at the gate. The company inside was quite select ; the majority being attendants and sedan-bearers of their masters, who constituted the minority. The latter were easily recognized by their being all dressed in white cotton tunics, reaching down to their ankles, and having about their waists a sash of white cotton cloth. They all had on black satin or black cotton boots, with very thick white soles. The caps were all plain and conical, coming to a point, a few inches above the crowns of their heads, and without the usual button of rank on the apex. Their number was increased by new arrivals every few minutes, until the viceroy himself, in a plain black cloth sedan, carried by eight bearers, arrived, when all who were to take a part in the lamentations proceeded to their appointed positions.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Two coarse unpainted oblong tables had been arranged near the north end of the temple, one a little longer and a little higher than the other, being about five feet long and four or five feet high. The higher was placed behind the other. On its centre was a large censer, containing burning cake-incense, the fumes of which were not altogether pleasant. On the east and west sides of the censer were tall vases, containing fresh white flowers, commonly known as the China-asters. Near the ends of this table were two candlesticks, made of pewter, some three or four feet high, each having a large yellow candle in it. We were told that candles were kept burning night and day during the period devoted to weeping for the emperor. This may be the theory and the intention of the higher officials, but those who had the matter under their charge, we were subsequently informed, extinguished the candles as soon ^{p.373} as the officials departed, and charged the cost of candles all the time, putting the money saved into their own pockets. In the centre of the front and smaller table was another censer, having three sticks of burning incense incased in yellow paper, and near its ends were two large yellow candles burning. On the south or front side of each of these tables was a plain coarse screen of yellow cotton cloth, hanging down nearly to the ground.

Some ten feet behind the tables was a small pavilion, about two feet square and seven or eight feet high, covered principally on the sides and along its posts with yellow cloth. There were strips of cloth having two or three other colors, not red, mingled with the yellow, on some parts of the pavilion, knotted or braided together in a certain manner. The reason why yellow cloth was used in various places on this occasion is that yellow is the imperial color, and refers to or de-notes the emperor.

A platform about fifteen feet wide and sixty or eighty feet long, raised about one foot from the ground, and made of unplaned boards, beginning about fifteen feet from the tables, and on a level with the ground on which they stood, stretched down toward the south. At the north end of the platform, in front of the tables, were a few pieces of palm matting. The

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

most of the platform was carpeted with common white cotton cloth. An awning of the same material was arranged over the platform, and large screens of it were placed on the north, east, and west sides of the pavilion and tables.

The mandarins, gentry, etc., who were entitled to take a part in the farce which was to be enacted, advanced slowly and silently to the positions they were to occupy on this platform. The particular place which the various ranks of officers, or expectants of office, were to occupy, was indicated by inscriptions or tablets suspended above the outer edge of the platform. The military mandarins arranged themselves along the west side of the platform, and the civil mandarins along its east side. The highest in rank were on its north end, and immediately in front of the tables.

A professor of ceremony took his position facing the west and near the north end of the platform. When every thing was ready, he called out in a commanding tone of voice, using ^{p.374} the mandarin dialect (all the rest of the company preserving a most profound silence), '*Take your places in proper order*', which meant simply prepare or make ready, as all were already standing where they should stand, with their faces toward the pavilion. He immediately cried out, '*Kneel down*', when one hundred individuals, more or less, being the highest in rank and in power in this province, all simultaneously knelt down. He then ordered them to '*knock their heads once*' on the ground, which they proceeded to do by placing their hands on the ground (as boys do when they play on all fours, in imitation of a quadruped), and then inclining their heads forward and downward until they touched the platform. All the performers then raised their bodies to an upright position, still remaining on their knees. The professor immediately cried out, '*Knock your heads the second time*', and they accordingly bowed their heads down in a similar manner. They then assumed again an upright position, when they were commanded by the professor of ceremony to '*knock their heads the third time*', which command they submissively obeyed. He then ordered them to '*rise up*' on

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

their feet ; and when they had succeeded in attaining to a standing position, he immediately ordered them to 'kneel', 'knock heads', etc., as has just been described. When they had knocked their heads three times on the ground, they were commanded to rise to their feet, after which they were again required to kneel and perform the knocking of their heads for another three times. But, instead of ordering them to stand up at the end of the third time of knocking their heads on the ground as before, the professor, while they were still on their hands and knees, commanded them to '*begin their lamentations*', and they all began to moan and weep in a whimpering, subdued tone of voice. This was kept up for a minute or so, when they were ordered to '*stop their crying*', '*rise up*', and '*disperse from their places*', which they all seemed to be quite willing to do. Thus ended the ceremony of '*three bowings and nine knockings*'. The assembly immediately broke up.

What has been said of the official mourning performed by mandarins and expectants of office will illustrate by example what is meant by the State Religion.

How deeply and strangely are many of the established ^{p.375} customs of this people opposed to the spirit of the Gospel — to the commands of the Bible. The prostration before the living emperor, or his tablet, or a yellow screen, so common on the part of Chinese officers, has been admitted by high mandarins at Peking to be of the same kind in its nature as the prostration before idols and images on the part of the common people. What else, then, can be the kneelings, and the bowing down of the head, which is performed more or less by all the acting and the retired mandarins in all parts of the empire subject to the Tartar power at Peking on occasions of national mourning — what else can these performances be but of a superstitious and idolatrous, and therefore *sinful* nature ?

@

1.CHAPTER XV

Competitive literary examinations

@

Primary Schools and Government Colleges : p.376 Primary Schools numerous. — Manner of Conducting them. — Three Colleges connected with the Government at Fuhchau. — Two under the Charge of the Governor. — Studies pursued in them. — Tuition and Room-rent free. — Two hundred and forty Students selected for each Annually, after Examination of competitive Compositions. — One hundred and eighty receive a Monthly Stipend. — Manner of conducting the Examination of Compositions in the Colleges. — One College under the Charge of the Prefect. — Manner of conducting its Literary Exercises. — Students in the first two Colleges may belong to any Part of the Province. — Students in the other must live in the Prefecture.

Examination of Undergraduates before the District Magistrate and the Prefect : Four Classes may not compete at the Examinations. — Students in Mourning for a Parent may not compete. — Notification given by the Literary Chancellor of the time of his Examinations. — Manner of entering Names of Students as Competitors. — Manner of Competition. — The Numbers of the Candidates placarded in Public.

Examination of Undergraduates before the Literary Chancellor for the First Degree, and of Graduates of the First Degree before him preparatory to Competition for the Second Degree : Privileged Classes. — Manner of Competition. — Rewriting from Memory the Sacred Edict. — Best Competitors, to a certain Number, become Bachelors of Arts. — They come under the Jurisdiction of their Literary Chiefs. — Bachelorship may be bought. — Privileges of a class of Scholars next best to the Graduates. — Graduates expected to make Presents to their Securities. — Extra Examination every twelve Years. — Chiefs of Graduates receive their Appointment from Peking. — Method of conducting Examinations of Graduates preparatory to Competition for Second Degree. — Supplementary Examinations. — Salutes and Music in Honor of the three Companies which come out of the Examinations first.

Primary Schools and Government Colleges

@

There are numerous primary schools in China, supported by the people of a neighborhood who choose to send their children. There are no school-houses, schools being commonly held in a spare hall or room belonging to a private family, or in a part of the village temple. There is no village tax nor any aid from government received for the support of schools. Each parent must pay the teacher for the instruction of his p.377 children. Besides these, there are private or family schools, the pupils being few and select,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I



belonging to rich families. In this city there are no free-schools, where the pupils can attend without expense for tuition. In former years there were some such schools, sustained principally at the charge of a very wealthy bank. But this bank failed six or eight years ago, at the time of a general panic among banks, and its suspension of business was the signal for the suspension of the various charitable works which it supported.

School-boy with fan and parcel of books

Girls are seldom sent to school or taught to read at home. Education is not regarded as fitting them to fill in a better manner the stations they are expected to occupy. Pupils do not study, in school, books on mathematics, geography, and the natural sciences, but the writings of Confucius and Mencius. These they are required to commit ^{p.378} to memory, and recite with their backs toward the book. This is called 'backing the book'. They are not taught in classes, but each studies the book



Pupil 'backing his book', i.e. reciting his lesson

he pleases, taking a longer or shorter lesson according to his ability. They all study out loud, oftentimes screaming at the top of their voices. They first learn the sounds of the characters, so as to recite them *memoriter*. After years of study they acquire an insight into their meaning and use. They commence to write when they begin going to school, tracing the characters given them as

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

patterns on paper by means of a hair pencil and China ink. It requires an immense amount of practice to write the language correctly and rapidly.

There are three collegiate institutions at this city which are connected with the government. The studies pursued in them are the same in kind as are pursued by advanced scholars in village or family schools, *viz.*, the 'five classics' and the 'four books', being a part of the thirteen works which collectively are often called the 'Chinese classics'. Compositions in prose and verse on themes selected from these books are regularly required. These books are the main subject of thought and research — not that they are recited there, or that the teachers require certain parts to be studied in their presence. The teachers once or twice per month expound certain parts, or deliver lectures on the subjects discussed, or the sentiments advanced in these books. They pay no attention to any historical, mathematical, or philosophical books or subjects. These things are considered as not worthy of research at the colleges. If a student wishes to pursue any literary studies different from the classics, he must do it at his leisure, without expecting to receive any particular aid from his teachers. The study of mathematics and philosophy, or the sciences generally, is regarded as of exceedingly small importance compared with the study of the classics. The latter are of use in the composition of essays and poems, required at the regular examination as trial pieces competitive for the literary degrees, which are so highly prized by ambitious men in China ; but attainments in the natural sciences afford no special aid in writing these essays and poems, or of advancing one to a higher rank as a literary man or as an officer.

The design of establishing the colleges was to encourage ^{p.379} and stimulate the students to write essays and poems of a high order. They have not failed of producing the effect designed, judging from the interest manifested by graduates of the first degree, as well as undergraduates, to become connected with them. The small monthly stipend given to a part of the successful candidates for admission doubtless has some influence in leading scholars who are not possessed of ample means to desire to enter

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

them. But probably the benefit to be derived from attendance and the honor of being connected with them have, in the case of the majority of the students, a greater influence than the pecuniary reward in causing such a general interest to become members of the colleges.

Two of the colleges are under the supervision of the provincial governor. He appoints the teachers. The salary of the teacher of one is eight hundred taels ; the salary of the teacher of the other six hundred taels per annum, which is paid out of the imperial treasury. The customary presents made to them by the pupils under their care probably amounts to at least one or two thousand dollars more during the course of the year. These teachers are men of high literary ability very frequently, being members of the Imperial or Hanlin college at Peking. The high provincial officers must treat them with great deference when they meet. The teachers expect to be regarded as *guests* in the presence of the high mandarins — that is, the seat of honor is accorded to them.

Those of the students who choose are permitted to live in the colleges, but few do live there. Each college has a large number of rooms, which may be used by the pupils free of rent. The janitor, however, expects a present from resident students. Those who reside there make a more valuable present to the teacher than those who live elsewhere. Those who pay the most money stand the chance of receiving the most attentions. The resident students are also expected to make presents to their teacher on the occurrence of his birthday, and that of his wife, and of his parents, if living, as well as at the time of the national festivals in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh months, and at new years. These presents consist of curiosities, articles of food, or money.

At the appointed day, early in the morning, usually some time during the second month, the provincial governor, with a ^{p.380} proper staff of assisting officials, meets those students, whether graduates or undergraduates, who wish to compete for entrance to the highest college at the provincial examination hall. He gives out one set of themes for the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

undergraduates, and another set of themes for the graduates of the first degree. The compositions are finished some time during the same day, when they are handed over to the governor for his inspection. After making a selection of those which he regards as the best, he passes them into the hands of the teacher of the college for his examination. In this way, two hundred and forty students are selected as pupils out of the thousands who present themselves, one hundred and twenty of the graduates, and one hundred and twenty of the undergraduates. Unjust and unlawful methods are often resorted to by some candidates for membership of the colleges. Some students are successful by bribing the high officials, and others by their favor.

On the following day the scholars of the first degree, and of the class of undergraduates who desire to compete for the privilege of entering the other college under the control of the governor, meet him at the same hall, where they write prose and poetical compositions as usual on themes which he announces. He selects two hundred and forty of the compositions which he regards as most worthy, one hundred and twenty whose writers are graduates, and one hundred and twenty whose writers are undergraduates.

Sixty of the accepted graduates for each of these colleges usually receive one and a half taels per month ; the remaining sixty receive only one tael. Of the one hundred and twenty undergraduates, only one half receive any stipend at all, which is one tael per month. The remaining sixty undergraduates are kept as a kind of reserve to fill up any deficiencies which may occur during the year in the number of those who receive a monthly allowance. The reserve of sixty are allowed all the privileges of the institution equally with those who are allowed a stipend. The rule is, that should any student who receives an allowance be absent from three successive examinations, his name would be erased from the list, and some one of the sixty undergraduates be put in its place. Usually, however, should a student be prevented from attending at the ^{p.381} regular times, he employs some friend to appear in his stead. The monthly stipends paid

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

these students are received from the treasurer of the province. There are three days during the month when themes are given out and compositions prepared at each of these colleges — *i. e.*, the sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days. The teacher usually presides at two of these competitive examinations. The students who reside at the colleges are entitled to have their compositions criticised by their respective teacher. The teachers discourse on the classics to their resident pupils twice per month.

It is the duty of the viceroy, the governor, the treasurer, the judge, and the commissioners of the salt and provision departments, each to attend in turn at one of the regular monthly examinations of each of the colleges. In this way, according to theory, each of the six officials attends twice during the year. It is the privilege and the duty of each of these mandarins to preside when he is present, giving out the themes and first looking over the compositions, after which he passes them into the hands of the teacher of the college for his inspection. It is customary for each of the high officials to make a small present of money to every one of the ten first best competitors, both of the graduates and of the undergraduates who are present at the session over which he presides.

A list of the comparative merits of the compositions made by the students is in due time posted up in public. It has become a custom for the best students, both graduates and undergraduates, to send in their cards to the viceroy, or the Tartar general, or the treasurer, etc., as the case may be, a few days after he has presided at the examination in the college. This is understood to be an expression of their thanks to him for his attention.

The literary chancellor is expected to attend and preside once per annum at the competitive examinations held monthly in each of the colleges. He gives out the themes, and decides himself in regard to the comparative merit of the compositions, not handing them over to the teacher as if for his corroborative opinion, as is the case with the six officials mentioned above. Most of the high officials who play the mandarin at this city have for many years had the reputation of being poor scholars,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

having obtained their offices by purchase or ^{p.382} by bribery. Such great men must often make ludicrous blunders when they attempt to perpetrate literary feats on their own responsibility. Hence the manifest propriety of the custom which requires them to associate with them, as it were, the accomplished teacher of the college at whose competitive examinations they preside. But the literary Chancellor, being always a man selected for his position on account of his literary attainments, is competent to decide on the relative merits of the compositions which are made at the session over which he presides.

There is another collegiate institution in this city, but inferior in rank and importance to the two which have been mentioned. The chief director of this college is the prefect. His associates are the marine inspector and the two district magistrates, whose yamuns are located in the city. The examination of the students who wish to compete for its privileges is held at the prefect's yamun. He gives out the themes, and selects two hundred and forty men, half graduates and half undergraduates. The teacher's salary is only about three hundred taels per annum. He provides his own house, and the students live where they choose, meeting their teacher at the college at the regular days of examination or lecture. They are expected to make him a present of more or less value, according to their circumstances, or according as they desire to obtain his especial aid in criticising their productions.

The directing officials are expected to be present in regular turn, and preside once a month at the competitive examinations held at the college. Should one fail in attending, the teacher presides in his place. The teacher conducts the other two monthly examinations. The expenses of this institution, *viz.*, the salary of the teacher and the stipends to a part of the pupils, are provided by the officials who are at its head. This accounts for the fact that the stipends are not promptly paid. The sum given professedly every month is only about half as great as the sum given at the other colleges.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The competitors for admittance to the collegiate institutions under the control of the governor need not necessarily be residents of this prefecture. They may belong to any part of the province. Those who come from a distance must be supplied with the necessary credentials of their literary character from their literary chiefs or their principal teachers, or they would not be allowed to engage in the preparatory competitive examinations before the governor for admittance to the college which they desired to enter.

Those who become members of the third college mentioned, that of which the prefect is chief, may belong to the different districts which compose the prefecture. The establishment of it seems to have been designed to benefit only the graduates and the undergraduates belonging to this prefecture, not those who belong to other prefectures in the province.

Examination of Undergraduates before the District Magistrate and before the Prefect

@

To give an intelligible account of the world-renowned competency examinations of the Chinese, and to detail some of the unlawful expedients which are often resorted to by candidates in order to gain a literary degree, will require several chapters. It will be shown that, where they are impartially and faithfully conducted, the graduates must be scholars of more than ordinary memory and ability, and that as they really are often conducted, the attainment of a degree is no sure proof of the possession of any more than ordinary capacity, and not necessarily even that.

There are four classes who, themselves or their posterity for three generations, according to law are not permitted to engage in the literary examinations.

1. *The public prostitutes.* — Among the descendants of these creatures

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

there are sometimes honorable and talented individuals ; but, on account of the sins of their ancestors, these are excluded from the greatest privileges of citizenship, that of competition for literary honor.

2. *The public play-actors.* — This includes those who have earned a living as actors, whether chiefs or subordinates those who have made play-acting their profession.

3. *The executioners, lictors, and the menial servants connected with mandarinate.* — These include those who precede high mandarins when they appear in public, and who are supposed to be ready to do any bloody or cruel act if commanded by their masters, whether according to law or opposed to it.

4. *The jailers and keepers of the prisons connected with yamuns.* — The first two classes are believed to be entirely destitute of shame, else they would not degrade their persons for vicious or unworthy purposes for the sake of gain. The last two classes are believed to have very hard and depraved hearts, else they would never consent to engage in the business of their respective positions.

The descendants of these classes, if more virtuous, respectable, and humane than their ancestors, and if they are really desirous of changing their professions, and retrieving or rather *gaining* a good character, usually remove to a distant place, where their lineage and their antecedents are unknown. Their ancestry is a disgrace to them, and constitutes an obstacle in the way of their rising in society.

Some three years since, the report was current at this place that an actor had been admitted to the third literary degree at Peking, when a censor informed the emperor. As the result, he and about thirty high officers suffered the penalty of death for being privy to the fact that he had been an actor, and yet allowing him to compete at the examinations, whereas they ought to have prevented him from doing so. Among these officers of state was one who was at the time, or who had been a chancellor, and the adopted father of the graduate was one of the presiding

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

examiners at the time of his graduation. The report may not have been entirely true in all of the details given.

According to law, any literary man, without regard to age or condition, excepting the four classes which have been mentioned, may compete in the examination at which he is entitled by his attainments to compete, provided it be not within three years after the death of either parent. Should any bachelor of arts, disregarding the law forbidding competition for a literary degree during the period allotted to mourning for the death of father or mother, be allowed to present himself at an examination for the second degree, and it became known to the examining official, he would be degraded from his rank, and the literary chancellor would in all likelihood be degraded or punished heavily by fines, unless he bribed to silence those who were privy to it. If only an undergraduate, his principal security would be degraded or disgraced. Literary competition is deemed incompatible with sincere mourning for a ^{p.385} parent. It would be construed into a kind of filial ingratitude, or want of filial love and respect, punishable by process of law.

A high officer, commonly styled the Literary Chancellor, is the presiding mandarin at the last examination which decides who are the fortunate candidates that attain the lowest literary degree. The chancellor is usually a member of the Imperial Academy at Peking, or is connected with one of the six Boards. He is often spoken of as Imperial Commissioner. His term of office is three years. Only one is appointed for each province. His official residence is at the capital of the province. His duties call him to travel to each of the prefectoral cities of the province twice during his term of office, for the purpose of examining the candidates for the first degree and the graduates of the first degree. He admits to the first degree those of the candidates he judges are entitled to it to the extent allowed by law, and he exercises the graduates on themes preparatory to their competition for the second degree at the provincial city, under the jurisdiction of two examiners sent from Peking for the purpose.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The literary chancellor sends notice to the different prefects in his province of the time when he will examine the literary *undergraduates* of the prefecture. Each prefect sends a messenger to each of the district magistrates of his prefecture communicating the notice from the literary chancellor. Each district magistrate issues a proclamation giving the undergraduates in his district notice of the time when they will be expected to meet him for examination at his yamun.

Literary undergraduate or student



In accordance with this notification from the district magistrate, all of the undergraduates in his jurisdiction who wish to compete before him, preparatory to competition before the prefect, make arrangements in accordance with p.386 established and well-known regulations. At least three days before the time appointed, each candidate must present himself at the proper office belonging to his yamun, and receive from the clerk, on paying eighty or a hundred cash, a blank schedule. This paper, already stamped with the district magistrate's seal, he takes away and fills out with the requisite particulars respecting himself, as the name of his grandfather, his father, his principal teacher, and his neighbors on the right and left hand. He states also his own name and age, whether of large or small stature, his complexion, and whether he has mustaches or not, and the place of his residence. It states also that he does not desire to go into the examination in behalf of another man, using another's name ; that he does not go for the purpose of acting as teacher or aid to another ; and that he does not go into an examination to which he has no right, really belonging to another district, etc. The candidate must take the paper thus filled out to some one of the graduates of the first degree who are appointed to act as securities to undergraduates. Any one of this class, without regard to order, may, if he is satisfied that the statements of the paper are correct, become his '*principal security*' by signing the document and stamping it with

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

his seal. Some other one of the same class of men, whose turn in regular order it is, must act as '*secondary security*' by signing and stamping it, for which he receives about a hundred cash. This paper is now carried to the chief of the graduates for the district, who stamps it with his red stamp, for doing which he also receives a small fee. After having obtained all these securities, the undergraduate returns the document to the clerk from whom he received the schedule. He carefully keeps it for reference should occasion require. He gives in exchange for it another paper, stating the name of the candidate, and the number of his application. The latter keeps this for use on the morning of the commencement of the examination, presenting the clerk with about a hundred cash. The clerk now prepares a small roll of ruled paper, consisting of six or eight sheets, to the outside of which is attached a slip of paper, stamped with the seal of the district magistrate, and stating the name of the candidate and the number of his application, corresponding to the minutes which the candidate took away with him.

p.387 Very early in the morning, usually before daylight of the appointed day, all of the competitors assemble at the proper place, where some one reads slowly, and in a loud voice, their names according to a list prepared by the clerk. As the name and the number of each are pronounced, he must respond, advance, and deliver up the last paper he received from the clerk. In return for this he receives the roll of ruled paper, having the slip with his name and number attached to it, which the clerk has prepared for him. He enters the place provided for writing his essays, and seats himself at a table. After all the candidates have entered the hall, they are shut in, and the doors are fastened and sealed, allowing no ingress or egress until the compositions are finished, or until a part of them are finished, and the writers wish to return to their homes. The district magistrate, who, with enough of his underlings and literary assistants to keep order, have been also shut in with the candidates, now gives out the themes for two prose essays and one poem, which each competitor is expected to prepare. These themes are taken from the four classics. The candidates now apply themselves to their tasks.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Each prose essay must contain some six or seven hundred characters, and the poem about sixty characters. The writers are not allowed any communication with outside friends, nor are they allowed to refer to any books. Each one is expected to rely upon himself solely. It is supposed that every one is familiar with the theme, inasmuch as it is contained in the Chinese classics. No intercourse with each other, no walking about from place to place, and no questioning about the sense is permitted. Each one of the company, whether consisting of one or two hundred or one or two thousand, according as the district has many or few scholars, busies himself with the mental composition of his poem and his essays, and the writing of them out on the ruled paper provided. The food of which each partakes is carried in at the time of his entering the arena. Toward night, the essays and poems of some of the candidates are completed, and delivered to the proper officer or clerk, who delivers them over to the district, magistrate, and their writers are allowed to go out of the premises. In a short time another company have completed their work, and are ready to depart. The candidates must all complete what ^{p.388} they do before dark. It happens at every examination that more or less are unable to complete their tasks in time, or make some blunder in copying upon the ruled paper, or some may be taken sick.

Before delivering his roll of essays and poem over to the clerk, each candidate removes the slip of paper containing his name and number from the roll. He also writes his name and number on the corner of the back leaf of the roll, which he then turns over and pastes down in such a manner that the name and number can not be seen without tearing open the part sealed up. This is done in order to conceal the name of the writer from the knowledge of the examining officer until after the merits of the essays and the poetry have been decided upon. When the relative merits of the contents of each roll have been fixed by the district magistrate, the seal is broken, and the name and number of the writer becomes known for the first time. As soon as possible, the numbers are written in the form of a large circle in order upon sheets of paper pasted together, which are then

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

posted up for the inspection of the public on the wall which is always to be found directly in front of the yamen. The candidates, by a comparison of the numbers on the paper they removed from the roll of ruled paper, with the position of the same number on the placarded list, learn their relative standing. The higher each stands on the list, the greater the probability that he will succeed. It is an object of ambition to stand at the head of the list ; for if the same person can continue to stand No. 1 at the close of each examination held by the district magistrate, he is almost sure to be one of the successful candidates when he competes before the literary chancellor. It has amounted to almost a fixed rule, that the one who heads the list at the last examination before the district magistrate will be successful before the literary chancellor, as an act of courtesy to the wishes of the former, unless he should happen to become sick, or make some unpardonable blunder.

The district magistrate repeats his examination from two to three or four times. The candidates need not procure any security for the second or following examinations before this officer for the current year. The clerk furnishes him a paper containing his number, and prepares another roll of ruled ^{p.389} paper as before, on his paying the usual sum for second or succeeding examinations. It is said the sum demanded by the clerk is greater the nearer one's number comes to the head of the list. At each of the examinations the candidates become less and less. It is not necessary, unless the candidate chooses to do so, to appear at any but the first examination before the district magistrate. He may pass over the other examinations, if he pleases, until the first one before the prefect. At the close of the last examination, a list is made out of the candidates, which the district magistrate recommends for farther examination by the literary chancellor.

For the examination before the prefect at the prefectoral city, all of the candidates which belong to the several districts which make up and constitute the prefecture must assemble at the appointed time, provided

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

with the document, without which they will not be permitted to enter the arena. To get this document, each must apply at the proper office connected with the yamun of the prefect and receive a blank schedule, which he must fill up in much the same way he did a similar schedule for the use of the clerk of the district magistrate's yamun. He must have the same principal security as before, but it may be a different secondary security. On returning the schedule, filled out, and stamped, and secured according to custom, to the clerk, he gets the necessary document, containing his name and the number of his application. The money he disburses to the clerk and his securities is about the same in amount as he disbursed previously on the occasion of his competing before the district magistrate. In like manner, he receives the roll of ruled paper on which he is to write his essays and poem on the morning of the examination before the prefect, on delivering up the document containing his name and number.

The prefect examines the candidates by their districts, having the men from two or three districts come in at the same time. When the numbers of the candidates are paraded in public, in the form of a large circle, those belonging to the same district are placed together, the best scholar according to the judgment of the prefect being placed first, the second best in the second place, and so on. The general rules of the examination, and the giving out of them, are the same as the ^{p.390} rules relating to the examination held before the district magistrate. It is the custom for the prefect to expect that the head man on the list at his last examination of the undergraduates, for each of the districts, will be adjudged worthy of a degree by the literary chancellor. If there are ten districts in his department, there are ten lists made out by the prefect for recommendation to the literary chancellor, and the head man on each of these lists is almost sure that he will be declared a successful competitor.

It requires a considerably longer time for the prefect to complete the examinations under his care than for the district magistrate to complete his

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

examinations. He generally examines them all two or three times, each time several districts being represented. Usually at each session of the candidates from the same districts their number becomes less than the former, owing to want of ability to complete their essays and poetry in time, or to sickness. Unless one wishes, he need attend only the first examination before the prefect, but he must attend that, or he will not be allowed to compete before the literary chancellor, unless he be a descendant of some ancient worthy, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Here let it be observed, once for all, that on the coming out of the arena of the first company of competitors before any of the examining officers at any of their competitive sessions, it becomes the duty of the chief clerk belonging to the proper office connected with the examination to send, on a large red sheet of paper, the themes on which the candidates have been exercised, to all the high officers resident in the city where the examinations have been held. It is important that this should be done as soon as possible after the doors of the hall are opened, as then, according to theory, the themes become first known to outsiders. It is believed the high mandarins will take an interest in knowing the themes which have been discussed in the competitive arenas.

Examination of Undergraduates before the Literary Chancellor for the first Degree, and also of Graduates of the first Degree before him, preparatory to Competition for the second Degree

@

The rule is that competitors of all classes of society must ^{p.391} attend at the examinations before the district magistrate, prefect, and literary chancellor in regular order. The exception is in the case of descendants of certain ancient worthies, as Confucius and Mencius. These constitute a privileged class, and are not obliged to appear before the district

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

magistrate and the prefect. They may commence their literary competition before the chancellor, if they choose to do so.

The preliminaries to enter the examination before the literary chancellor are essentially the same as those before the district magistrate and the prefect. The '*principal security*' of each candidate must be present on the morning of entering the arena, so as to aver in public that he secures him as his name is called out by the clerk. Unless he should be there and announce that he stands his security, the candidate would not be allowed to enter the hall. On the roll of ruled paper is a slip of paper containing his name, and the number of the range in which the seat allotted to him is situated, and the number of the seat which he must occupy. This he removes and preserves for reference. He writes his name and the description of the location of his seat on the last leaf of his ruled paper, and then turns it down and pastes it in a position so that the items can not be read without tearing it open.

The candidate proceeds to write his essays and poem on themes given out after the doors have been shut and sealed up for the day. Its comparative merit having been decided by the literary chancellor, the name and the seat of its writer are ascertained by tearing open the portion pasted down. As soon as practicable, its relative value is indicated by its position in the list of names and seats of candidates belonging to the district of the writer, as placarded on the wall in front of the hall. As in the case of the prefect, the literary chancellor usually examines the scholars from two or three of the smaller districts at one session.

Generally the literary chancellor requires the candidates to appear before him to prepare compositions in prose and poetry only twice : The best on the second list of names and seats of candidates are the fortunate ones who are adjudged to be worthy of the first degree in the scale of literary rank, or bachelors of arts. The number of candidates who can graduate at every term of examination held by the literary p.392 chancellor is not the same for every district in the prefecture, nor does it have any

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

proportion to the number of candidates furnished by the district, nor to the extent of its territory. The original standard was one graduate for a certain amount of taxes paid into the imperial treasury. The number who could graduate became fixed in this way at a certain time, and remained the same from year to year, unless an extra number should, by the grace of the emperor, be added on special occasions of state, as the accession of a new emperor to the throne, the birth of a first male child to the emperor, etc. Large contributions of money for the aid of the government in cases of special need, by men living in the various districts, are also rewarded and encouraged by the addition of one or more to the number which is usually the quota of graduates for these districts.

The number allowed by law to attain the honors of a bachelor of arts, belonging to each of the districts in the prefecture, having been selected, there remains still a number of candidates who may attain the degree on account of the prefecture, and are ranked as belonging to the prefecture at large. The persons who shall constitute this class is also determined by the literary chancellor. One or more from the various districts are selected to belong to the class of the prefectoral graduates in the established manner.

The literary chancellor requires those who stand very high on the list at his second examination to appear before him at a supplementary examination, not on themes selected from the classics, but to exercise them on rewriting from memory the whole of the '*Sacred Edict*'. The Sacred Edict is the name of a treatise which was prepared by the Emperor Kanghi, of the present dynasty, for the instruction of his subjects on matters relating to moral and relative duties. The copying of this treatise with absolute correctness is regarded an essential part of the preparatory examination for the first degree. Much deception is practiced, when the rules are not strictly enforced, by the candidates taking into the arena with them manuscript or printed copies of the Sacred Edict, made on very thin paper and in very small characters — a course which is forbidden by law, and which is not connived at by the high examining officers. Should one fail

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

at this exercise, he would ^{p.393} certainly not attain the degree which his own compositions might entitle him to receive. But as this is a fixed exercise, students who are expecting to succeed generally make themselves very familiar with the authorized text of the Sacred Edict. If they fail here, they have only their own slothfulness to blame.

The successful competitors for the first degree, as soon as it is determined who they are, must call upon the master of the graduates belonging to their own districts, or upon the master of the graduates belonging to the prefectoral class, as the case may be. The object of their calling is to hand in their names to be entered on the list of graduates in the proper place. It is the custom for the graduates to make their chief at this time a present of money, according to their standing in society and their pecuniary ability. The chief sometimes demands a large sum of money before he will enter the names of the new graduate, especially if he is very wealthy, and if he has attained to the rank of a graduate by the use of unfair and unlawful means. The chief is usually able to judge pretty nearly the truth if he has employed improper means. If he does not accede to the demands of the chief, or if the parties do not compromise the matter, the chief may represent the man in a very unfavorable light to the literary chancellor, who may cause the man to lose his place as a graduate, to which some other more pliable one will succeed. The names of several promising competitors are kept in reserve until the quota for each of the districts and for the prefecture is filled up definitely. The entering of one's name at the office of the chief of the district graduates, or of the prefectoral graduates, is called '*entering upon learning*', or to '*become a sewtsai*' or a '*bachelor of arts*', as the phrase may be rendered.

From this time the successful scholar comes under the jurisdiction of his literary chief. He may not be arrested in the summary manner as undergraduates and the common people are arrested by the civil magistrate if he is charged with any crime. He must be prosecuted before the literary chief of the graduates of his district, or the chief of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

prefectural class, if he should belong to the latter. He is allowed to wear a button on his cap, which indicates that he is a graduate. He becomes at once a man of influence and of honor in his ^{p.394} own neighborhood, and especially among his relatives, who are usually proud of numbering as one of their own kindred the man who has distinguished himself among his fellow-competitors by carrying off the prize. He has ready access to the presence of the lower class of magistrates. His literary rank gives him a great opportunity to play the villain among the common people, if he wishes to do so ; and if such be his character, he is always on good terms with the underlings in the mandarin's office which he most patronizes. Such graduates are not few in this part of China, and they soon become hated and feared by shop-keepers and the common people generally. Those of the rank of *küjin*, or *master of arts*, the second degree, who use their rank and power to oppress the people, are fewer in number perhaps, but more hated and feared. Their higher literary rank gives them greater opportunity to browbeat and injure without redress their victims, unless they comply with the demands of these pests to society. The Chinese speak of this class of graduates of the second degree with abhorrence and anger. When their chief becomes aware of their character and has proof of their misdemeanors, he usually at once degrades them from their literary rank, but woe betide those who have furnished the evidence which caused their degradation, if their names become known to those who have been degraded.

The above description relates to the established manner of competing for literary rank by participating in the regular examination before literary officers. But there is another way of attaining the same rank, much shorter, surer, and less fatiguing, for those who have the necessary means, and are willing to use them to attain the coveted rank. Those who have *more money than brains*, by a kind artifice of the government, are permitted to purchase the privilege of wearing a button on their caps, and of being exempted from arrest and punishment by the civil mandarins. Until a few years ago, the sum which would, if paid into the treasurer's office with that

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

design, buy of the emperor the rank and title of *sewtsai*, bachelor, was one hundred and eighty-three taels. Nowadays, in consequence of the low state of the emperor's funds, it is asserted that twenty-five taels will suffice. The treasurer receives the necessary sum, whatever it is, and reports the name p.395 of the applicant to the proper tribunal at Peking, from which, in due time, he receives the certificate which guarantees certain privileges to the individual, who has money to spare, but not enough literary ability to enable him to gain the bachelorship. The possession of this diploma entitles him to compete for the second literary degree along with those who have attained the bachelorship by the exercise of their literary qualifications in the regular and honorable manner. Those who buy their degrees are looked down upon by others. Their number is becoming year by year more numerous, on account of the great cheapness at which it is offered to aspiring men, and the extreme facility which attends an attempt to obtain it by those who have the money.

Several of the competitors before the literary chancellor, whose essays and poems would have entitled them to graduation, if the quota of graduates allowed for their districts had been larger, form a class by themselves. These are a kind of half graduates. They are not obliged to enter the examinations before the district magistrate and the prefect on the succeeding year, in order to sustain their standing. They may wait until the time for competing before the literary chancellor arrives, enter into the arena under his jurisdiction, and, if their essays and poems are not of a very decidedly inferior character, they are almost sure of becoming bachelors at the next examination for candidates of the first degree. At the regular vernal and autumnal sacrifices to Confucius in his temple, these half graduates have a certain part allotted them to perform. Poor candidates are not desirous of sustaining the character before the public of undergraduates of this class, on account of the largely-increased expense it involves, without any corresponding substantial advantages. The rolls of ruled paper which they must procure from the clerk of the office of the literary chancellor, on which to write their essays and poems on the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

occasion of the next competitive examination, will not be prepared for them without the payment of a much larger sum of money than is demanded of the other candidates. The privileges which scholars of this class have are mainly the exemption from the necessity of going into the regular examinations before the district magistrate and the prefect. But these examinations are rarely dreaded by true ^{p.396} scholars, and besides, a strict and faithful attendance on all the examinations in course is a much surer method of succeeding than the neglect of them and reliance upon already acquired rank and possessed talent.

The class of graduates of the first degree, to whom reference has been made as those who must be the securities of undergraduates, consists of a certain number of the scholars belonging to their districts. Their number is not the same for every district, being greater or smaller according to circumstances. There are twenty in each of the two districts of which this city forms a part. The same men continue for twelve years in the office or station of acting as securities, unless they die or are degraded, or, as is more commonly the case, unless they become graduates of the second rank, masters of arts. In such a case, the deficiency is made up at the close of the next following examination of the graduates of the prefecture by the literary chancellor. Should one remain in this class at the end of twelve years in good standing, he, without any examination, passes at once into an advanced class of graduates. Those undergraduates who are successful, and become bachelors, are required by custom to make a handsome present in money to those who acted as their principal and their secondary securities. The secondary security is said to be paid the larger sum.

Every twelve years the literary Chancellor holds an extra examination at the prefectoral city for the benefit of two or three classes of the best scholars of the graduates of the lowest rank. At this examination, one from each of the districts, and one from the prefectoral class of graduates, may be selected to form another order or class, the members of which are only a little below the graduates of the second degree, and may be appointed to

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the office of a district magistrate by the emperor, should they have influence enough at court to get an appointment.

The masters or *chiefs* of the graduates of the first rank, to whom several allusions have been made, usually receive their appointment from Peking. They may be natives of the province, but not of the prefecture, where they are appointed to act. In case of a deficiency under certain circumstances, the governor of the province may appoint some one to the vacant ^{p.397} office out of the number of best scholars of the rank of *sewtsai*. They are all subject to the literary chancellor, and receive a certain stipend from the imperial coffers, which, however, is not sufficient for their maintenance. They look to presents and bribes from the scholars under their jurisdiction for the balance of their livelihood. Each district has one such chief to superintend the affairs of its graduates, and there is also one in each prefecture who presides over those graduates who form the prefectoral class, being selected, as has been explained, from the graduates living in the different districts. The chief of the prefectoral class resides in the prefectoral city, and has the care of the large Confucian temple always to be found located there. The chief of the graduates belonging to the various districts has, by virtue of his office, the charge of the temple to Confucius found in the capital of his district. These chiefs may compete for the second or third degree at the regular examinations, according to their attained literary rank.

The graduates of the first degree living over the whole province come, in the manner now described, under the jurisdiction of the literary chancellor, through the chiefs or governors of the graduates living at the various prefectoral and district capitals. Affairs of moment relating to the graduates in the various districts and prefectures which make up the province are required to be referred by the chief immediately concerned to the decision of the literary chancellor. But, generally speaking, matters of no special importance are decided upon by the chief to whole supervision they belong — subject, of course, to a revision by the chancellor.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

It is the duty of those who have attained to a bachelorship to attend the regular examinations held by the literary chancellor in their prefecture. Should any absent himself from these examinations for three successive years without being excused, or without reporting himself to his literary chief, he would become liable to be deprived by the literary chancellor of his rank and its privileges. Should he become blind, or be enfeebled by old age or by disease so as to be unable to endure the fatigues and excitements of competing at the regular periods with his fellows, he may petition the chancellor, stating his case. If the latter has no reason for believing the ^{p.398} applicant to be trying to impose upon him, he may grant him a document allowing him to retain his rank and privileges, without being obliged to present himself at the regular examinations. Of course, if he remains away hereafter he forfeits all prospects of obtaining the second degree, or of being employed as an officer of government, unless he should purchase office, which is seldom done by those who voluntarily retire from the literary arena.

On the other hand, should an undergraduate be able to attend the examinations regularly till he becomes eighty years old without attaining the coveted rank of bachelorship, the emperor, on being informed of the honorable fact by the provincial governor, confers upon the aged competitor the title and privileges of a graduate. It becomes the duty of the governor to report such cases, and to ask for them the customary token of approval on the part of the emperor. On the receipt of the title, the old man procures the golden button, which he wears as a badge of imperial respect. The bestowal of the title on the octogenarian is designed as a testimony of the approbation of the emperor, who would encourage the pursuit of letters even to extreme old age.

It is the duty of the literary chancellor, at each visit during his term of office, after examining the undergraduates at the capitals of the different prefectures in the province, to proceed to examine the old bachelors and the new bachelors, that is, those scholars whom he has just adjudged to be

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

worthy of the first degree. He usually has only one examination, not several sessions, at each visit. The object of this examination at the time of his first visit is principally to exercise them, and to prepare them for the next competitive examination for the second degree at the capital of the province. It has no direct influence upon their prospects of success other than the benefit which practice produces. All of the graduates are expected to enter the lists and compete. The roll of ruled paper on which they must write their essays and poem must be obtained of the clerk of the proper office of their respective literary chiefs. The fee demanded for the roll of paper is about a thousand cash.

The examination of the graduates, on his second visit to the prefectoral cities, is an important one. At the close of this ^{p.399} examination, the literary chancellor divides the competitors into several classes. Those who belong to the first class are arranged in order of their excellence, by their seats. The number of their seats are placarded on the wall in front of the place of examination. The seats of those who constitute the second and the third class are in like manner made known to the public. All those who are in the first and second classes, and the first ten of the third class, are permitted, without any farther examination, to compete for the second degree at the proper time.

But all those below the tenth name of the third class of the graduates in all the prefectures of the province, and all those who have bought the bachelorship, unless they are in the first class, all those who were absent from the prefectoral examinations on account of sickness, or for any other reason, *if they wish to compete for the second degree*, are required to assemble at the capital of the province several weeks before the set time for the beginning of examinations for the second degree, and enter a supplementary examination before the literary chancellor. There are usually several hundred or a thousand who come up in order to take part in this supplementary examination. All those the number of whose seats in the hall during examination is paraded on the public wall are entitled to enter

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the examination for the second degree. There are always some who fail of the coveted privilege, because of sudden illness, or because some blunder has been made in copying, or because some rule has been violated. The names or the seats of these unfortunate scholars do not appear on the placarded list, and of course they are debarred from entering the examination for the degree of *master of arts*.

The names of all those graduates of the first degree who are entitled to enter the list and compete for the second degree are recorded in a document, those belonging to the same prefecture being placed together. This document is transmitted by the literary chancellor to the governor of the province, who sends it down to the provincial judge, who hands it over to the proper clerk in his yamun, who prepares the requisite number of rolls of ruled paper for use at the approaching examination. The candidates must settle with the clerk for the rolls, seldom paying less than one dollar. Three sets of rolls ^{p.400} are made out for each competitor, as there are three separate sessions when essays and poems are required to be written.

It sometimes occurs that the would-be competitors are not able to be present at the supplementary examination above referred to. In such a case, on proper representations being made to the literary chancellor, he appoints a second supplementary examination for the delinquents or absentees at the preceding one. In like manner, the names of those the number of whose seats appear in public are sent to the clerk who prepares the required number of rolls of ruled paper.

The first three companies of candidates who come out from the hall of the literary chancellor, where they have been engaged the whole day in writing their essays and poems, are specially honored as they come out. The large middle doors are opened by the breaking of the paper seals and by removing the padlock, and they are saluted by the discharge of three cannon, and by music. The cannon and the music are designed to honor them because they have finished their essays and poems so early. After each of the first three companies have come out, the doors are shut,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sealed, and locked up, as before the first company appeared. On the appearance of another company one of the side doors is opened — no cannon or music salutes them. After this the door is left open, and each candidate for literary fame comes out singly. About the time when the doors are expected to be opened, and the imprisoned scholars to appear, the public arena in front of the yamen of the literary chancellor is crowded by the friends and servants of the candidates. The friends come to congratulate the candidates, and the servants to take the wallet or bag which contained the remnants of the luncheon they took in, their pipes, tobacco, inkstand, fan, etc. Advantage is often taken of the crowd of strangers from distant parts of the province or of the prefecture, by Chinese who have books or tracts for distribution, to scatter them among the candidates as they come out, or their friends, who meet and salute them with their congratulations.

@

1. **CHAPTER XVI**

Competitive literary examinations
continued

@

Examination of Graduates of the first Degree before the Imperial Commissioners for the second Degree : p.401 Description of the Provincial Examination Hall. — The Commissioners 'Wash their Hearts' at the Temple of Perfect Justice. — Time of entering the Hall. — Its Regulations. — Order of Procedure within. — Three Sessions of two Days each. — Names of successful Competitors placarded on the Drum Tower in the City. — Their original Compositions, after 'washing and repairing', are sent to Peking. — If a Student dies in the Hall, the Corpse is taken out over the Wall. — Graduates of the second Degree go to Peking to compete for the third Degree.

Rejoicing, Festivities, and Honors in View of successful Competition : Lists of Graduates hawked about for Sale. — Messengers 'carry the Information' to their Families. — Graduation celebrated by a Feast. — Worship of Heaven and Earth and ancestral Tablets. — Graduates of the first Degree visit the literary Chancellor and kneel before him. — They Call upon their Relations and Friends. — Graduates of the second Degree are invited to a Feast at the Governor's Yamun. — After bowing before him, they Call upon their Relations and Friends. — Description of the Graduates' Procession in making Calls. — If engaged or married, they are invited to a Feast at their Father-in-law's House. — Description of the honorary Tablets erected by Graduates of the second Degree. — Graduates of the third Degree erect other honorary Tablets. — Special Honors conferred by the Emperor on certain Classes of aged Graduates.

Examination of Graduates of the first Degree before the Imperial Commissioners for the second Degree

@

The provincial examination hall, where the graduates of the first degree who desire to compete for the second degree assemble once in every three years, is located in the northeastern quarter of the city. It is surrounded by a wall, having back doors or gates, and two very large and high doors on the south side. In the centre, running from north to south, is a wide paved passage. On the east and west sides of this passage there are, in the aggregate, nearly ten thousand apartments, or rather cells, for the accommodation of the competitors. These are arranged in rows in a straight line, beginning on the passage and extending back to the walls on

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the east ^{p.402} and west. Each row is covered with a tiled roof, slanting one way. Each cell is a little higher than a man's head, three feet wide, and three and a half feet deep, having no door and no window. An alley about three or four feet wide extends along in front of the row of apartments. The cells on the side of the alley are open from top to bottom, letting in all the light and air that are needed, and more rain and wind in wet and stormy weather than are required by the occupant. The two sides and the back of the cells are made of brick, plastered over with white lime. The furniture of each cell consists simply of three or four pieces of wide boards, which may be fitted into two rows of creases made in the two sides of the cell at the pleasure of the occupant, making a seat and a table, or a platform on which he may curl up and sleep, if he pleases to do so. One or two of the boards slipped into the lower creases, and pushed to the back side, forms the seat. One or two boards, slipped into the front part of the higher creases, forms the table, on which paper, ink, or food may be arranged. The candidate for literary honor usually sits on the lower boards, with his back against the wall, placing his writing materials in front of him on the higher and outer tier of boards. Each row of these apartments is numbered by one of the characters of which the Thousand Character Classic is composed, and each of the apartments in each row is numbered so that any particular one can be readily found.

Such is a brief description of the miserable quarters where the educated talent of the province is expected to congregate and spend several days. Small, uncomfortable, and exposed to the weather, they seem to the foreign visitor but poorly qualified to be the residence of those who would court the Muses, or who would attempt elegant and elaborated prose compositions on a variety of impromptu subjects. They suggest to some foreigners the idea of *calf stalls*, and probably many a Western humane farmer would think his cattle but poorly cared for if they had not better protection from the weather than do the cells or apartments above described afford the candidate for literary rank. The most wealthy as well as the poorest sewtsai in the province, the man of seventy and the stripling

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of twenty years, must occupy one of them while competing for the second degree. There is no choice ^{p.403} between them ; all are made in the same way, and all of the same size, and all front to the South. The precise seat of each one is fixed before he enters the arena ; so, if there were a choice, there would be no way to make the choice available.

The presiding examiners are two special commissioners of high rank and distinguished literary ability, sent down from Peking for the purpose of presiding at the examination in the provincial City for the second degree. They are called 'master examiner' and 'assistant examiner'. It is supposed that if there are two commissioners, one will be a watch upon the other, and that there will be much less bribery and injustice in the discharge of their official functions than though there were only one. Nearly in the centre of the premises where the cells have been prepared for the use of the competitors there is a two-storied building, in which the two examiners, before the work begins, vow most solemnly, and call upon Heaven to hear their vows, that they will deal honestly in the discharge of their official acts and awards. This is called '*the temple of perfect justice*'. Their vowing to deal justly is called, in the graphic language of the people, '*washing their hearts*'.

On the north side of these premises are spacious grounds devoted to the accommodation of the examiners, and the various assistant officers they have, together with their retinue of servants. Here are large and comfortable quarters for all these parties.

Around the premises there are two walls, distant from each other about twenty feet. During the examination of candidates this space is patroled night and day by a large number of soldiers, in order to prevent any communication between the competitors inside and their friends outside.

Just before the time for the assembling of the candidates and their examiners, the premises where the former are to be confined, and where the latter are to live while they discharge the duties of their mission, are swept, and cleared of the filth and the rubbish which have accumulated

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

since their last occupation. Repairs, if any are needed, are made, and every thing is prepared for the approaching examination.

As the time approaches, the city and suburbs present an unusually animated and busy appearance. Probably twenty or thirty thousand strangers from all parts of the province seek ^{p.404} for temporary quarters either at the homes of their personal friends and acquaintances or at the houses which they can rent. There are generally from six to eight thousand graduates who assemble at the hall ; most of them are from abroad, who come with their sedans, coolies, and servants, and some are accompanied by friends, who embrace the occasion to visit the provincial city.

The imperial commissioners make arrangements to arrive here from Peking a few days previous to the commencement of the examination. They go to some palace outside of the examination hall, provided for their temporary accommodation. The doors are shut and sealed, so as to prevent their having company. It is intended that they shall be watched and guarded, so that they shall not have any opportunity to be bribed, or to make friends, or even to become acquainted with those who are to compete at the examinations, or with their representatives. Every thing is conducted seemingly on fair and just principles, though, if common fame speaks the truth, there is much that is unfair and unjust done behind the curtain, or secretly. Any thing like open bribery and public corruption would not be tolerated by the customs of the country, or allowed by law, in regard to the approaching examination.

The imperial commissioners generally enter into their yamuns, located on the premises adjoining the grounds filled up with the cells for the competitors, some time during the seventh day of the eighth month. Each goes to his respective yamun, and, as soon as they have entered, the large double doors are closed and sealed, to remain shut for several days, or until the termination of the examination. The governor of the province also takes possession of the yamun provided for him on the same day. The general supervision of the affairs of the premises belongs to him during the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

time allotted for the preparation and examination of the essays and poems required from the competitors. The prefect of the prefecture in which the provincial city is located also enters and takes possession of the quarters prepared for him. It is his business to wait upon the commissioners, or rather to carry out their wishes, and have the charge of the red gate between the premises occupied by the candidates and the premises occupied by ^{p.405} the examining commissioners and assisting bodies of officers. He acts the part of a chief servant to the literary examiners.

The competitors are required to go into the hall and find their appointed seats, known by a slip attached to their roll of ruled paper, usually some time during the night of the seventh, at the latest about the third watch of the morning of the eighth. Each one takes in with him the rice and coal to cook it, mats, or whatever condiments he pleases, cakes, candles, bedding, etc., whatever he desires, if according to law, to use for two or three days during the first session of the examination. According to law, his box of provisions and his person are searched, in order to discover whether he is trying to smuggle into the premises any thing prohibited. Not a single line of printed or written matter is he allowed to carry in, lest it should be used as a help in the preparation of his tasks. In fact, parts of the classics or other works, written in very small letters, are sometimes taken in to the premises unknown to the officials. If any such thing is found upon the person of a candidate or among his provisions, he would sometimes be allowed to remain by giving it up, though oftener he would be expelled from the hall, and punished according to the circumstances of the case.

According to law, one measure of rice and half a pound of meat per day are furnished each competitor at the expense of the government ; but, in fact, this rice is often of such a poor quality, and cooked so badly, and the meat furnished is so small in quantity, that the candidates generally prefer not to depend upon the food provided by law, but to carry their own provisions, and a portable furnace and coal. In this way each can have his hot tea and his meals whenever he pleases. Water is brought at public

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

expense to the outside of the hall, where it is turned into troughs, which convey it to different parts of the inside. Six or eight hundred men are provided by the government to wait upon the competitors, bringing water to them and cooking for them. No one is allowed to bring his own servant into the hall.

It is the custom for candidates for the second degree to receive from friends and relatives, when about to enter the hall, a present of something to eat, or to use inside, the first time they compete for the second degree after they have attained ^{p.406} the first. If given the first time, it need not be given the second year. Sometimes money is presented, or a goose is given, or a duck, or a number of bunches of cooked rice, tied up in a three-cornered shape, with certain leaves about each, or a pig's foot and leg, or some sandwiches, together with pencils and ink of the finest quality. The rice balls, and goose or duck, are used as omens of a particularly flattering import, referring to the future literary successes of the competitor. These are understood as expressions of the desires of their givers that their friend or relation may attain the degree for which he proposes to strive.

It is estimated by Chinese that as many as three or four thousand men are required to assist in the management of the affairs of the examination, besides the students themselves. This estimate includes the servants waiting upon the candidates, watchmen by night and by day, the menial servants and the respectable attendants of the various high officers engaged, and the several classes of literary men and writers who are employed to aid in various ways. The number of candidates usually is from six to eight thousand, who, with the three or four thousand other men necessarily employed, make up the aggregate of the occupants of the two premises, which are separated only by a wall, to some ten or twelve thousand men, enough to constitute a formidable army or a respectable city. Some estimate them to be much more numerous.

Besides the classes which have been mentioned, there are some eight other classes of men, ranging from twelve up to two or three hundred each,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

who go into the premises, and establish themselves in the houses or sheds provided for them, on or before the seventh of the eighth month. A few of the classes and their particular duties will be mentioned hereafter. The great outside doors of the premises occupied by the officers, as well as the doors of the premises occupied by the students, are shut, locked, and sealed up in a very formal manner as soon as all who are to take any part in the examination exercises have entered. Both egress and ingress at these doors are equally forbidden.

Early on the morning of the eighth, usually before daylight, the calling of the roll is commenced, or the reading over of the names of all the candidates who are entitled to be ^{p.407} present at the examination. Each one present is required to take the cell which is appointed for him. During the morning a side door is occasionally opened to allow the bringing in of vegetables and the entrance of men, should there be any who have been detained until that time. *No one is allowed to go out.*

When the side doors have been shut for the last time, and the competitors have found their seats, four themes for the essays and the poem are given out, and the students know for the first time what are the subjects on which they are to try their talent at composition. These are selected from the four volumes of the Chinese classic called the '*Four Books*', by the joint action of the first and second examiners, three being themes for a prose composition and one for a poem. The eager competitors at once begin to ponder the subjects selected and arrange their thoughts. Each alley or row of cells is under the constant watch of men who profess to be anxious to detect any violation of established rules.

1. As soon as any of the essays are finished, they are taken by the proper officer to a body of talented literary men, whose number is said to amount to several tens, and whose business is to examine each essay or poem as soon as offered, to see if it is composed and written out in accordance with the well-understood rules. If there is any violation of these rules, it is at once stuck by means of paste upon the wall in a public place.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The luckless writer may not enter the arena and compete at either of the succeeding sessions for that year.

2. The essays and poem which are correctly done, as regards form and appearance, are then delivered over into the hands of a body of copyists, numbering perhaps two or three hundred men, whose duty it is to transcribe them with neatness upon other paper, using red ink. The original manuscripts are kept from the inspection of the examining commissioners, in order to prevent, or avoid as much as possible, all chance of their knowing to whom the composition belongs. The writer might otherwise, by means of blots or marks, or some private sign made on the paper, intimate to the commissioners who was its owner, provided there had been any previous understanding to that affect as the result of bribery. These copyists are employed by government.

3. ^{p.408} These essays and the poem having been transcribed, both the copy and the original manuscript are delivered to a class of scholars, who number one or two hundred men, and whose duty it is to compare copy and original together, to see that there have been no additions or omissions of characters, and no secret marks made on the copy. They work by twos, one looking at the copy while the other reads the original, comparing them character by character. The characters of the copy must be the same as in the original manuscript, and must be well written.

4. These, if found to correspond with each other, are delivered to a certain officer, who is aided by several assistants. The original, written in black ink, is delivered over to the governor to be kept, not for his inspection. The copy on paper written with red ink is passed along to a class consisting of twelve men of acknowledged literary talent. Each man reads his share. If he considers it well done, he signifies his approbation by putting upon the top or front part of the roll a *small red circle*. If he considers its literary ability as decidedly inferior, he lays the roll of essays and poem aside. Those marked with a red circle are put into the possession of the prefect, who beats a drum suspended at his office on the premises.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

This drum is called the '*recommending drum*', which indicates that an essay and its accompanying poem are recommended to the examining commissioners for their inspection. They divide equally between themselves the essays and poems thus recommended. They have twelve scholars of established literary attainments to assist them in their respective yamuns. Each one may decide in regard to forty-three or forty-four candidates. The head one of the list is determined by the master examiner. Out of the mass of recommended essays and poems at the first session, each examiner selects as most worthy quite a number more than the quota which falls to him for future reference and comparison ; for the successful competitors must write compositions which receive the approval of the commissioner into whose hands they come at each of the three sessions. It therefore is necessary or prudent to lay aside as the best quite a number more than would be sufficient to fill the quota allowed by law if only one session's compositions were to be consulted and approved. It ^{p.409} often happens that the writer who does well at the first session does quite poorly, or is sick or absent on the next two sessions, when his manuscripts, however well written, must be disregarded in making up the final estimate of the merits of the compositions at the close of the third session. The compositions are supposed to be examined, weighed, and approved or rejected on their merits alone. When their respective merits have been decided upon, the original paper in the hands of the governor is torn open, and the name of the writer becomes for the first time known to the commissioners — at least such is the theory.

Those whose essays and poem are finished are allowed to come out in companies, commencing about the third watch in the morning of the tenth of the month, having spent two days in the examining hall. The doors are unlocked and the seals are broken under a salute of three cannons, the beating of drums, and the playing of instrumental music, all designed to honor those who come out. The doors are then shut, and locked, and sealed, until about daylight, when another company is ready to come out of the arena, and similar tokens of honor attend their exit. About ten o'clock

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

A.M. another company come forth, saluted in like manner. After this time, when any one is ready, he comes out.

Of all the officers and assistants who have been imprisoned inside, only the governor is permitted to come out on the morning of the tenth, after the students have left. He must return in the afternoon or evening, having visited his yamun and attended to his business. All the rest of the officers and the assistants employed inside remain busily engaged in the discharge of their duty.

All those whose essays have not been posted up in public on the wall during the first session, because of some violation of the rules, may enter the premises again some time during the night of the tenth. The calling of the roll and the seating of the competitors commence about the third watch of the eleventh of the eighth month, less than a whole day being allowed for the recess. Doors are sealed, themes are given out, and every thing is carried forward very much as at the first session. There are five subjects given out instead of four. The five are taken from five volumes of the Chinese classics, ^{p.410} known as the '*Five Classics*', not from the '*Four Books*', four being themes for prose compositions and one for a poem. The competitors come out, as from the first session, in companies, under the regular salutes of guns, drums, and music, commencing before daylight on the morning of the thirteenth, and finishing some time in the forenoon. They return to the hall late in the evening of the same day, or exceedingly early in the morning of the next.

The names of the competitors, who are much less numerous than at the first session, are called over on the morning of the fourteenth, seats taken, the doors being locked and sealed up as usual. There are five themes on miscellaneous subjects, and one theme for poetry. — The candidates usually are all done with their tasks and are out of the hall some time during the afternoon of the sixteenth of the eighth month, having commenced to make their last exit some time in the morning.

As has been intimated, the examining commissioners select three rolls

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

of essays and poems, one from each of the sessions, which must all belong to the same scholar. They decide upon the literary abilities of as many sets of three rolls as the law will allow them to decide upon as worthy of procuring their authors the coveted rank of *master of arts à la Chinois*. At the proper time a list of the successful candidates is made out, the names and surnames being written in very large characters. This list is posted upon the south side of the *Drum Tower* in the city, thirty or forty feet high from the ground, where it is left for a certain time for the inspection of the public. It is regarded as a very high honor to head this list, or to be one of the three highest names. The posting up of this list is usually followed by considerable excitement all over the city and suburbs.

The original compositions of the successful competitors are collected together, and prepared for transmission to Peking, professedly for the personal inspection of the emperor. A copy would not be sent, as the manuscript must have the seal upon it which was there when the unwritten roll was received from the clerk of the treasurer's office. All the tolerable blunders, blots, etc., which did not prevent the success of the manuscript in the provincial hall of examination, would become intolerable when transmitted to Peking for reference ^{p.411} and preservation ; hence they must be all erased or mended, so that the document present a fair and neat appearance. The singular nature of Chinese writing-paper, and their practice of writing on one side only, make this '*washing and repairing*' possible, and comparatively an easy task, which would be impracticable if the essays and poems were written on foreign paper, even if written on only one side of the paper employed. Sometimes, even on Chinese paper, the writing is blotted so badly, or so many mistakes are perpetrated, that it requires an immense amount of skill and patience to repair the manuscript and make it look neat. Unless this repairing and washing is done properly, the imperial commissioners would be liable to be severely reprimanded, and perhaps punished by being degraded from their rank. It will not answer for the essay to be left behind at the provincial city, nor will it do to present one at Peking not having a neat and clean appearance.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

It often occurs that during the three sessions some persons are taken suddenly and die before the doors are allowed to be opened. In such a case it is contrary to law and custom for the body of the deceased to be carried out of the arena through the large front gates. It must be taken to the back side, or to one of the east or west sides, and *passed over the wall*. This is not done to dishonor the memory of the dead, but to prevent the front gates from being defiled by the pas-sage of the corpse. It would be considered a very bad omen for a corpse to be taken out through the front gates. Should any of the mandarins suddenly become ill and die during any of the sessions, the corpse might be carried out, after the session is ended, through a small door on the back side of the premises. The presence of a corpse, or passage of it through certain places, is regarded by the Chinese as defiling and ominous of evil.

Graduates of the second degree are obliged to go to Peking if they wish to compete for the third literary degree (doctor of laws), or *chin-tsz*. The regular examinations of masters of arts for the doctorship is held once every three years. The competitors who wish to go to Peking on this errand, on presenting themselves for the first trip at the provincial treasurer's yamun with the proper vouchers, formerly received forty-eight taels for the purpose of defraying in part the expenses ^{p.412} of the journey. This is designed to encourage the poor scholar who has not funds enough of his own — a present from the emperor. Of late years only half of the sum is received here before starting ; the balance is drawn at some place about half way, or after return home, having attended the examination at Peking.

Rejoicings, Festivities, and Honors in View of successful Competition

@

The deficiency in means for giving the news by daily papers in China is obviated, in part, by some enterprising individuals having the names of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

highest of the list of candidates before the district magistrate and the prefect engraved and published on slips of paper, which are hawked about the streets for sale. As the competitors before the literary chancellor are at first known only by their seats, the would-be news-vendor comes to an understanding with the head clerk at the office, who furnishes the real names of the favored ones before they are generally known in public. By having these engraved and struck off, the news is made known a considerable time before it would transpire in the usual course of events — *i. e.*, by report from one to another. The sale of the list of the successful competitors at the examination for the second degree, obtained by bribery of the clerk of the treasurer's office some time in advance of the placarding in public of the sheets which contain them — unless published as a speculation by the clerk himself — oftentimes is very great. When first out, it frequently brings as high as twenty or thirty cash ; but after the list has been exposed on the *Drum Tower*, the price falls to one or two cash.

The clerks and underlings at the various offices connected with the district magistrate, the prefect, the literary chancellor, and the treasurer, make haste to write out the names and the seats, or the numbers of those who stand toward the highest on the lists of the respective examinations, each on a large sheet of red paper. This they carry or send, at as early a period as possible, if not too distant, to the family to which each belongs, with their congratulations. This is styled 'carrying the information'. It is done for the purpose of obtaining a present from the family. The first one who reaches the ^{p.413} family with the news receives, according to established custom, comparatively a large sum ; the next bringer of the news a smaller sum, and the third comer with the red paper a still smaller sum. The reward is usually given with pleasure and with satisfaction, as it is considered a mark of honor and quite reputable to have such messengers arrive with the good tidings.

In the course of a few days after the names of the successful competitors have become known, the family to which each belongs gives a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

feast to celebrate the event. Two or three days before the feast, a large card of light red paper, inclosed in a deep red envelope, is sent around to each one of the family relatives, or intimate friends or respected neighbors, whom his family have decided to invite to the festive occasion, requesting them to '*shed their light*' on the entertainment. In due time the invited guests make their appearance with their present of money called '*congratulating politeness*'.

At the appropriate time during the festivities, the successful competitor must worship '*Heaven and Earth*', as an indication of his thanks for the honor put upon his family. Afterward he must, for a similar reason, worship the ancestral tablets of his family, and then he must kneel down before his parents, if both are living, and bow his head down toward the ground three times. Should one be deceased, his or her tablet occupies the chair which he or she would have taken if alive. In case he has no mother-in-law living, and if he is not engaged to be married, his own mother, if living, proceeds to invest him with the red silk scarf, in the established manner for graduates of the first or second degree. This is a long strip of red silk, which is placed over one shoulder and under the other, crossing twice on his breast and on his back, in the form of the letter X, if he is a graduate of the second degree, and finally tied around his waist as a belt. If a graduate of the first degree, the strip does not cross twice on his breast, but is simply put over one shoulder and under the opposite arm, and is then tied around his waist, having gone only once over his breast. In case he is engaged to be married, it falls to the privilege of the mother of his affianced bride to put upon him this badge of joy for the first time in the established fashion, which is done at her own house before a long p.414 interval has elapsed. If he has a mother-in-law, it becomes her happy lot to put upon him the scarf of joy and of honor.

On the day appointed for the graduates of the first degree to appear before the literary chancellor to pay him their respects, they all rise very early in the morning, in order to make the customary sacrifice to heaven

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and earth. When this has been properly done, each must go and call upon his mother-in-law, or the mother of his affianced bride, for the purpose of having her own hands place around his shoulders the red scarf, unless, in view of distance or some other circumstance, she has been called upon to perform the act one or two days previous. He now sets off in his sedan for the yamun of the literary chancellor, so as to be ready to go in with his fellowgraduates at the hour appointed.

Each of the graduates on this imposing occasion is dressed in an outer long dress of light blue silk. His boots are square-toed, and usually made of satin. His cap is not the little skull-cap usually worn, but the larger cap of ceremony, on two sides of which (those which come by his ears) has been fastened a kind of artificial flower, professedly made of gold leaf, but really of brass foil, fastened to a wire. These project up several inches above the cap perpendicularly.

When the time has arrived, all the graduates of the first degree enter the presence of the literary chancellor, and arrange themselves in order before him. As soon as the master of ceremonies gives the word of command, they kneel simultaneously before him, and proceed to bow their heads down to the ground three times in unison. After this important ceremony, which is intended to express their profound obligations to their 'venerable teacher', they rise to their feet and disperse. Sometimes the officer before whom this ceremony is performed rises to his feet, and, grasping his own hands, inclines his body forward slightly, moves his hands gently up and down, and, as it were, toward the body of graduates before him, repeatedly utters his 'thanks' in a low tone of voice while they are on their knees and making their bows before him. Such an act on the part of the literary chancellor is believed to be a mark of his humility, and to indicate his unworthiness to receive such honor.

After they have left the yamun of the literary chancellor, ^{p.415} they proceed singly or in small companies, as they please, to call upon the prefect, and pay him their respects in a similar manner, upon their knees.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

They then make similar calls upon their respective literary officers, which are subordinate to the literary chancellor, and upon the district magistrates of their respective districts. In case of those graduates who live out of the district in which the prefectural city is located where they have obtained their degree, they must, of course, return to their own district, in order to pay their respects to their respective district magistrates. They must in like manner pay a visit to their principal teachers — that is, those who have in former years taught them the classics, and how to write prose compositions and poems. After this, they call upon their parents-in-law, their relatives on their father and their mother's side, upon their personal and intimate friends, and their respectable neighbors and acquaintances whom they wish to honor.

The graduates of the second literary degree, instead of first calling upon the literary chancellor, as do the graduates of the first degree, are invited to a feast at the yamun of the governor of the province. They have on their shoulders a thick cape. They have the red scarf,

**A kujin, or literary graduate
of the second degree**



the square-toed boots, and the golden flowers, like those of the first degree. After worshiping heaven and earth on the morning of the feast, they proceed to the yamun, and at the proper moment present themselves before the tables professedly laden with rich provisions, of which they may partake, but which are principally quite unfit to eat. According to the popular representation of this feast, it is a ^{p.416} ridiculous farce. The treasurer should furnish money to set the tables with a variety of palatable viands, one table for each graduate. In fact, the food provided is miserable in quality and of few kinds, and small in quantity. A table is professedly spread for each, some of the dishes on it being partly filled with food. The rest are filled with sawdust

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

or something which will fill up, the top being covered with paper. Every table is provided with a small plate, wine-cup, and tea-cup, made out of real silver. Each graduate takes his position before a table. At the proper moment, during the time allotted for the feast, the graduates arrange themselves in order before the provincial governor, who may sit or stand as he pleases. At the command of the master of ceremonies, they must all kneel down and bow their heads three times. After this they disperse, to call upon the literary chancellor and the other officers, their teachers, etc., in regard to whom law or custom makes it their duty to call upon for the purpose of presenting their respects. After a little time has elapsed, the master of ceremonies calls upon servants to clear the tables, and, accordingly, men appear and carry the contents to the homes of the graduates, or to the place where they are temporarily living, if not resident at the capital of the province, for which a present of several hundred cash is expected on delivery. If these articles reach their homes, they are taken and placed before the ancestral tablets of their family, to show the departed how their descendants have been honored. In the case of those who live at a great distance, doubtless the provisions furnished by the bounty of the emperor are not taken home. The difference between the real cost of the feast, and the sum charged or allotted according to law, of course is pocketed by the high officers and their subordinates, who have the handling of the money and the getting up of the feast. It is affirmed by literary men that every graduate of the second degree costs the emperor about one thousand taels, but that of this sum the high mandarins and subordinate officials manage to pocket all but the few taels which are really spent at various times on his behalf.

A few days before the newly-made masters of arts go to the feast at the governor's yamun, they are honored by the reception of a black silk outer dress or coat, a cape, a court cap, ^{p.417} and a pair of square-toed boots, sent from the treasurer, but in the name of the emperor. All of these are paid for by the emperor, and designed to be a token of his regard for the literary abilities of the graduates. They, therefore, ought to be of good

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

material and well made, but the fact is they are entirely worthless and useless. The treasurer has had them made up of the very poorest kind of material, and in the cheapest manner possible, so that they are not fit to be worn on any public occasion. They are received with thanks only for the sake of form and name, not because they are worth any thing. The treasurer and his underlings have the reputation of pocketing the difference between the cost of the articles as actually provided, and what articles suitable for use made of good materials and in a proper style would have cost ! The emperor is charged full price for the trumpery presented in his name. The graduates or their relatives are obliged to be at the expense of getting good articles of the kinds mentioned for them to wear at the feast in their honor, and in the procession in public soon to take place. It is only the very poorest of the poor graduates who wear the articles provided at government expense.

Whatever may be the law, or the ancient custom, or the true theory in regard to the boots, cap, coat, and scarf actually worn by the guest at this feast, they are now provided usually by the family of his father-in-law. This custom is known as that of '*presenting the boots and caps*'.

In calling upon their personal teachers, relatives, friends, and neighbors, the graduate, *whether of the first or the second literary ranks*, goes in as good a sedan as his circumstances will allow, dressed in his suit of ceremony, with cap, flowers, and scarf. Two men always precede his sedan, carrying each a bamboo twelve or fifteen feet in length, having toward the smallest end several yards of red silk entwined in the green branches. These banners have been presented by friends or relations as an expression of their joy. There is also a band of eight musicians who precede his sedan. Close by his sedan follows a servant or two, who are provided with a large number of cards. In many of these joyous processions there will be seen a red screen, some five or six feet square, borne along by two men. It is made out of red camlet or red broadcloth, ^{p.418} fastened into a wooden frame. On the two sides are several lucky characters, made of gilt

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

paper and of a very large size. This screen is a token that the graduate has a father-in-law or mother-in-law living. It is always furnished by the family to which his wife, if already married, or his affianced wife, if only engaged, belongs.

The main streets of the prefectoral city, on the days when graduates pay their visits of ceremony, present an animated appearance. Generally there are three days spent at the provincial city in making these formal calls. These processions may be seen going back and forth in the streets, accompanied with music and waving of banners. The graduates seldom sit down at these calls, but pay their respects, and then depart to find other relatives or friends. Sometimes they do not kneel down, but only make the customary salutation of raising and lowering their clasped hands, while they bend their bodies very low, as if bowing toward their friends. On arrival at the house occupied by his parents-in-law, he is expected to kneel down and bow three times before the ancestral tablets of the family, as well as perform the same marks of respect before the parents of his wife, or the parents of his affianced bride, if not already married.

At some convenient time, the graduate, whether of the first or the second degree, is invited to a feast given in his honor at the house of his parents-in-law and at their expense, provided he is married or engaged. They invite such relatives and friends as they please. The honored one, immediately after his arrival, is led to the place where the ancestral tablets of their family are to be found, before which he kneels and bows three times. He then performs the same act of homage or respect before the persons of his father-in-law and mother-in-law, who sit side by side. After this he sits down to the feast and drinks three cups of wine, and pretends to eat a little from dishes containing three kinds of vegetables or three kinds of meats. He then refuses or declines to eat any more, soon rises up, and takes his departure, as though he were in great haste and had no time to spare. All these things are done in accordance with established usage on such occasions. Drinking three cups of wine and partaking of three kinds of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

food are good omens, and refer to the three grades of literary rank — ^{p.419} *A.B.*, *A.M.*, and *L.L.D.*, or *Sewtsai*, *Kujin*, and *Chin-tsz*, to all of which the happy and ambitious son-in-law would have his admiring and loving parents-in-law understand he is making haste to attain in regular order and without interruption, as men count one, two, three — one, two, three.

Graduates of the second and the higher literary degrees are entitled to erect an honorary tablet, which is usually suspended over the principal outer door of their residence ; another is put in the ancestral hall. The one who heads the list of successful competitors for the second degree has a tablet which contains two characters, which to the initiated intimate that honorable fact. These characters are often gilded, and are of a large form, between one and two feet square, occupying the centre of the tablet. The whole tablet is six or eight feet in length and of a proportionate width. The graduates from the second to the fifth name inclusive on the list have certain characters which indicate the fact to those who understand their application and meaning. Those from the sixth to the twelfth inclusive have other characters to denote their relative standing in the class. All who come below the twelfth are included under certain two characters, which are usually black and highly varnished. Besides these letters, which occupy the central portion of the tablet, there is an inscription in much smaller characters stating the name or title of the emperor, the year of his reign, the surname and title of the literary chancellor, and the number and the name of the scholar on the list of graduates. The near family relatives having the same surname, as paternal uncles, own brothers, etc., are permitted to erect a duplicate of this honorary tablet over their doors. Some houses have several of these tablets, erected in honor of different members of their family relatives, over their front doors.

Those who, at the literary examinations of Peking, are graduated of the third rank of scholarship, have terms applied to them when speaking of them, and put on their honorary tablets, which indicate their relative position on the list of the successful competitors. Besides, there is an

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

inscription which denotes the title of the emperor, date of year, title of viceroy, etc. Family relatives on the father's side are also permitted to make duplicates of the tablets, and suspend them as badges of honor or as ornaments to their home.

p.420 When a graduate of the first degree has kept up his regular attendance at the examination for the second until he has arrived at, about the age of eighty years without being able to attain the much-coveted literary rank, it becomes the duty of the governor to report his case to the emperor. His majesty presents the aged scholar with the title of Kujin, in honor of his long literary struggles. On the tablet which the old gentleman is authorized to place over the door to his residence he must put two words, which indicate that the honor was conferred by especial favor of the emperor himself. After the reception of this title, he may, if he pleases, and has the strength to endure the fatigues of the trip and the money to pay its expenses, go up to the capital and compete for the third degree, which, however, is very seldom done.

There is a still higher literary degree, obtained after an examination before the emperor of the best scholars of the doctors of laws. But it is not worth while to speak at length of this and other literary examinations of students at the capital. It is enough for our purpose to see them begin to climb the ladder of honor, wealth, and fame. The successful competitors on these occasions are sure of immediate, honorable, and lucrative positions as mandarins in the provinces, as members of the Hanlin college, or as members of some of the Six Boards.

A feast at the expense of the emperor is given at Peking in honor of the graduate of the third degree who has lived to the sixtieth year after he became *Chin-tsz*, or LL.D. Such a man has lived through one complete cycle since his graduation. He may erect an honorary tablet over his door which shall contain the four Chinese letters which denote the feast in his honor to which he has been invited by the emperor. Such a tablet is but rarely found, and is a token of great longevity.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

In the same manner, a feast is given to the graduates of the second degree who have lived sixty years after their graduation, if they have not attained to the third degree. The literary graduate has four characters indicating the fact put upon his tablet, and the military graduate has four other words indicating the same honorable fact. In these various ways does the emperor honor those who devote themselves to a literary life.

@

1.CHAPTER XVII**Competitive literary examinations***continued*

@

Just and legal Measures used to prevent Deception : p.421 Some of the Rules to be observed. — Use of a Stamp an Hour or two after Themes are given out. — An Examination of the Number of the Seat occupied by each is made. — Some Competitors invited to sit near the Literary Chancellor.

Unjust and unlawful Expedients used by Examiners : Graduation occasionally is a matter of Favor. — Private Marks or Characters sometimes given certain Competitors by which their Compositions can be recognized. — Examiners often bribed. — Graduation of certain Persons frequently urged for Friendship's Sake. — Assistants of the Examiners sometimes strongly recommend the Essays of certain Candidates.

Unjust and unlawful Expedients to succeed used by Competitors : An able Writer is hired to go into the Arena under the Name of his Employer. — Clerks are bribed to aid in various Ways. — 'Exchanging Rolls'. — Two Friends try to sit near each other by exchanging Seats with others. — Many Competitors enroll their Names in two or more Districts. — Some 'ride Horses'. — Essays sometimes are Written outside, and smuggled into the Hall in small Wax Balls or by underground Tunnels. — Sometimes Written outside, and afterward by a bribed Clerk mingled among those Written inside. — Sum to be paid for literary Help definitely agreed upon.

Military competitive Examinations : Skill in Archery and great physical Strength of paramount Importance. — Examination of military Undergraduates before the District Magistrate, Prefect, and Literary Chancellor described. — Examination of Graduates of the first military Degree before the Governor for the second Degree. — Successful Competitors call upon Friends and Relatives with a Band of Music and great Pomp. — Bribery less frequent than in literary Competitions. — Graduates of the second Degree go to Peking to compete for the third.

Just and legal Measures used to prevent Deception

@

The following are some of the just and legal measures which are sometimes resorted to by the presiding officers at the different literary examinations previous to examination of competitors for the second degree, to prevent or expose attempts to deceive on the part of the competitors.

Enough assistants and servants are employed in connection with these examinations to prevent fraud, *provided the p.422 principals and the*

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

subordinates were to be trusted, and were sincerely desirous of carrying out the laws and regulations. But the fact seems to be that the district magistrate, and the prefect, and the literary chancellor, or the imperial commissioners appointed to preside over examinations of candidates for the second degree, are oftentimes anxious to bestow favors contrary to law and justice, as well as their subordinates to receive bribes for violations of the rules on the part of competing candidates. The officers feel they can not trust their assistants, and the assistants are on the alert for ways and means to deceive the officers, or to wink at the violation of rules in order to benefit certain scholars, whose personal friends they are, or who have bought their aid or silence.

Allusions have been made to certain well-understood regulations, which it is the duty of the door-keepers, servants, and assistants of the officers to see carried out faithfully. If one of the competitors is found whispering with another, if he is detected in copying from or consulting any printed or manuscript volume or sheet which he has taken into the arena with him, or if any such helps are found on his person or in his possession, or if he is seen passing along to another person any written scroll, or if he is seen to use paper different from that provided by the clerk, or if it becomes manifest that he is writing for another to copy, that he is acting an assumed part, etc., it is the duty of some one of the assistants of the presiding officer to seize a certain stamp and proceed to impress it upon the roll of ruled paper with which the student competitor was provided on entering the arena. This stamping means that the individual in question has 'violated the rules', and after his roll has been stamped it will not be read and examined, no matter how good it may be. Nor will the violator of the regulations be allowed to enter any subsequent examination for that year. Doubtless many violations of the regulations are connived at by the clerks and assistants if done by a personal friend, or by one whom it will be profitable to allow to cheat, especially if a bonus should have been previously slipped into the hands of any principal clerk *as a proviso lest something should unfortunately occur.* In such cases the culprit is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

screened, if possible. Of course, if the violation is noticed by the presiding officer, the roll of the violator of the ^{p.423} rules must be promptly stamped, to save the honor and the reputation of the examiner.

Some time after the doors have been sealed and locked up for the day and the students have taken their seats, the following device is resorted to in order to prevent a certain kind of deception on the part of competitors. About an hour or two after themes have been made known, and the students have had time to arrange their thoughts and have commenced the copying off of their essays or poem, a man goes round to each competitor's seat with a stamp, and stamps the paper at the precise place where the last character has been written, as at the middle of the eighth line, or the end of the fifth, as the case may be. If no beginning has been made on the roll of ruled paper, the scroll is simply stamped on the outside. After this stamp has been impressed upon his scroll at the place where he had arrived in writing off his prose composition or his poem, the presiding examiner is pretty sure that no deception will be practiced upon him, unless aid be received from some sheet or book which has been smuggled in and consulted ; for at that stage of the proceedings it is usually too early to receive essays or poems written by confederates within the arena or without it. And unless a beginning has been already made, and should the roll be stamped on the outside, any essay or poem thereafter written out in it will not receive any attention from the examiner and judge. Suppose that a beginning has been already made on the first theme in anticipation of this stamping of the roll, and an essay which had been composed by an accomplice, who could not know, of course, how the commenced essay began, should afterward be received in time to be copied off on the ruled paper, the two parts would be very unlikely to match each other. The style of the part which was furnished by a confederate would be apt to differ very much from the style of the part at the beginning, written by the competitor at his seat in the hall. Unless the parts should be so composed as to match each other very well, the examining officer can readily detect any attempt at deception, so far as regards the splicing on to the part

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

above the stamp enough to complete the essay from a composition made outside of the premises or by an accomplice within. It is barely possible that the competitor may have ^{p.424} genius enough so to alter and modify the beginning of an essay prepared by a confederate as to have it properly match, or splice on the few lines he may have been able to compose before the paper was stamped. But it is not often that one who is not able to prepare his own essay so as to have it accepted, has genius enough to modify and change that of another man so as to join it on to a fragment of his own composition, in such a manner that both parts shall seem to the practiced eye and judgment of those who are on the look-out for discrepancies to have been composed by one person.

It has been already explained that the candidates before the literary chancellor have their seats fixed upon before they enter his yamun to compete for the first degree. The seats are arranged in rows, the rows being numbered with some character in the Millenary Character Classic in regular order. The seats in each row are numbered regularly one, two, three, etc. A slip of paper attached to his roll of ruled paper has the character indicating the row of seats and the number of his allotted seat in that row written or stamped upon it. He must, according to the regulations, occupy this particular seat during all the time that he is in the hall writing his essays and poem. During the session at any time, the examining officer may send around one or more clerks or assistants to examine the slip on the roll and the seat occupied by the competitor to whom the roll belongs, or is supposed to belong from the fact of its being in his possession, and from the circumstance of his being engaged in writing upon its pages. If the memoranda on the slip correspond with the row and the seat occupied by the candidate, it is taken for granted that every thing is right. Should, however, there be any discrepancy in regard to either row or number compared with the items of the slip at any time during the period allotted to the composition of the essays and the poem, it is taken for proof that there is an attempt at deception being practiced, and the paper of the student is summarily stamped with the stamp indicating that the rules have

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

been violated. Any excuse or explanation which may be attempted is regarded only as corroborative evidence that the person faulted is not honest. Should he say 'I mistook the range of seat', laying the blame upon poor eyesight, or haste, or want of attention, he would be answered, 'Are p.425 you not a scholar, and are you really as stupid you pretend ? If so, there would be no use in trying to compete'. This comparing the slips and seats to see if they correspond is called '*examination of the marks*'. Of course, it is dreaded only by the competitors who are conscious of endeavoring to succeed by unjust and deceptive measures ; an honest student has no reason to fear the result of this examination. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the examiner and his assistants, even if these officials are desirous of doing honestly their duties, students sometimes devise means to accomplish their ends by changing their seats without detection, and, of course, without exposure and dishonor, as will be explained below.

It sometimes occurs that the literary chancellor orders the clerk at the proper office connected with his yamun to have fifty or sixty of the best scholars, according to the lists recommended by the district magistrate and the prefect, to sit in a certain part of the hall during the sessions of his examinations, near which he himself is to be engaged. The others are distributed over the east and west sides of the hall, some of them at a considerable distance from his tribunal. The principal object of this arrangement, while it is professedly intended to honor these men by having them occupy seats near the person of the literary chancellor, is to have them under his personal supervision. In this way he can the more readily detect any attempt at deception on their part, either by consulting sheets of printed or manuscript papers, or by receiving aid in any form from people connected with the yamun directly or indirectly. When these competitors are thus seated under the immediate and watchful eye of the chief, his servants or his literary assistants find it usually extremely difficult to pass to any of their number a scroll received from persons outside of the arena or composed within the premises. Notwithstanding the honor of

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

being thus seated, even honest students generally prefer to be seated in some other part of the arena, as it affords no advantages, and they feel they are under the constant personal espionage of their literary judge. Of course, students who desire to make use of unfair and unlawful means to attain success dislike extremely to be obliged to take their seats at the upper end of the arena, and within speaking distance of ^{p.426} the literary chancellor. But what he wishes must be done with apparent pleasure. A sullen and dissatisfied appearance would militate against them. As these honored competitors are few in number, and as they may not at pleasure vacate their seats and ramble over the premises, but must remain at their posts, it is competent for the literary chancellor to prevent their communicating with any of the servants or the assistants more than he is pleased to permit, and he may personally inspect all that is done to them or for them, and prevent, if he is sincerely desirous of preventing, the use of unlawful means.

The preceding account or description of the lawful expedients employed to prevent the use of any unfair and unlawful methods to insure success on the part of the competitors relates to those examinations which result in the graduation of bachelors, not masters of arts. In regard to the measures resorted to in examinations before the imperial commissioners for the second degree something has already been said. It is difficult to attain to very clear views in detail concerning the methods employed to prevent fraud and deception at the examinations before these commissioners. Enough was said to show that abundant measures are employed to prevent the use of unfair means, provided the servants and literary assistants connected with the premises are faithful and strict in the discharge of the duties of their stations.

It must be sufficiently evident, from what has been explained and suggested, that when the presiding examiners, and their assistants and underlings in the examination of undergraduates or graduates, are truly anxious to detect imposition, and prevent the employment of unjust and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

unlawful helps in the composition of the essays and poems, it is impossible for the competitors to succeed in duping them.

It is affirmed that very often the literary chancellor and the imperial commissioners are bribed to confer degrees upon certain competitors. Sometimes large sums are given in order to corrupt these officials. It is an easy task to arrange such matters with the literary chancellor, if he is willing to be persuaded, for he dwells at the provincial capital for three years, and respectable men may readily gain access to his person. In regard to the imperial commissioners, it is more difficult to ^{p.427} gain access to them after their arrival at the capital of the province, for, as has been remarked, they are shut up inside of sealed doors in their temporary residences before they enter upon the discharge of their official duties in the premises allotted for their use during the preparation and examination of essays at the hall. It is the design of the emperor that they shall have no intercourse with the people of the province, lest they should be tempted to do unlawful things. This practical difficulty is often remedied by those who wish to bribe them, as well as by those who wish to prefer some claim for their favor, by sending on messengers with letters and proposals to meet them while several days journey distant from the provincial city. In this way every thing may be arranged to the satisfaction of the competitors before the commissioners reach the city where they expect to exercise their official functions. The stanza or clause of the poem, or the characters which are to be inserted at specified places in the compositions to be made, are fixed upon, and it only remains to be seen whether the commissioner interested in the individual will succeed in getting possession of these compositions, which can not always be affirmed with certainty.

Sometimes the district magistrate or the prefect, as a matter of favor to a relative or for friendship's sake, will consent to place at the head of the lists of the candidates they recommend to the literary chancellor names of certain candidates, and frequently they are induced to make

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

certain individuals head their lists, in view of the sum of money which is secured to them in case these individuals actually come out of the arena before the literary chancellor accepted 'bachelors'. Sometimes, it is affirmed, they dare even to intimate to the literary chancellor the pleasure it would give them, and the obligations under which they would be laid, if certain persons on their list could be deemed worthy of a degree. In such cases, their intimations are understood by the chancellor, and if he is friendly with them, and can not advance his own interests in a better way, these persons are almost sure to become successful competitors. In like manner, occasionally the high officers found at the provincial city use their influence with the literary chancellor privately, but in such a manner that he can not misunderstand their meaning. He is generally believed to ^{p.428} have no personal objection to making friends among high mandarins by doing little favors for them which come in his line of business, or to replenishing his purse with the voluntary presents of his affectionate and obliged pupils.

Stories are current relating to literary chancellors who were very strict, and to others who were very remiss. Of a certain literary chancellor it is related that he was so strict that he would allow no one but himself in the hall after the themes had been given out. He actually turned all his assistants and servants out of the premises, shutting and fastening the inner doors with his own hands ; but one of his chief clerks managed to speak with him during the session, and to fasten upon his garments a paper which had been prepared on the themes given out by an accomplice, in accordance with a previous understanding. This paper the literary chancellor unwittingly took back into the arena, where it was dexterously removed from his clothing by one of the competitors.

Unjust and unlawful Expedients used by Examiners

@

Generally speaking, the examining officers are not averse to receiving bribes to give the preference to certain individuals, and sometimes they are themselves desirous to confer favors upon certain candidates to requite an act of kindness received on a former occasion, or to oblige a friend or relative. For instance, the literary chancellor or the imperial commissioners sent to preside at the examinations may have relatives or friends living in the province, who have sons who would like to become 'bachelors' or 'masters'; or they may have friends in other provinces to whom they feel under obligations, who have friends or relatives living in this, who would not object to having some of their children, or brothers, or uncles graduate. As soon as the name of a new literary chancellor or the names of new imperial examining commissioners transpire, plans are often laid in this and other provinces which it is designed shall lead to the graduation of various competitors, as a matter of favor to some personal friend or family relative. If the literary chancellor wishes to bestow a bachelorship upon any one, it is the simplest and easiest thing imaginable. He may become personally acquainted with the individual, and give him a private signal or mark to be made upon ^{p.429} a particular part of his essay; or the whole matter may be arranged by a confidential friend of the aspiring scholar; or he may have him seated near him in the last examination preceding the making out of the list of successful candidates, and so make sure of obtaining his manuscript. He need only mark it as accepted, and the thing is accomplished.

Should either of the commissioners presiding over the examination of candidates for the second degree wish to confer a degree upon a certain individual, he has only to give him two or three characters to insert in a specified part of the essay, and the essay will then be easily recognized. Should the composition be posted upon the wall for violation of the rules, the individual would be rejected, and there would be no resource; or should it fall into the hands of the other commissioner, the individual

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

might not be successful. It would de-pend more on its merits. Should the composition not be '*recommended*' by the subordinate literary assistants who examine the essays and poems before they go before the commissioners themselves, but rejected because of decidedly inferior worth, in case the commissioner should be determined to try and find them, he would only have to report to the subordinate assistants that there were not enough good ones recommended and sent up to him, when they would be obliged to recommend some more which they deemed the next best. In such cases, these assistants usually suspect that there is favoritism or bribery at the bottom of the desire for more essays and poems. The commissioner may or may not find the particular essays and poem. Should he find one set at any of the examinations, as first, second, or third, there are means by which he can obtain the other two to make up the three sets. What is meant by saying he may give the candidate certain characters to insert at certain places in his essay may be illustrated by the following supposition : he instructs him to use the word '*heaven*' on the second page, sixth column, and fourteenth space, and the word '*earth*' on the fourth page, third column, and fourth space, or near the beginning of the line. As it would be a very rare chance if any essay should have these two characters so placed except it was planned for a purpose, the examining commissioner, as soon as he comes across these words, understands who the writer is. It will be remembered ^{p.430} that the original manuscripts in black ink are not seen by the commissioner, but a faithful copy, minus marks and blots, etc., written out in red ink.

Nowadays it has become more customary for the commissioners to give the favored one a line or two of poetry to use at the end, or the beginning, or the middle of his poem, than to give certain characters to be used according to a private understanding. A few years since, a very large proportion of the graduates of the first degree were *very young*, and it was said, in explanation, that the literary chancellor who presided at the examination when they graduated loved to graduate young candidates.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Others, it is said, sometimes carry out the contrary caprice of graduating *old men*. In all such cases, it is not probable that the selection of the fortunate ones was made according to the merit of their compositions.

It occurs not unfrequently that the chief clerk, in connection with the yamen of the literary chancellor, or some of the high literary assistants who are employed in connection with the examination of candidates for the second degree, become interested in the success of certain candidates either because they are relatives or personal friends, or because they have been bribed to forward their interests. In such cases they take occasion to recommend strongly certain manuscripts, which they are able to distinguish from all others by private marks. If the examining judge should seem disposed to pass them by as unworthy, they sometimes presume to recommend again and again with great persistence, yet with the exhibition of great humility and respect, the same manuscripts to the favorable judgment of their respected and venerable teacher. At such times he generally at once suspects that there is some private influence being brought to bear ; and, provided the manuscripts are not decidedly inferior, and provided the reception of them into the number of approved manuscripts will not interfere with his own private plans and interests in regard to the list of successful competitors, he often consents to look over the roll of compositions again, and concludes to agree that they are worthy. Sometimes a repeated recommendation of the high merits of certain manuscripts, contrary to the manifest judgment of the chief examiner, on the part of his subordinate, would but decide their fate unfavorably, as he might be ^{p.431} indisposed to be a party to the success of any secret intrigue in regard to the probable pecuniary profits of which he was not sure of being a partaker. He might also feel that, for the sake of his reputation, he must at once oppose the success of any competitor who, as he believed, had interested one or more of his assistants in a conspiracy in his favor. He must show himself just and impartial in his judgments.

Unjust and unlawful Expedients to succeed, used by Competitors

@

It is a common practice for a student who resides in a country place, and who has money to spare for the purpose, to hire a good scholar who lives in the city, and who has the reputation of being a quick and accurate composer of literary essays and poems, to go into the proper examinations in his name and in his behalf. Country students are not usually as talented and as skillful in literary compositions as are scholars bred in the city. By hiring a city man, if of good natural and acquired parts, the countryman is supposed to stand a better chance of success than though he trusted to his own abilities. This course is manifestly unfair and unjust to the other candidates of his district ; for by as much as this hiring a stranger, who is a better scholar than himself, increases his prospects of success, by so much does it diminish the chance of the graduation of some one of the rest. They generally resist any such attempts to acquire a bachelorship by personal violence, if threats do not intimidate the hired man, or by revealing his true character after assembling in the examination hall. They prefer, however, to prevent his actually getting into the arena devoted to the composition of their tasks, if possible.

Those candidates for the first degree who for any reason are detained from meeting with the rest of their fellows, and competing before the district magistrate or the prefect, and yet are in season for competing at the regular examination before the literary chancellor, when they have money which they are willing to spend in this way, resort sometimes to the following expedient in order to be able to enter that examination. They go to the proper clerks connected with the yamuns of the district magistrate and the prefect, and bribe them to supply them with the necessary sets of rolls of ruled paper, on which they ^{p.432} proceed to write essays and poems on the themes which have already been discussed at the examinations which he missed. These essays and poems are then handed to the clerks,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

who take them and mix them up with the essays and poems prepared by the other competitors in the usual manner and at the proper time, but which were not regarded very worthy. The clerks are also bribed to annex the names of those absentees on the list of those who really entered the examinations. In this way these real delinquents have their names recorded on the list of candidates recommended to the literary chancellor, and have also rolls of essays and poems, which may be referred to by the literary chancellor, should they, while competing in the examination presided over by him, write essays and poems which rank high. It may be deemed desirable by him to compare the essays which they wrote at the other examinations, as regards style and handwriting, in order to detect attempts at deception.

Sometimes, in case an undergraduate knows he can not be present for some reason at the lower examinations, he engages a personal literary friend to go into the arena and compete in his name, doing as well as he can ; or he hires some scholar to go in and write essays in his behalf. On his arrival, his friend or the hired scholar retires, allowing him to take his proper place, under his own name, at the future examinations. He need not pursue the course described in the preceding paragraph, but simply '*exchange rolls*' — that is, he bribes the clerk or clerks to furnish him the number of rolls of ruled paper required, and to lend the rolls which contains the essays and poems composed in his behalf by his friend or the hired scholar. He keeps these borrowed rolls of manuscript only long enough to copy off the compositions made by his proxy, which he hands into the possession of the clerk or clerks. The copies are mixed up with the other manuscripts, and the original rolls are destroyed or put out of the way. Should he, at a future examination, write approved essays and poems, and should the literary chancellor like to compare those made at the lower and previous examinations, the copies, which of course are in his own handwriting, would be produced for comparison.

Sometimes two students wish to sit very near each other at the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

examinations, not for the purpose of mutually aiding each ^{p.433} other, but that one of them may be of service to the other. In such cases, one is hired to aid the other because of his ability to compose with celerity and correctness. It is his object to compose the essays and poem for his employer to copy. The nearer they can sit to each other, the less probability will there be of being detected and exposed in any attempts to pass manuscripts back and forth. For example, A and B wish to sit near each other, but they find that their scrolls of paper indicate widely distant seats. One is marked for the eleventh seat of the first row on the east side of the main passage-way in the centre of the hall, and the other is marked for the fourth seat of the fifteenth row on the west side of the passage-way. A tries to make an arrangement with some one whose seat is near the appointed seat of his friend B, so that he may use that seat instead of his own. At the same time, B tries to make arrangements to sit by his employer or friend A. If either can find any one who will accommodate him for friendship or for money, he exchanges his ticket for the ticket of the other ; for, as it has been observed above, should an 'examination of marks' be made, the scroll must be found at the place where it is appointed to be, or it is summarily stamped. The men, in effect, simply change seats, the one using the scroll prepared for the other. It is said that sometimes comparatively a large sum of money is paid for the privilege of occupying some conveniently-located seat. The arrangement must be concluded, and the exchange of tickets corresponding to the rolls of ruled paper must be made, before the names of the candidates are called over, and the men are obliged to take their places on the morning of the examination day. It would not be possible to make an arrangement subsequent to that time, as the competitors are required to take their seats as soon as they receive their rolls of ruled paper in exchange for their tickets.

According to law, a man ought to compete only in the district to which he belongs ; but oftentimes, in the case of two very populous districts adjoining each other, as at this city, the eastern part of the city belonging to one district and the western part belonging to another district, students

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

manage to compete in two districts, all in order to increase the chance of success. If the examinations fall on the same day in both districts, a student can not, of course, be present at both. The p.434 course he takes is to have his patronymic, or family name, recorded in the proper offices of the two districts, but with different given or personal names, one of which is his true, and the other an assumed name. In case the examination falls on the same day in both districts, he makes use of only one of his names, of course, going into the examination which he thinks affords the surest prospect of success, hiring some one to go into the other examination for him, or selling out the opportunity to the highest bidder, or allowing a personal friend to take advantage of the opening for his own benefit.

Sometimes an enterprising man, a little before the time when an examination of candidates for the first degree is to commence, prepares a room or building near the arena, and invites a number of talented men to come there and hire out their services to rich candidates who wish to obtain secret aid. The premises are called a '*horse-shed*' or a '*horse-stable*', and the men who come there to write essays for their employers are called '*horses*'. Their employers are said to '*ride horses*'. The '*horses*' are necessarily men of superior gifts at literary composition, and are often graduates of the first or the second degree, who are needy, and willing to do an unjust and unlawful action for a pecuniary consideration. The head man of the *horse-shed* employs men to act the part of gobetweens, who go around secretly to the rich candidates and try and find out who are willing to pay liberally for literary help. These candidates are brought to the rendezvous for consultation and decision in regard to price for the aid to be rendered and the particular '*horses*' they are to ride. The man whose service is engaged then lays his plans, whether to go into the examination in person, or remain outside and prepare the essay and the poem. He sometimes tries to get into the arena by hiring a student to stay out, taking his ticket, and assuming his name for the time being, or by finding out a competitor who has his name recorded in two districts, and purchasing from him the privilege of using his name in one. All this is contrary to law,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and the guilty parties are liable to be punished with severity in case of detection. The head man always receives a certain percentage, usually about ten per cent., on the sums agreed upon between the horses and their riders. The horses, if detected, are sometimes *put in the cangue* for a ^{p.435} certain number of days, or, if graduates, they may be degraded from their literary rank. Notwithstanding the risk, there are plenty who are willing to engage in the business provided the pay offered is ample. If the examining officer is very strict, the 'horse' usually concludes to write his composition outside, and send it into the place of examination for his rider to copy.

In accordance with established custom, the one who acted as gobetween between the rich candidate and his literary 'horse', in case the former should succeed at the examination, will expect to receive a certain percentage on the sum agreed upon as pay for the services which he negotiated, over and above what he received at the time of making the contract, if he received any. If the sum is two hundred thousand cash, he would expect forty thousand cash as his share of the spoils, the usual proportion being *twenty per cent.*, unless some other percentage is fixed upon at the time of making the bargain. This is called '*turning-around-the-head cash*', referring to cash which is paid after some understood event has transpired, and which requires one to turn around, go back, and receive it. The custom of paying '*turning-around-the-head cash*' extends to many other subjects besides those which relate to literary matters. It is a kind of bonus or present given, in case some very desirable event takes place, to those who have acted the part of middle-men in negotiations relating to it. Sometimes these men who sell their services are called by other names than *horses*, and their services are frequently engaged for examinations before the district magistrate, prefect, and the literary chancellor. It is always understood that if successful in obtaining a degree by the aid of another, the competitor must pay the one who was his horse ten times as much as he agreed to pay him whether successful or not. If he agrees to pay him one hundred taels whether he succeeds or not, he is bound to pay one thousand taels in the event of his graduation by his help. The man

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

gives his note of hand, with the signature of some relative or friend as security, to be paid after the close of the examinations. The sum paid for aid at the first examination before the examiners, as district magistrate and prefect, is oftentimes quite small. The nearer the examination for which aid is purchased is to the last one before the literary chancellor, which is generally the decisive ^{p.436} one, the higher the sum demanded and promised. Sometimes a particular sum is fixed upon, provided the competitor's name should head the list before the lowest two examining officers at their last sessions, as such a person is almost sure of attaining the degree, in accordance with the established custom.

In examinations of candidates before the imperial commissioners for the second degree, sometimes aid is only procured for the composition of the poetry, or for the third or fourth prose essay, the competitor himself having succeeded in preparing the other essays to his liking. Such help is usually hired of those who happen to occupy adjoining cells or apartments, and who have already finished their own tasks, and have time and strength to spare before the doors open and the session closes. Such a man generally is willing to sell his services cheaply, sometimes receiving not more than five or ten thousand cash for literary labor performed after his own compositions are completed. It is reported to be seldom practicable for horses outside of the hall to prepare and send in essays and poems to their riders inside to copy. Strange stories, however, are told of compositions made in very fine characters, and written on very thin paper, being smuggled into the hall by being incased in a coating of wax, and put into the waterbuckets, which are turned into the troughs or reservoirs which connect with the inside of the hall. These are picked out of the water by accomplices who act as servants or watchmen inside, and conveyed to the owners, whose names or whose seats are known at once to those who understand the private marks on the surface of the wax balls. Of course, the marks being unintelligible to the uninitiated, if these balls should happen to fall into the hands of those officers or servants who are not in the secret, the circumstance would not implicate any assistant, and could

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

not be used as proof against any particular competitor. He would only lose the benefit he might have derived from the use of the contents of his ball.

It is also related that outside accomplices formerly used to contrive to get manuscript essays and poems conveyed to their friends inside the arena by using underground communications, and by sliding the manuscripts up the hollow legs of tables or hollow posts, which connected with a cellar or tunnel, the cellar or tunnel, of course, connecting with some adjacent ^{p.437} building outside the premises. It was necessary in such cases that some person inside the hall should be on the look-out for the appearance of the manuscript, who would convey it to the competitor for whom it was designed. This expedient only avoided the danger and difficulty of employing a person connected with the hall to carry the manuscript through the door and deliver it to the owner who is inside, which, when the examining officer is not strict, is an easy thing to do. Bribery must be resorted to in every case.

It sometimes occurs that the competitor at the first and second examinations before the district magistrate and the prefect manages to slip undetected or unchallenged out of the premises after his name has been called, and after he has obtained his roll of ruled paper in exchange for his ticket obtained from the proper clerk, but before the doors are shut and sealed, usually with the connivance of the door-keeper. In such a case, he goes to a convenient place, and prepares his essays and poem on the themes given out, either alone or with the help of friends, using all the helps he pleases to use. The themes are often made known to accomplices or friends outside by servants or literary assistants connected with the premises, who write them on a piece of tile, or on a piece of paper tied to a stone, which is then thrown over the outside wall at a particular place, or the paper is thrust through a crevice in an outside door or a pole in the wall. By preconcerted arrangement, the themes are taken by a confederate and distributed to those who have bribed the clerks to procure them. Or sometimes the roll of paper is taken outside after the doors are sealed and

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

locked, the competitor to whom it belongs remaining inside, and an accomplice writes the essays and poems, and then delivers the roll, after the doors have been opened and a part of the competitors have come out, to the proper clerk or underling, who takes it inside the hall, and hands it, as though prepared in the hall, to the proper literary assistant of the examiner, who deposits it among other unexamined manuscripts, where it is found in due time by the chief. The particular kind of deception now described is said to be very unpopular and disgraceful, even the candidates being the judges, though it is occasionally practiced when detection is not probable by those who have money to spare for bribing the ^{p.438} servants and assistants connected with the premises where the sessions are held.

Frequent allusion has been made to the assistants, clerks, and servants, who allow themselves to be bribed to aid the competitors by carrying in to them, to copy, sheets of manuscripts received from outside accomplices, or scrolls already written out on the appointed roll of ruled paper, or by communicating information in regard to the themes given out by the examiner. There is so much of this kind of deception done that there is a regular scale of charges for services in ordinary cases rendered to competitors by these men. For example, the regular bribe for carrying in a paper containing essays and poems written outside for a candidate within, at the first examination before the district magistrate, is said to be four hundred cash ; at the second examination, eight hundred cash ; at the third, one thousand six hundred cash ; and at the fifth, six thousand four hundred, doubling the rate at each higher session. Sometimes the magistrate suspects that deception is being carried on in regard to certain persons or a certain class of competitors. He therefore requires them to sit in a more retired part of the premises, or nearer him. In such cases the difficulty of conveying secret dispatches to them is greatly increased. The assistant or clerk who conveys manuscripts to such students expects to receive at least twice as much as though they occupied the seats that would naturally fall to their lot. For example : in another case, where he would expect to receive for the sixth session only twelve thousand eight hundred cash for services, he would now

demand twenty-five thousand six hundred cash, which the person would be required, by the *rules of honor* in force here, to pay him with promptness, should the manuscript reach him safely and without detection. When the standard of the amount of the bribe for the first examination before any examiner becomes fixed or settled upon for any given year, the charge for any subsequent examination can be readily figured up by doubling that sum for each intervening examination until the number in question is reached. Of course, extraordinary services are paid for at extraordinary prices, such as are agreed upon : for these there is no general rule or regular sum.

It must be evident that the lists of successful candidates at p.439 examinations for the first and the second literary degree furnish no positive proof that the individuals concerned succeeded by their own merit.

Military Competitive Examinations

@

There are regular competitive examinations of candidates for military honors in China, conducted much after the same manner as the examinations for literary rank are conducted. Competitors for the first military degree, a military bachelorship, are examined by the same officials as are literary competitors, but candidates for the second military degree are examined by the provincial governor instead of special commissioners from Peking.

It seems strange to those who are accustomed to Western ideas that common civil officers, who know nothing about the practice of arms, should be deemed entirely competent in China to superintend military examinations, and decide in regard to the relative merits and attainments of the competitors. It seems also very strange that in a land where the use of gunpowder has been known for centuries, no skill in the employment of guns and cannons should be required in candidates for military rank. Skill in archery and great physical strength are deemed of more importance than any other attainment relating to war.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Those who desire to compete for the first military degree are required to present themselves before the district magistrate of the district where they properly belong at the time he appoints. They must first have their names entered on the list of competitors by the clerk of a certain office connected with his yamun, in order to which they are required to furnish the clerk a document stating various particulars relating to himself, which must be certified to by some one of the class of literary graduates of the first degree who are appointed to act as 'securities' for candidates for the first literary degree. Without this security to their document their names would not be recorded on the list of candidates, and they would not be allowed to enter the arena.



Military candidates competing with the bow and arrow

At the first examination before the district magistrate they are exercised in the practice of archery, standing : they are examined in regard to their proficiency in shooting at a mark, ^{p.440} each one shooting three arrows. At the second examination before this official they are exercised in the practice of archery on horseback. In like manner they are required to shoot three arrows at a mark, but while the horse is running. At the third examination they are all exercised with large swords, and with heavy stones, and with stiff bows. There are three kinds of swords which they are required to brandish ; one, it is said, weighs 100 pounds, the second 120 pounds, and the other 180 pounds. The stones are also of three different

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

sizes ; one weighs 100 pounds, another 120 pounds, and the other 160 pounds. These they are required to handle according to a certain rule. The bows they are exercised in bending are also of three different degrees of stiffness. It requires the expenditure of 100 pounds of strength to bend the smallest, 120 pounds of strength to bend the second size, and 160 pounds of strength to bend the third size. It is probable that, in fact, the strength necessary to bend the bows, to handle the stones, and to brandish the swords, is considerably less than is indicated by the above figures, illustrating the difference between theory and practice, or ^{p.441} between law and custom. No archery is exacted at the third session, but simply bending the bows, and manœuvring and practicing with the swords and stones, each man by himself and each man for himself.

The names of the competitors who do not fail entirely, or come below the lowest standard of merit allowable, or violate some of the well understood rules of the examination, are paraded in public on large sheets of paper, according to their relative attainments and worth, soon after the close of each session. The one who heads the list at the end of the third examination it is customary for the literary chancellor to graduate. A list of competitors is made out by the district magistrate at the close of his sessions for the literary chancellor to examine.

At the proper time, these military champions meet together at the rendezvous appointed by the prefect for the candidates of the different districts in his prefecture, where they pass through three sessions of examinations before him, in much the same order, and with the same kind of weapons or instruments, as they have already passed through before their respective district magistrates. In like manner, the prefect causes a list to be made out of the candidates which have been examined before him, which he sends up to the literary chancellor. The head man on the list at the third examination before the prefect is also sure of graduation provided he does only tolerably well before the chancellor.

The literary chancellor has also three sessions before him, which are

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

usually held at his yamun, or he may have them appointed on the parade-ground south of the city, as he pleases. The mode he employs to ascertain the merit of the candidates is similar to the course pursued by the two lower examiners. At the close of the third session, a list of those who are regarded as the most proficient and dexterous, and therefore the most worthy, is prepared. These competitors are required to come into the yamun for a fourth exercise of a literary kind. They are required to copy from memory a certain short military treatise. The literary chancellor can graduate as many men of the first military degree for each prefecture as he can graduate of the first literary degree. The military bachelors, with artificial flowers in their caps and with silk scarfs around ^{p.442} their shoulders, parade the streets, with banners and with a band of music, in very much the same manner as do the literary bachelors after their graduation. A noticeable difference in the dress of the two classes is that the former always have round-toed boots, while the latter have square-toed boots. They are permitted to wear the button denoting their rank on their caps, but they have no pay and no employment as soldiers unless they enter the ranks of the soldiers. In such a case they have rations, and have the advantage over the common soldier of being able to compete for military employment as officers. Few of the graduates, however, enter the ranks as common soldiers.

The examination for the second degree, or master of arts, of the military bachelors of all the province, takes place at the provincial capital, under the supervision of the provincial governor as chief. He usually has four sessions. The first consists of shooting at a target with three arrows while standing on the ground. The second consists of shooting at a target with the same number of arrows from horseback while the horse is running. The third consists of archery on horseback. The target is three-sided, placed on the ground, and is called '*the earth*' or the '*earthly ball*'. It is made out of leather, and measures about a foot across each of its sides. The fourth consists of an exercise with the three large swords, the three large stones, and the three large bows, much as in the lower examinations before they attained their bachelorships.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The number of successful competitors for the second military degree for all the provinces is only about sixty. These men engage with great show and pomp, having banners and music, in the custom of calling upon their friends, to honor them or to receive their congratulations, after they have paid their respects to the higher mandarins, whom law or custom makes it their duty to call upon soon after they have obtained their degree.

There is doubtless considerable bribery employed by the richer class of these military candidates in order to secure a degree, and considerable favor shown at times by the examiners, but not nearly as much as in the case of literary competitors. The trials are more openly conducted than are the trials for literary degrees, and success depends very much on ^{p.443} personal skill and physical strength, which are tangible and visible in their developments at the examinations. There is not much room for successful bribery unless there be also a tolerable degree of attainment in the use of the weapons employed.

Those in the different provinces who have attained to the second military degree must go to Peking in order to compete for the third degree. The successful competitors there are always sure of finding immediate employment in the army or navy somewhere in the empire. The unsuccessful competitors, on their return to their own provinces, may, if they please, connect themselves with the body-guard of the provincial governor, and become a kind of personal attendants upon him. They have no regular salary while in this position. After following the governor for three years, they are entitled, according to law, to employment by the government as military officers of the rank and title of a chiliarch or colonel. In fact, however, it is affirmed, generally only those who are special favorites of the governor, or who have money to spend in the shape of presents *alias* bribes, succeed, even after the expiration of three years' attendance upon him, in becoming colonels. Those who use money enough in the proper, or, rather, improper way, need not wait three years before they are appointed to a command.

@

1. **CHAPTER XVIII**

Chinese anecdotes

@

Precocious Youth. — Indigent Students. — Filial and Dutiful Children.

Precocious Youth

p.444 Every nation delights in recording the wise sayings and the remarkable deeds of its precocious youth. This kind of reading, if it does not afford much instruction to the learned and the adult, at least furnishes amusement for them. Who does not enjoy an apt saying or a striking anecdote, especially when the early age or some other condition of its subject renders it entirely unexpected ?

The Chinese are not exceptions to the truth of these remarks. They have wonderful stories to relate about children in olden times, who were wise and gifted above their years. A few of these stories are subjoined. Perhaps it should be first stated that it is sometimes impossible, and very often exceedingly difficult, to render from the Chinese into English a smart saying in such a manner as to do it justice, on account of the *play on the sound* or the *meaning* of the words in the original. Some one has said, in substance, that 'a pun can no more be translated than it can be engraved'.

During the Northern Sung dynasty, which began about 421, and ended 479 A.D., there lived a little boy whose name was Noo. At an early age he was noted for the versatility of his talents and the tenacity of his memory. In studying a book, it is said he needed only to read it over once and then he could repeat it. One day, when he was four years old, a guest remarked in the hearing of the lad that 'Confucius had no elder brother'. Noo instantly replied, in the language of the Classic, 'He took his elder brother's daughter

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and gave her away in marriage', thus proving that Confucius had an elder brother. The whole company greatly wondered at this extraordinary reply.

In the same dynasty lived a little boy whose name was ^{p.445} Kuang. One day, while playing with a company of children, one of them happened to fall into a large earthen jar full of water. All of the other boys except Kuang were too much frightened to render any assistance, and ran away. He, taking a stone, broke the jar, and saved his playmate's life by letting the water escape. Every one who heard the circumstances admired the boy's uncommon wisdom and presence of mind.

In the same dynasty there lived another bright lad, whose name was Yenfoh. While quite small, he was once playing ball with some juvenile companions. The ball lodging in the deep cavity of a post, all gave it up as lost except Yenfoh. He took water, and, pouring it into the hole in the post, the ball floated to the surface.

During the after Han dynasty, between 221 and 265 A.D., at the age of seven years, the boy Pa perfectly understood 'Spring and Autumn', one of the profound text-books studied by the Chinese, being one of the 'Five Classics'. On proceeding to study the remaining Classics, his father and mother endeavored to dissuade him, saying you are only a little boy ; you are not able to study them. He answered, 'Yes, I can study them, and have leisure too'. He had such extraordinary abilities that he was often called Tsang-tsze, after one of the most renowned of the seventy-two disciples of Confucius.

In the time of the same dynasty lived a man named Wan, who at an early age was distinguished for his ready wit. When he was only seven years old, his grandfather was prefect in the country of Wei. An eclipse of the sun occurring, the prefect informed the emperor of the fact. The queen dowager inquired how much of the sun was eclipsed. The prefect did not know what to answer, when his little grandson, standing by his side, suggested to him,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

— Why not say the part of the sun not eclipsed is as large as the moon in the first of the month ?

The old man returned the indefinite reply thus suggested, greatly surprised, and wondering at the quick understanding and ready expression of his little grandson.

In the kingdom of Wei, during the third century, lived two intimate friends, whose ancestral names were Yang and Kung. Kung is the first character of the expression in the Chinese language for *peacock*, and Yang is the first of the two characters which denote the fruit *arbutus*. One day Mr. Kung called to ^{p.446} see Mr. Yang, but not finding him at home, called his little boy Sew, a very bright and intelligent lad of nine years, to come and talk with him. In the room were some of the first *arbutus* of the season, provided for the entertainment of company. Mr. Kung, wishing to jest with the boy on his name, pointing to the *arbutus*, playfully remarked,

— I suppose this is a family fruit, a relative of yours ?

Sew immediately rejoined,

— I never before heard that the *peacock* was a member of your family !

In the same country lived a little boy whose name was Lin. One day a friend of his father came to the door of his house, and inquired of Lin,

— Is Pehtsin (mentioning the given name of his father) at home ?

The lad did not answer, nor did he make the customary bow of respect. The man, surprised, said,

— Why do you not make a bow to me ?

Lin replied,

— I ought, indeed, to make a bow to you ; but if you speak to me about my father, using his given name, for what reason should I be polite to you ?

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

According to the rules of Chinese etiquette, using the given name of one's father in addressing his son indicates a lack of good-breeding. He should be referred to as the Distinguished Great Man, or the Venerable Gentleman, etc. The little boy meant, if you are not polite in speaking to me of my father, why should I be polite in speaking to you or in recognizing you ? You are yourself impolite, why insist on my being polite ?

During the Ming dynasty, which began 1368 and ended 1643 A.D., lived the lad Tapin, who was a youth of uncommon intelligence and propriety. Having studied the Four Books and the Five Classics only once, it is affirmed, he did not forget them. When eight years old, he called on a literary man of high rank, and conducted himself with the self-possession and propriety of an elderly gentleman. His host, pointing to a chair as the subject of an impromptu verse, in Chinese style giving out the first line, said,

— With a cushion made of tiger's skin to cover the student's chair.

Tapin, being expected to pronounce the second line, all the words of which were to have certain correspondence to the words found in the first line, immediately answered,

— With a pencil made of rabbits' hair to write the graduate's tablet.

The gentleman struck the table before him in delight, and rewarded the boy.

p.447 At the age of thirteen he graduated Master of Arts the second in the list. At an examination in the capital for Doctor of Laws, during the reign of Ching-tik, his name was second among the successful competitors. In a trial before the emperor the same year, he came out number third, and became a member of the Han Lin, the imperial college, at a very early age.

During the Southern Sung dynasty (960–1280 A.D.), the famous commentator on the Chinese Classics, Chufutze, when only eight years old, was master of the doctrines of the treatise on Filial Piety. He wrote on the cover, using eight characters, 'He who does not comply with this is not a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

perfect man'. While engaged with other boys in juvenile plays, he was accustomed to take sand, and, having arranged it in lines on the ground, like the eight diagrams invented by Fuh Hi and now commonly used in divination, he would then sit down and gaze at them in perfect silence, as though absorbed in study.

In the time of the Northern Sung dynasty lived Wang Yoo-ching, who at the age of seven years could compose literary essays with correctness. A certain assistant prefect, who afterward became prime minister, hearing that the lad's father was a miller, and desirous of trying his genius, one day asked him to pronounce an impromptu verse about the mill. He pronounced without hesitation four lines, which not only were admirable specimens of Chinese poetry, but also indicated the lad's high ambition. The assistant prefect was so delighted that he took the boy home, and allowed him to study with his own children. On a certain day the prefect invited his assistant to dinner. While at dinner he gave out, as the first line of an impromptu stanza, the sentence, 'The parrot, though it talks, can not compare with the phoenix'. None of the guests were able properly to match it with a line. On returning home the assistant prefect inscribed it on a flower-vase. Yoo-ching, happening to see it, immediately wrote underneath, 'The spider, though skillful, can not compare with the silkworm'. The assistant prefect was greatly delighted, and caused the lad to dress himself in clothing made after the fashion worn by adults, and afterward addressed him as his 'little friend'.

Indigent Students

@

p.448 The following anecdotes are perhaps as fair specimens as any which can be selected from the history of this people, to show what examples are held up for the imitation and encouragement of the student in his endeavors to pursue study under unpropitious circumstances. It is

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

worthy of notice that the heroes of these stories almost always succeeded in their efforts to acquire literary fame and official employment.

He fastened his hair by a cord to the top of the house when he studied.

In the feudal state of T'su, during the Chau dynasty, several hundred years before Christ, Sun King was in the habit of shutting himself up in his house when he studied, in order to prevent his mind from being diverted from his books. For the purpose of keeping awake when he was drowsy, he tied one end of a cord to the hair of his head, and fastened the other end to a beam in the top of his house. Whenever he appeared in the streets, the people were accustomed to call out as with one accord, '*The teacher who shuts himself up (to study) is coming*'.

He traced the characters on the sand with a reed. During the Southern Sung dynasty, Ngan Yangsui, when only four years old, lost his father. His mother, vowing never to marry again, taught her son how to read ; but the family were so poor as to be unable to procure paper and pencils, and she therefore wrote the characters on the sand with a reed, and thus instructed him. The lad was quicker at learning than lads usually are. By reading any thing only once he could immediately repeat it. After he arrived at manhood he obtained the third degree. In three examinations at the capital he came off with the very highest honors, and became a member of the Han Lin college.

He studied by the light reflected from snow. During the Sung dynasty, Sun Kang's family was poor and destitute of oil. In the winter evenings he was accustomed to study by the light reflected from snow. When young, he was regarded as of correct principles, and would not associate with men of unworthy habits. Afterward he became an officer of the high rank of imperial censor.

He studied by the light of a bag full of glow-worms. In the p.449 dynasty of Tsin, which began about 265, and ended 419 A.D., Che Yin, while only a boy, was very sedate and courteous, as well as a diligent student. In consequence of the poverty of his family he was not able always to obtain

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

oil ; so, during the summer months, he collected a large number of glow-worms in a white gauze bag, and by their light was able to pursue his studies in the evening, as it were lengthening out the day. He afterward became an officer of a very high rank, and had the title of president of one of the six boards.

He did not open his family letters. In the Sung dynasty, Hu Yuen, before he had attained his first degree at the literary examinations, in company with two friends, went to the celebrated mountain of Tai to pursue his studies. He applied himself with great diligence, and ate very poor food. It is said he did not sleep during the night, nor for ten years did he return home. As soon as he saw the two words 'peace and health', which were written on the outside of his letters from home, he would throw them aside. He did not open them and read them, lest his attention should be diverted from his books.

She cut the web of cloth in order to incite him to study. During the Chau dynasty (B.C. 1122-255), Mencius, at the age of three years, lost his father. His mother, whose name was Sin, was a woman of distinguished worth and virtue. Mencius went to school, but soon threw aside his books and returned home. His mother was very much incensed at this course, and taking a knife, cut the web of cloth she was weaving, saying,

— My son, your desisting from your studies is like my cutting this web.

Mencius, trembling with apprehension, returned to school, and studied with diligence ; nor did he intermit his literary pursuits until he became a worthy, next in rank to the sage Confucius.

She was grinding the pestle down to make a needle. In the time of the Tang dynasty (620-906 A.D.), Lei Peh, while yet young, and before he had completed his studies, left school and started for home. On the road he saw an old woman engaged in grinding away an iron pestle. Peh inquired why she was thus grinding the pestle ? She answered,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

— *I want to make a needle.*

He was surprised at her words, and, influenced by them, returned to school, and studied with most p.450 assiduous application. He finally became a member of the Imperial college at the capital.

He concealed fire to light his lamp. Probably between 479-501 A.D. lived T'su Yung, who, when he was only eight years old, was so fond of study that his parents were afraid he would impair his eyes by his diligence. They therefore forbade him the use of books, but he would not obey them. Constantly he hid fire until his parents had retired to rest, when he would light his lamp and study. He took his clothes and the coverlet of his bed, and hung them up over the window of his room, lest the light, escaping through it, should be seen by some one of the family. In this way his name became very widely celebrated as a scholar. At home and abroad the people called him '*the little sage*'. At the age of twelve he became a high officer of government, and was afterward promoted to the Superintendency of the Offering of Wine.

His curtains retained the traces of the smoke of his lamp. In the Sung dynasty, Fan Shun Jin day and night was diligent in study. He was in the habit of placing his lamp within the curtains of his bed, and thus study until past midnight. Afterward he became a very distinguished officer. His wife preserved the curtain, which at the top was sooted over as black as ink. Occasionally she would bring it forth, and show it to her children and grandchildren, saying,

— Your father and grandfather, when he was a boy, was very studious. Here are the marks of the smoke of his lamp.

He used a round stick of wood as a pillow to prevent deep sleep. During the Sung dynasty, Sie Ma Wan, when a boy, whether he was moving about or at rest, in all his conduct was dignified and decorous, like a perfect old gentleman. At seven years of age he heard an explanation of the volume called '*Spring and Autumn*'. He was very much pleased, and, having returned home, conversed with the members of his family in such a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

manner as to show that he understood its principles. He was accustomed to use a round block of wood for a pillow. When he became sleepy and fell into a doze, this pillow would roll a little and awaken him. Once awakened, he would apply himself to his studies again with vigor. He finally became an object of worship, his tablet being placed in the temple of Confucius.

p.451 *He was stimulated by the pomp of a magistrate to make the study of books his calling.* In the time of the Sung dynasty lived Chang Yih. It so happened that when he was young his parents were poor, and he was not even taught to read. He was obliged to hire himself out to work for others. One day he suddenly heard the heralds of the district magistrate proclaiming his approach, and clearing the road for him to pass. His mind was greatly excited and interested, and he asked,

- How did this man arrive at such a place of dignity and honor ?
- By the study of books, was the answer.

From this time he put forth all his energies in the acquisition of knowledge. He afterward received instruction from the famous commentator Ching. He became his disciple, and subsequently taught and handed down the deep and abstruse doctrines of his master. Ching used to speak to others in this manner :

- In my old age I have begotten two children referring to his disciple Yih and his own son I-Teen.

He lived on vegetables, and on gruel made of coarse rice. In the same dynasty, Fan Chung Yen, when a young man, lodged with a friend in a Buddhistic monastery, situated on the Long White Mountains. They pursued their studies together. They made congee, or a thick kind of gruel, out of two measures of coarse rice or millet, or (as some explain the original) out of unshelled rice, by boiling it in water, afterward pouring it into a vessel, where they let it stand over night. By morning it had congealed. They then cut it with a knife into four pieces. Morning and night they ate two pieces. They took ten or more of a certain vegetable, resembling onions or chives,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

and, having cooked them, ate them. They lived in this way for three years. Afterward Chung Yen became a graduate of the third degree at the examinations, and was promoted to the rank of President of the Board of War. After death he had an honorary title conferred on him.

He chiseled a pole in the partition to get the light through. In the Han dynasty, which began about 205 B.C., and ended about 25 A.D., lived Kwang Hung, who was very indigent. Though very fond of books, he was destitute of the means of purchasing oil. His neighbor in the adjoining house had candles, but the light could not penetrate through the wall. p.452 Hung therefore made a hole in it, in order to procure rays of light by which he could prosecute his studies. In the city a wealthy man, whose surname was Great, had a large number of books. Hung was anxious to work for him, though not for the purpose of receiving wages ; he only desired the privilege of reading the rich man's books as his pay. Mr. Great was so much interested in the proposal and in the man that he gave him some of his books as his wages. Hung became a very learned man, and finally obtained the office of prime minister.

He cast an iron ink-slab as an index of his resolution. During the Sung dynasty lived a literary man named Sang Wi Hang, who was very ugly looking, being deformed. His body was remarkably short, and his face very long. He would often look in a mirror, and, wondering at his odd appearance, say,

— A man seven feet high would not have a face one foot long.

His essays were frequently selected as worthy of procuring him the third degree at the examinations ; but when the judges knew his name they erased it from the list, because the character for it, which meant 'mulberry', was of the same sound as the character for 'funeral'. Some friends of Wi Hang advised him to turn his attention to some other pursuit, but he caused an ink-slab to be made of iron, and, showing it to them, said,

— When by grinding my ink I have made a hole through this ink-slab, then I will change my calling.

He afterward graduated at the head of the class which obtained the third degree, or Doctor of Laws.

Filial and dutiful Children

@

The Chinese have a favorite proverb that 'of the hundred virtues, filial duty is the chief'. There is, perhaps, no maxim more early and more carefully instilled into the minds of the youth of both sexes among this people than that of implicit obedience to parental authority. To illustrate the nature and to inculcate the importance of this virtue or duty, as well as to indicate the rewards which attend its performance, seems to be the object of a small book called 'Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety'. It is published with coarse wood-cuts, twenty-four in number, each story being illustrated by a picture of its hero engaged in the act commemorated. Some p.453 editions, besides the pictures, have a piece of poetry relating to the incident, giving other particulars, and making what the Chinese deem suitable reflections. The incidents related in this little volume have probably influenced in no small degree the minds of the Chinese youth. Teaching by historical example is always interesting and impressive, and this book illustrates, by examples drawn from ancient Chinese history, the meaning of the popular maxim above quoted ; for, incredible as it may appear, the Chinese generally regard the examples given in this book as real facts, as actual occurrences. They are loth to admit that there may have been an exaggeration or misunderstanding of the truth. Are not the incidents related to be found in the history of China ? and, if recorded in the history of the nation, they must be true !

A translation of some of these notable examples of filial devotion will be given, with occasional remarks or explanations. Different editions, while

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

agreeing in the main, have various discrepancies in the narration of particulars about these ancient worthies. Where such variations occur, the edition which seemed to give the *best story* has been followed.

The filial devotion which moved Heaven. Yu Shun, the son of Ku Lau, had a very filial disposition. His father was stupid, his mother depraved, and his younger brother proud. Shun cultivated the Leih hills. He had elephants to plow for him, and birds to weed for him. In such a manner did his filial devotion influence heaven ! The Emperor Yaou heard of him, and sent nine of his sons to serve him, and gave him two of his daughters in marriage, and finally resigned the throne to him.

These events, according to Chinese chronology, transpired more than 2200 years before Christ. It is elsewhere stated more fully that Shun suffered much from the enmity of his younger brother, and from the harshness of his parents. His father commanded him once to go down into a well, and then his brother threw large stones down. At another time a granary was set on fire when he was in it. But he escaped without injury from his many perils. He labored with all his ability either on the farm, or in fishing, or in burning earthenware. He continued to reverence and obey his parents, though they did not love him. At length, assured of the rectitude of his conduct, he invoked Heaven with tears. Heaven was moved by his sincerity. The elephants and the birds volunteered their services, the former in rooting up the ground with their probosces, and the latter in exterminating the weeds with their bills. The emperor having learned his ability to govern his p.454 household by means of two daughters sent to be his wives, as well as by the concurring testimony of nine sons sent to be his servants, hence inferred his ability to govern the nation. Accordingly, he resigned the empire to him rather than to any of his own children. The example of Shun in obeying his parents is declared 'worthy of being handed down to posterity through myriads of ages'.

She bit her finger and it pained his heart. During the Chau dynasty, Tsang Tsan served his mother very obediently. He often went to the hills to get wood. Once, when thus absent, some guests came to his house, and his mother knew not what to do. She was expecting Tsan ; but he not arriving, she bit her finger. Suddenly his heart was pained, and, taking the wood on his back, he returned home. Kneeling down before his mother, he inquired the reason of her perplexity. She answered, 'Suddenly some guests came, and I bit my finger to arouse you'.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

According to Chinese etiquette, it is improper for a female to receive male guests, and wait upon them herself. In this case the son, whose place it was to meet and entertain company, was absent, and his mother induced him to return home by gnawing her finger. The idea is, that he was so filial, and loved his mother with such tender devotion, that he sympathized with her grief of mind, the pain in her finger being felt in his heart. The hearts of mother and son are mutually affected, one influencing the other in the same manner as the amber draws the small strands, and the loadstone attracts the slender needle. From the remotest period sages have been able to control their dispositions, and in the deepest silence have revolved their actions as in a breath. The moving influence that such minds have on each other the generality of men can not understand. The devotedness with which they serve their parents, and the respect with which they cherish them, who can comprehend ? Behold how perfect a medium between mother and child is filial piety. This youth afterward became one of the most illustrious of the disciples of Confucius, and author of one of the 'Four Books' studied by Chinese pupils.

He furnished his parents with deer's milk. During the Chau dynasty there was a man named Yen, whose disposition was very filial. His father and mother were old, and troubled with sore eyes. They desired to obtain some deer's milk to use. Yen clothed himself in the skin of a deer, and, going far away into the mountains, entered into the herd of deer and obtained some milk, which he gave his parents. The hunters saw him in disguise, and desired to shoot him with their arrows. But Yen explained the circumstances of the case, and thus escaped. p.455

This narrative is accompanied by a cut representing Yen with a fawn's skin on his back, in the act of disclosing his character, and explaining his object to a couple of hunters. It would seem that he endeavored to imitate on all-fours the appearance of a fawn. How fortunate that the hunters did not shoot the supposed deer with their deadly arrows ! for, had that mournful event occurred, his aged parents would not only have failed to obtain the milk with which they hoped to cure their sore eyes, but posterity would also have been deprived of the wholesome influence of this impressive example of filial affection. It is to be deeply regretted that no account is given in the records of history of the effect of deer's milk in this case of sore eyes. Still, this omission ought not to detract from the praise due to Yen, for he performed his part most devotedly and most successfully. Though over two thousand years have elapsed since these events occurred, one with a lively fancy can imagine how the faint echo of the fawn-like cry, Yew, Yew, reverberated in the deep forest ! for it is affirmed that the hero closely imitated the cry of the fawns while searching for the tracks of the deer.

He put the oranges in his bosom to give his mother. In the time of the

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

After Han dynasty, Luh Tseih, when he was six years old, went to Kew Keang to see Yuen Shuh. Shuh brought out some oranges and gave him. Tseih hid two of them in his bosom. When about to return home, while he was bowing and taking leave of his host, the oranges fell to the ground. Shuh said to him,

— Do you, sir, while my guest, conceal oranges in your bosom ?

Tseih, kneeling down before him, answered,

— My mother loves oranges very much. I desired to give them to mother.

Shuh greatly wondered at this reply.

Shuh and the father of Tseih were officers of high rank. This incident occurred during a visit of the boy in the family of his father's friend. Its interest consists in the filial desire cherished by a son only six years old to contribute to the enjoyment of his mother.

He fed the mosquitoes to satiety on his blood. During the Tsin dynasty, Wu Mang, when only eight years old, served his parents very dutifully. The family were so poor that they had no mosquito curtains to their beds. Every summer, at night, the mosquitoes were very numerous, piercing the soft flesh. Mang allowed them to feed without restraint on his blood till they were satisfied. Although exceedingly numerous, he did not drive them off, fearing that, leaving him, they would go to his parents and bite them.

Mang is represented as lying on a bed a passive victim for the bloodthirsty mosquitoes. What a *feeling* instance of filial duty ! How profoundly must he have been affected by the restlessness of his parents, as they, stung by the p.456 mosquitoes, tossed from side to side. How courageous must have been his little heart to invite and sustain the attacks of so many enemies ; for, it is said, he went early to bed, hoping that the mosquitoes would become satisfied before his parents should retire. A Chinese poet represents him to have discoursed thus when he felt their bills : 'I have no dread of you, nor have you any reason to fear me. Although I have a fan, I will not use it, nor will I strike you with my hand. I will lie very quietly, and let you gorge to the full'. History does not state what effect his filial devotion had on the minds of the mosquitoes.

He slept on the ice to obtain the carp. During the Tsin dynasty, Wang Liang, at an early age, mourned the death of his mother. His stepmother,

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

Chu, did not like him. In the presence of his father she was repeatedly faulting him, and consequently she lost the affection of his father. She was fond of eating fresh fish, but in the cold winter time the rivers were covered with ice. Liang took off his clothes, and went to sleep on the ice to procure the fish. Suddenly the ice opened of itself, and a couple of carp sprang forth. He seized them, and, returning home, gave them to his mother. His neighbors wondered at the fact, and admired him. His filial affection had caused what had taken place.

This remarkable instance of filial devotion is represented by the picture of a lad apparently asleep on the ice, and of a brace of fish with their heads just protruding above it. It is a little surprising that if his body was so warm as to melt the ice at a distance from it, so as to allow the fish to jump out, it should not also thaw the ice under him, thus endangering his precious life, or, at least, giving him a cold bath by falling into the water. But an answer entirely satisfactory to the sincere disciples of Confucius is ready to all skeptical objections or curious questions : Heaven, moved by his filial love, preserved him, and enabled the fish to come forth. A poet has beautifully said, 'A thousand ages can not efface the remembrance of the crack in the ice, nor obliterate the fragrant traces of so worthy an action'.

On account of his mother he buried his child. During the Han dynasty, Ko Keu, whose family was very poor, had a child three years old. Keu's mother usually took some of her food and gave to the child. One day he spoke to his wife about it, saying,

— We are so poor that we can not even support mother. Moreover, the little one shares mother's food. Why not bury this child ? We may have another ; but, if mother should die, we can not obtain her again.

His wife did not dare to oppose. Ken, when he had dug a hole more than two feet deep, suddenly saw a vase of gold. On the top ^{p.457} of the vase was an inscription, saying, 'Heaven bestows this gold on Ko Keu, the dutiful son. The officers shall not seize it, nor shall the people take it'.

In the picture, the wife, holding the little one in her arms, stands looking on, while the father digs what he intends to be the grave of his living child. It seems strange that the Chinese should so plainly teach that Heaven rewards one who, ignoring the affection of a

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

father for his child, and mindful only of his duty as a son, deliberately plans murder, and proceeds to commit it, till supernaturally prevented. 'The end justifies the means', say some. This example illustrates, perhaps as forcibly as any of the twenty-four, the exceedingly eminent position which affection for one's parents sustains among the virtues cherished by this people.

He fanned the pillow and warmed the coverlet. During the Han dynasty, Hwang Hiang at nine years of age lost his mother. His mind was so constantly and so intensely occupied in thinking of her that the neighbors praised him as very filial. Employing himself in assiduous and fatiguing work, he served his father with perfect obedience. In summer, when the weather was hot, with his fan he cooled his father's pillow and bed. In winter, when the weather was cold, with his own body he warmed his father's coverlet and mat. The prefect Tein presented him with a banner as a token of distinction.

A piece of poetry referring to this example of filial piety has been translated in prose in the following manner : 'When the heat of summer made it difficult to sleep quietly, the lad knew what would be for the comfort of his venerated parent. Taking a fan, he slowly moved it about the silken curtains, and the cool air, expanding, enveloped and filled the pillow and the bed. In winter, when the snow threatened to crush in the roofs, and the fierce winds shook the fences, and the cold penetrated to the bodies, making it hazardous to unloose the girdle, then Hiang warmed his father's bed, that he might not fear, because of the cold, to enter the place of dreams'.

The bubbling fountain and the leaping carp. In the Han dynasty, Kiang She served his mother very dutifully. His wife Pang obeyed her with even greater assiduity than he. Their mother loved to drink the water of a river distant from the house six or seven li. Pang was in the habit of going after it to give to the old lady. She was also exceedingly fond of minced fish, and, moreover, did not like to eat it alone. Husband and wife managed, though with great expense of strength, to provide her with the fish, and she always invited in a neighbor to eat with her. By the side of the house p.458 suddenly there bubbled forth a spring, the water of which tasted like the river water, and every day a brace of carp leaped out, which they took and gave their mother.

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

The cut represents two ladies seated at a table enjoying the fish, while the son and daughter-in-law stand by in the most respectful manner, ready to wait upon their dear mother and her guest. It would seem that they never tasted of the fish. Filial piety among the Chinese requires compliance, without displeasure or the exhibition of reluctance, with the wishes or commands of the parents. On account of serving their mother thus dutifully, though she was unmindful of their comfort and appetites to a very unreasonable degree, Heaven rewarded She and Pang with 'the gushing fountain and the leaping carp'. This and several other of these examples of filial duty, however, appear to be calculated to teach that Heaven approved the conduct of the parents as much as of the children.

With sports and gayly-colored garments he diverted his parents. In the Chau dynasty, the venerable Lae obeyed his parents very dutifully. He provided them with the sweetest and most delicate food. When he had arrived at the age of seventy years, still he did not call himself old. He was accustomed to dress himself in clothing variegated with five different colors, and would act like a little child, playing by the side of his parents. He would also take a pail of water, and, while going up into the house with it, would pretend to slip, and, falling down to the ground, would cry like a child. He did these things in order to amuse his parents.

According to Chinese notions of politeness, one must not represent himself as old in the presence of his parents, or even while they are living, lest the remark should excite in them unpleasant reflections, thinking, If our son is old, how much more are we ! It is said that Lae's parents were peevish and fretful ; consequently, in order to please them, though he was seventy years old, and had lost almost all his teeth, he called himself their little boy, dressed in garments which, both in regard to fashion and gaudy colors, were worn only by children, adopted boyish manners, and indulged in childish sports.

Hearing the thunder, he wept at her grave. In the country of Wei, Wang Shwai served his parents very dutifully. His mother, while living, was exceedingly frightened whenever it thundered, and, having died, she was buried in the hilly forest. Afterward, when there happened wind and rain, and he heard the noise of Hoheang rumbling and thundering along, he immediately ran to the grave, and, reverently kneeling down, wept, saying, 'Shwai is here, dear mother, do not fear'.

p.459 Hoheang is the name of the female demon or goddess who manages the chariot of thunder. Shwai refused to take office because it would interfere with his frequently visiting

Social life of the Chinese

Vol. I

the tomb of his mother in the forest. When he came to the passage in the Book of Odes, 'Alas ! alas ! my parents have borne and nourished me with much trouble and care', he always read it three times, each reading being accompanied with a gush of tears. His pupils often took the precaution to tear out this passage from the book, in order to prevent their teacher from being so deeply affected.

He wept by the bamboos, and they produced sprouts. In the Tsin dynasty, Mang Tsung, when young, mourned the death of his father. His mother, when aged, was taken very sick. During the winter season she wanted some bamboo shoots made up into soup to eat, but Tsung had no means to obtain any. Finally, he went into the bamboo forest, and, grasping a bamboo with his hands, burst into tears. Such filial devotion moved Heaven and Earth, and in a little while the earth opened and shot forth several bamboo sprouts. These he took, and, returning home, made soup, which he gave his mother. As soon as she had finished eating it she became perfectly well.

It is said that, previous to this filial conduct of Mang Tsung, the bamboos did not put forth their sprouts till spring, but that, having begun to do it for the benefit of his mother in the winter time, they have kept up the laudable practice until the present time. It should be remarked *that they continue to grow as late in the spring as they did formerly*, notwithstanding they sprout so much earlier in the season than they did before his day. Taking this view of the subject, it is but just that the Chinese should celebrate the praises of Tsung, who thus not only cured his venerable parent with his soup made of bamboo sprouts, but influenced Heaven and Earth to cause that vegetable to shoot forth some months every year sooner than it was in the habit of doing. Behold the power of a single act of sincere filial piety !

@