

These also were years in which European influence in the region grew but slightly, if at all. China's Manchu rulers continued to limit European merchants' activities to Macao and Guangzhou, and beginning in the early 1700s they curtailed European missionary activity. The Manchus also checked Russian expansion in the Amur Valley. In 1689 they negotiated the Treaty of Nerchinsk, by which the Russians abandoned their trading posts in Manchuria in return for modest commercial privileges in Beijing. In Japan the Tokugawa shoguns expelled all foreigners, outlawed Christianity, and limited trade with Europeans to one Dutch ship a year. In the East Indies the Dutch, after forcing out the Portuguese and establishing a political base in Java, were content after the mid 1600s to protect rather than expand their gains. Spain's involvement in the region never extended beyond the Philippines.

By the end of the 1700s, however, signs of change were evident. In Japan economic expansion, urbanization, and political tranquility created new tensions by enriching merchants while undermining the function and financial base of the military aristocracy. In China rapid population growth caused hardship among the peasant masses by driving up the cost of land; moreover, around 1800 budgetary shortfalls, higher taxes, abuses of the civil service examination system, and neglect of roads, bridges, and dikes were signs of impending dynastic decline.

In addition, European pressures in the region once more were growing. In the 1780s, the English began to settle Australia and New Zealand. French missionaries increased their activities in Vietnam. In 1800 the Dutch government stripped the Dutch East India Company of its administrative responsibilities in Southeast Asia and tightened its grip on the region's agriculture and trade. From their base in India British merchants opened a new chapter in the history of trade with China after finding a product that millions of Chinese deeply craved. The product, grown and processed in India, packed into 133-pound chests, shipped to Guangzhou, sold for silver to Chinese merchants, and sold again to millions of addicts, was opium. For East and Southeast Asians and for the peoples of the South Pacific islands, a new era of upheaval was about to begin.

China's Revival under the Qing

After the last Ming emperor hanged himself in April 1644 and the bandit-emperor Li Zicheng fled Beijing in June, Manchu invaders placed the child emperor Shunzhi on the throne, and China's last dynasty, the Qing, began its rule. During the next thirty-five years, Manchu armies fought from Burma to Taiwan, hunting down and executing Ming supporters, crushing their armies, and suppressing rebellion. By 1680 the Manchus controlled China and could fully attend to the challenge of ruling their 150 million new subjects.

The Manchus made it clear from the start that they were the rulers and the Chinese their subjects. They ordered courtiers and government officials to abandon the loose-fitting robes of the Ming for the high-collared tight jackets favored by the Manchus. They also required all males to shave their foreheads and braid their hair in the back in a Manchu style despised by the Chinese.

In most other ways, however, the Manchus maintained Chinese institutions and adapted to Chinese culture. They embraced the Chinese principle of centralized monarchy, learned the Chinese language, and supported Confucian scholarship. They reinstated the civil service examinations, which had been abandoned during the last decades of Ming rule. Although Manchus were disproportionately represented in the bureaucracy, Chinese were allocated half of all important offices, and gradually Chinese scholar-officials began to support and serve the new foreign dynasty.

From 1661 through 1799, China had but three emperors: Kangxi (r. 1661–1722), Yongzhen (r. 1722–1736), and Qianlong (r. 1736–1796), who resigned as emperor in 1796 to avoid exceeding the long reign of his grandfather Kangxi but who actually ruled until 1799. By any standard, the years of their rule were among the most impressive in all of Chinese history. China reached its greatest size as a result of military campaigns in central Asia. Agriculture flourished, trade expanded, and China's population grew from an estimated 150 million at the end of the seventeenth century to over 300 million a century later. China's cultural vitality was no less remarkable. The era's literary output included China's greatest novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* by Cao Xueqin, and painting and scholarship flourished under Qing patronage. Kangxi sponsored a dictionary of the Chinese language and an encyclopedia that reached 5,000 volumes. Qianlong supported the work of scholars and copyists who compiled an anthology of 3,450 historical, literary, and philosophical texts which with commentaries totaled 36,000 volumes.

Toward the end of Qianlong's reign, however, the first signs of decline began to appear. Rural poverty worsened, military effectiveness declined, and factionalism and favoritism at the imperial court resurfaced. Nonetheless, it was neither farfetched nor fanciful when France's leading eighteenth-century writer, Voltaire, described Qing China as a model of moral and ethical government and praised Qianlong as the ideal philosopher-king.

Emperor Kangxi Views His World



55 ▼ *Kangxi, SELF-PORTRAIT*

In 1661 a seven-year-old boy became the second emperor of the Qing Dynasty after the unexpected death of his father, Shunzhi. His name was Kangxi, and during his long reign, which lasted until 1722, he brought order to a China racked by decades of Ming misrule, internal chaos, and invasion. He crushed the last vestiges of Ming resistance, fortified China's borders, revitalized the civil service examination system, won the support of China's scholar-officials, managed to ease tensions between ethnic Chinese and their Manchu conquerors, and brought new vigor and direction to government. A generous supporter of writers, artists, poets, scholars, and craftsmen, Kangxi himself was also a scholar and writer of distinction. He studied Confucianism, Latin, music, mathematics, and science and left behind a rich store of poems, essays, aphorisms, letters, edicts, and sayings.

In 1974, the historian Jonathan Spence drew on these writings and statements to compile a self-portrait of the emperor. In the following excerpts the emperor expresses his views on justice, government administration, and Europeans, with whom China's relations took a decisive turn for the worse during his reign.

Since the late sixteenth century, members of the Society of Jesus, a Catholic religious order, had provided an intellectual and cultural link between China and the West. Prized by emperors for their knowledge of astronomy and mathematics and their skills as cartographers, artists, and architects, these Jesuit fathers had been welcomed at the imperial court in Beijing, where they wore Chinese garb, learned Chinese, and paid homage to the emperor. They also managed to convert some two hundred court officials, who in keeping with a policy initiated by the founder of the Jesuit mission in China, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), were permitted to practice Chinese rites such as ceremonies in honor of deceased ancestors and public homage to Confucius. Kangxi had an avid interest in Western learning, and in 1692 he granted toleration to Christianity and permission to the Jesuits to preach outside Beijing. By the early eighteenth century as many as three hundred thousand Chinese may have been Roman Catholics.

In the early 1700s, however, the Catholic missionary effort experienced a fatal schism. Members of the Franciscan and Dominican religious orders, fresh from their successful missionary efforts in the Philippines and relative newcomers to the field of Chinese missions, attacked the Jesuit position on Confucian rites and the field of Chinese missions, attacked the Jesuit position on Confucian rites and successfully won over Pope Clement XI to their point of view. In 1706 a papal envoy to China, Charles de Tournon, announced the pope's decision that traditional Confucian ceremonies were religious, not civil rites, and henceforth would be prohibited for Chinese Catholics. An angry Kangxi responded with a ban on Christian preaching, and the Qing assault on Christianity was underway. Under Kangxi's successor, the Jesuits lost their position at Beijing, and the main source of contact between the imperial court and the intellectual world of the West

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Kangxi's treatment of delinquent and dishonest government officials reveal about his philosophy of government?
2. How do Confucian values affect Kangxi's decisions about whether to be lenient to men accused of killing their wives?
3. What are Kangxi's views of the civil service examination system? What ideas did he have about improving the system?
4. What role do eunuchs play in Kangxi's administration? How does this compare with the situation during the late Ming Era (Chapter 4, source 32)?
5. According to Kangxi, what are the strengths and limitations of Western science and mathematics?
6. According to Kangxi, what specific issues were involved in the dispute over Chinese rites?
7. What other characteristics and actions of the missionaries led to Kangxi's decision to ban further Christian preaching?

AN EMPEROR'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Giving life to people and killing people — those are the powers that the emperor has. He knows that administrative errors in government bureaus can be rectified, but that a criminal who has been executed cannot be brought back to life any more than a chopped string can be joined together again. He knows, too, that sometimes people have to be persuaded into morality by the example of an execution. . . .

Hu Jianzheng was a subdirector of the Court of Sacrificial Worship whose family terrorized their native area in Jiangsu, seizing people's lands and wives and daughters, and murdering people after falsely accusing them of being thieves. . . . I ordered . . . that he be executed with his family and in his native place, so that all the local gentry might learn how I regarded such behavior. Corporal Yambu was sentenced to death for gross corruption in the shipyards. I not only agreed to the penalty but sent guards officer Uge to supervise the beheading, and ordered that all

shipyard personnel from generals down to private soldiers kneel down in full armor and listen to my warning that execution would be their fate as well unless they ended their evil ways. . . .

The final penalty of lingering death¹ must be given in cases of treason, as the Legal Code requires. . . . When Ilaguksan Khutuktu, who had had his spies in the lamas' residences so that they would welcome Galdan's² army into China, and had plotted with Galdan and encouraged him in his rebellion, was finally caught, I had him brought to Beijing and cut to death in the Yellow Temple, in the presence of all the Manchu and Mongol princes, and the senior officials, both civil and military. . . .

Of all the things that I find distasteful, none is more so than giving a final verdict on the death sentences that are sent to me for ratification. . . .

Each year we went through the lists, sparing sixteen out of sixty-three at one session, eighteen out of fifty-seven at another, thirty-three out of eighty-three at another. For example, it was clear to me that the three cases of husbands

¹A slow, painful, and humiliating punishment in which a person died from the administration of numerous cuts on the body.

²A lama was a Buddhist priest, or monk, in Tibet, Mongolia, and western China.

gol tribe who in the late seventeenth century conquered much of Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia; when he threatened Beijing, Kangxi raised an army and crushed him in 1696.

killing wives that came up . . . were all quite different. The husband who hit his wife with an ax because she nagged at him for drinking, and then murdered her after another domestic quarrel . . . how could any extenuating circumstances be found? But Baoyer, who killed his wife for swearing at his parents; and Meng, whose wife failed to serve him properly and used foul language so that he killed her — they could have their sentences reduced. . . .

EUNUCHS AND BUREAUCRATS

You have to define and reward people in accordance with their status in life. If too much grace is shown to inferiors they become lazy and uppity and will be sure to stir up trouble — and if you neglect them they will abuse you behind your back. That was why I insisted on such strictness when the eunuch Jian Wenzai beat a commoner to death, saying strangulation was not enough. For eunuchs are basically Yin³ in nature. They are quite different from ordinary people; when weak with age they babble like babies. In my court I never let them get involved with government — even the few eunuchs-of-the-presence with whom I might chatter or exchange family jokes were never allowed to discuss politics. I only have about four hundred, as opposed to the immense numbers there were in the Ming, and I keep them working at menial jobs; I ignore their frowns and smiles and make sure that they stay poor. Whereas in the later Ming Dynasty, besides being so extravagant and reckless, they obtained the power to write endorsements on the emperors' memorials, for the emperors were unable to read the one- or two-thousand-character memorials that flowed in; and the eunuchs in turn passed the memorials on to *their* subordinates to handle.

³In East Asian thought, Yin and Yang were the two complementary principles or forces that make up all aspects and phenomena of life. Yin is conceived of as Earth, female, dark, passive, and absorbing.

⁴The banner system was a method of military organization

There are too many men who claim to be pure scholars and yet are stupid and arrogant; we'd be better off with less talk of moral principle and more practice of it. Even in those who have been the best officials in my reign there are obvious failings. . . . Peng Peng was always honest and courageous — when robbers were in his district he simply put on his armor, rode out, and routed them — but when angry he was wild and vulgar in his speech, and showed real disrespect. Zhao Shenjiao was completely honest, traveled with only thirteen servants and no personal secretaries at all, but was too fond of litigation and was constantly getting the common people involved in complex cases. . . . And Zhang Pengke, whom I praised so often and kept in the highest offices, could write a memorial so stupid that I ordered it printed up and posted in major cities so that everyone could read it — for he claimed that the drop in the river's level was due to a miracle performed by the spirit of the waters, when the real reason was that no rain had fallen for six months in the upper reaches of the Yellow River. . . .

This is one of the worst habits of the great officials, that if they are not recommending their teachers or their friends for high office then they recommend their relations. This evil practice used to be restricted to the Chinese: they've always formed cliques and then used their recommendations to advance the other members of the clique. Now the practice has spread to the Chinese Bannermen⁴ like Yu Chenglong, and even the Manchus, who used to be so loyal, recommend men from their own Banners, knowing them to have a foul reputation, and will refuse to help the Chinese. . . .

In 1694 I noted that we were losing talent because of the ways the exams were being

divisions identified by different colored banners. Bannermen were given grants of land and small stipends for their service. Chinese (as opposed to Manchu) bannermen were originally drawn from the ranks of Chinese soldiers and officers who had surrendered to the Manchus and joined their cause as Ming supporters.

conducted: even in the military exams most of the successful candidates were from Zhejiang and Jiangnan, while there was only one from Henan and one from Shanxi.⁵ The successful ones had often done no more than memorize old examination answer books, whereas the best *should* be selected on the basis of riding and archery. Yet it is always the strong men from the western provinces who are eager to serve in the army, while not only are troops from Zhejiang and Jiangnan among the weakest, they also pass on their posts to their relatives who are also weak.

Even among the examiners there are those who are corrupt, those who do not understand basic works, those who ask detailed questions about practical matters of which they know nothing, those who insist entirely on memorization of the *Classics*⁶ and refuse to prescribe essays, those who put candidates from their own geographical area at the top of the list, or those who make false claims about their abilities to select the impoverished and deserving. . . . Other candidates hire people to sit [take] the exams for them, or else pretend to be from a province that has a more liberal quota than their own. It's usually easy enough to check the latter, since I've learnt to recognize the accents from thirteen provinces, and if you watch the person and study his voice you can tell where he is really from. As to the other problems, one can overcome some of them by holding the exams under rigorous armed supervision and then reading the exam papers oneself.

DEALING WITH EUROPEANS

The rare can become common, as with the lions and other animals that foreign ambassadors like to give us and my children are now accustomed to; . . .

⁵Zhejiang and Jiangnan were southeast coastal regions of China; Henan and Shanxi were north-central provinces.

⁶A clearly specified set of books from Chinese antiquity, thought to embody Confucian wisdom.

Western skills are a case in point: in the late Ming Dynasty, when the Westerners first brought the gnomon,⁷ the Chinese thought it a rare treasure until they understood its use. And when the Emperor Shunzhi got a small chiming clock in 1653, he kept it always near him; but now we have learned to balance the springs and to adjust the chimes and finally to make the whole clock, so that my children can have ten chiming clocks each to play with, if they want them. Similarly, we learned in a short time to make glassware that is superior to that made in the West, and our lacquer would be better than theirs, too, were it not that their wet sea climate gives a better sheen than the dry and dusty Chinese climate ever could. . . .

I realized, too, that Western mathematics has its uses. . . . I ordered the Jesuits Thomas, Gerbillon, and Bouvet to study Manchu also, and to compose treatises in that language on Western arithmetic and the geometry of Euclid.⁸ In the early 1690's I often worked several hours a day with them. With Verbiest I had examined each stage of the forging of cannons, and made him build a water fountain that operated in conjunction with an organ, and erect a windmill in the court; with the new group — who were later joined by Brocard and Jartoux, and worked in the Yangxin Palace under the general direction of my Eldest Son Yinti — I worked on clocks and mechanics. Pereira taught me to play the tune, "*P'u-yen-chou*" on the harpsichord and the structure of the eight-note scale, Pedrini taught my sons musical theory, and Gherardini painted portraits at the Court. I also learned to calculate the weight and volume of spheres, cubes, and cones, and to measure distances and the angle of river banks. On inspection tours later I used these Western methods to show my officials how to make more accurate calculations when planning their river works. . . . I showed them how to

⁷A sundial.

⁸The ancient Greek mathematician who lived around 300 B.C.E., and whose work laid the foundation for the study of geometry.

calculate circumferences and assess the area of a plot of land, even if its borders were as jagged as dogs' teeth, drawing diagrams for them on the ground with an arrow; and calculated the flow of river water through a lock gate by multiplying the volume that flowed in a few seconds to get a figure for the whole day. . . .

But I was careful not to refer to these Westerners as "Great Officials." . . . For even though some of the Western methods are different from our own, and may even be an improvement, there is little about them that is new. The principles of mathematics all derive from the *Book of Changes*,⁹ and the Western methods are Chinese in origin: this algebra — "A-erh-chu-pa-erh" — springs from an Eastern word.¹⁰ And though it was indeed the Westerners who showed us something our ancient calendar experts did not know — namely how to calculate the angle of the northern pole — this but shows the truth what Zhu Xi¹¹ arrived at through his investigation of things: the earth is like the yolk within an egg.

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On the question of the Chinese Rites that might be practiced by the Western missionaries, de Tournon¹² would not speak, though I sent messages to him repeatedly. I had agreed with the formulation the Beijing fathers had drawn up in 1700: that Confucius was honored by the Chinese as a master, but his name was not invoked in prayer for the purpose of gaining happiness, rank, or wealth; that worship of ancestors was an expression of love and filial remembrance, not intended to bring protection to the worshiper; and that there was no idea when an ancestral

tablet was erected, that the soul of the ancestor dwelt in that tablet. And when sacrifices were offered to Heaven it was not the blue existent sky that was addressed, but the lord and creator of all things. If the ruler Shang-ti was sometimes called Heaven, *T'ien*, that had no more significance than giving honorific names to the emperor.

If de Tournon didn't reply, the Catholic Bishop Maigrot¹³ did, . . . telling me that Heaven is a material thing and should not be worshiped, and that one should invoke only the name "Lord of Heaven" to show the proper reverence. Maigrot wasn't merely ignorant of Chinese literature, he couldn't even recognize the simplest Chinese characters; yet he chose to discuss the falsity of the Chinese moral system. . . .

Even little animals mourn their dead mothers for many days; these Westerners who want to treat their dead with indifference are not even equal to animals. How could they be compared with Chinese? We venerate Confucius because of his doctrines of respect for virtue, his system of education, his inculcation of love for superiors and ancestors. Westerners venerate their own saints because of their actions. They paint pictures of men with wings and say, "These represent heavenly spirits, swift as if they had wings, though in reality there are no men with wings." I do not find it appropriate to dispute this doctrine, yet with superficial knowledge Maigrot discussed Chinese sanctity. . . .

Every country must have some spirits that it reveres. This is true for our dynasty, as for Mongols or Mohammedans, Miao or Lolo,¹⁴ or other foreigners. Just as everyone fears some-

thing, some snakes but not toads, some roads but not snakes; and as all countries have different pronunciations and different alphabets. But in this Catholic religion, the Society of Peter¹⁵ quarrels with the Jesuits, . . . and among the Jesuits the Portuguese want only their own nationals in their church while the French want only French in theirs. This violates the principles of religion. Such dissension cannot be inspired by the Lord of Heaven but by the Devil, who, I have heard the Westerners say, leads men to do evil since he can't do otherwise.

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Since I discovered on the Southern Tour of 1703 that there were missionaries wandering at will over China, I had grown cautious and determined to control them more tightly: to bunch them in the larger cities and in groups that included men from several different countries, to catalogue their names and residences, and to permit no

⁹There is no such religious order as the "Society of Peter." Kangxi is probably referring to supporters of the papal position on rites; according to Catholics the authority of the pope can be traced back to the apostle Peter.

¹⁰Macao was the trading settlement some one hundred miles

new establishments without my express permission. . . . I made all missionaries who wanted to stay on in China sign a certificate, stating that they would remain here for life and follow Ricci on the Rites. Forty or fifty who refused were exiled to Guangzhou; de Tournon was sent to Macao,¹⁶ his secretary, Appiani, we kept in prison in Beijing.

Despite these sterner restrictions, the Westerners continued to cause me anxiety. Our ships were being sold overseas; reports came of iron-wood for keel blocks being shipped out of Guangdong; Luzon and Batavia¹⁷ became havens for Chinese outlaws; and the Dutch were strong in the Southern Seas. I ordered a general inquiry among residents of Beijing who had once lived on the coast, and called a conference of the coastal governors-general. "I fear that some time in the future China is going to get into difficulties with these various Western countries," I said. "That is my prediction."

from Guangzhou where by imperial order Western merchants were permitted to do business.

¹⁷Luzon was the major island of the Spanish-ruled Philippines; Batavia was the Dutch name for the island of Java in the East Indies.

China Rejects Increased Western Trade

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56 ▼ Emperor Qianlong, LETTER TO KING GEORGE III

Chinese restrictions on Western commerce in the eighteenth century increasingly frustrated and angered the British, who were strenuously seeking to expand their trade in East Asia. Agents of the East India Company could trade only outside the city walls of Guangzhou with government-appointed merchants and had to depart as soon as their business was completed. They were subject to Chinese laws and required to avoid activities that disturbed the Chinese such as entering Guangzhou city limits, learning Chinese, being accompanied by their wives, and much else. When the East India Company sent a representative, James Flint, to Beijing in 1759 to negotiate changes in the Guangzhou system, the unfortunate envoy was imprisoned for three years because he had learned Chinese, sailed to unapproved ports, and improperly addressed the emperor.

In 1792 the East India Company tried another approach by enlisting the British government in its cause. In 1792 Lord George Montagu, British ambassador to

⁹One of the Classics, the *Book of Changes* was a work of divination that relied on the analysis of trigrams and hexagrams.

¹⁰Algebra is derived from the Arabic word *Al-jabr*. Kangxi is correct when he asserts that China had a long tradition of achievement in algebra, geometry, and trigonometry dating back at least as far as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.).

¹¹Zhu Xi (1130–1200 C.E.) was a famous commentator on Confucius and was China's leading philosopher after the classical age.

¹²Charles de Tournon (1668–1710) was a special papal en-

His demand that Chinese Christians abandon traditional rites was deeply offensive to Kangxi. The emperor ordered him to prison, where he died in 1710.

¹³Charles Maigrot (1652–1730) was the apostolic vicar to China. His opposition to the Jesuit position on rites led to his expulsion from China in 1707.

¹⁴The Miao (also known as the Hmong) and Lolo were indigenous people of southwest China and upland Southeast Asia.

service in Russia, the West Indies, and India, sailed to China on a British warship loaded with magnificent gifts for Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1796). He also delivered a letter to the emperor from King George III, requesting an easing of trade regulations, the publication of tariff lists, and permission to trade in cities other than Guangzhou. The request elicited the following response from the emperor.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What view of China's place in the world is revealed in Qianlong's letter?
2. What are the emperor's stated reasons for rejecting any expansion of British trade?
3. What unstated reasons may have affected the emperor's decision?
4. The British government made no immediate effort to change Qianlong's mind. But if it had made such an attempt, how might it have responded to Qianlong's arguments?

You, O King, from afar have yearned after the blessings of our civilization, and in your eagerness to come into touch with our converting influence have sent an Embassy across the sea bearing a memorial.¹ I have already taken note of your respectful spirit of submission, have treated your mission with extreme favor and loaded it with gifts, besides issuing a mandate to you, O King, and honoring you with the bestowal of valuable presents. Thus has my indulgence been manifested.

Yesterday your Ambassador petitioned my Ministers to memorialize me regarding your trade with China, but his proposal is not consistent with our dynastic usage and cannot be entertained. Hitherto, all European nations, including your own country's barbarian merchants, have carried on their trade with our Celestial Empire at Guangzhou. Such has been the procedure for many years, although our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our

own produce. But as the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favor, that *bongs*² should be established at Guangzhou, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence. But your Ambassador has now put forward new requests which completely fail to recognize the Throne's principle to "treat strangers from afar with indulgence," and to exercise a pacifying control over barbarian tribes the world over. Moreover, our dynasty, ruling over the myriad races of the globe, extends the same benevolence towards all. Your England is not the only nation trading at Guangzhou. If other nations, following your bad example, wrongfully importune my ear with further impossible requests, how will it be possible for me to treat them with easy indulgence? Nevertheless, I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance of the usages of our Celestial Empire. I have con-

sequently commanded my Ministers to enlighten your Ambassador on the subject, and have ordered the departure of the mission. But I have doubts that after your Envoy's return he may fail to acquaint you with my view in detail or that he may be lacking in lucidity, so that I shall now proceed . . . to issue my mandate on each question separately. In this way you will, I trust, comprehend my meaning. . . .

Your request for a small island near Zhoushan,³ where your merchants may reside and goods be warehoused, arises from your desire to develop trade. As there are neither *bongs* nor interpreters in or near Zhoushan, where none of your ships has ever called, such an island would be utterly useless for your purposes. Every inch of the territory of our Empire is marked on the map and the strictest vigilance is exercised over it all: even tiny islets and far-lying sand-banks are clearly defined as part of the provinces to which they belong. Consider, moreover, that England is not the only barbarian land which wishes to establish . . . trade with our Empire: supposing that other nations were all to imitate your evil example and beseech me to present them each and all with a site for trading purposes, how could I possibly comply? This also is a flagrant infringement of the usage of my Empire and cannot possibly be entertained.

The next request, for a small site in the vicinity of Guangzhou city, where your barbarian merchants may lodge or, alternatively, that there be no longer any restrictions over their movements at Macao,⁴ has arisen from the following causes. Hitherto, the barbarian merchants of Europe have had a definite locality assigned to them at Macao for residence and trade, and have been forbidden to encroach an inch beyond the limits assigned to that locality. . . . If these restrictions were withdrawn, friction would inevitably occur between the Chinese and your barbarian subjects, and the results would militate against the benevolent

regard that I feel towards you. From every point of view, therefore, it is best that the regulations now in force should continue unchanged. . . .

Regarding your nation's worship of the Lord of Heaven, it is the same religion as that of other European nations. Ever since the beginning of history, sage Emperors and wise rulers have bestowed on China a moral system and inculcated a code, which from time immemorial has been religiously observed by the myriads of my subjects.⁵ There has been no hankering after heterodox doctrines. Even the European officials⁶ in my capital are forbidden to hold intercourse with Chinese subjects; they are restricted within the limits of their appointed residences, and may not go about propagating their religion. The distinction between Chinese and barbarian is most strict, and your Ambassador's request that barbarians shall be given full liberty to disseminate their religion is utterly unreasonable.

It may be, O King, that the above proposals have been wantonly made by your Ambassador on his own responsibility, or peradventure you yourself are ignorant of our dynastic regulations and had no intention of transgressing them when you expressed these wild ideas and hopes. . . . If, after the receipt of this explicit decree, you lightly give ear to the representations of your subordinates and allow your barbarian merchants to proceed to Zhejiang and Tianjin,⁷ with the object of landing and trading there, the ordinances of my Celestial Empire are strict in the extreme, and the local officials, both civil and military, are bound reverently to obey the law of the land. Should your vessels touch the shore, your merchants will assuredly never be permitted to land or to reside there, but will be subject to instant expulsion. In that event your barbarian merchants will have had a long journey for nothing. Do not say that you were not warned in due time! Tremblingly obey and show no negligence! A special mandate!

¹Memorandum.

²Approximately ten Chinese merchant guilds that alone were licensed to trade with Westerners.

³A group of islands in the East China Sea at the entrance to Hangzhou Bay.

⁴Island colony west of Hong Kong where Europeans were allowed to carry on their trade.

⁵A reference to Confucianism.

⁶Missionaries.

⁷Two Chinese port cities.