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SHANGHAI

*Considered Socially.*

A LECTURE

BY

H. LANG.

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CONSIDERED SOCIALLY.

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I wish to make a few observations on the social history, condition and prospects of the Foreign Settlement which has grown up close to the native city of Shanghai, in terms of the Treaty between Great Britain and China made at Nankin in Aug. 1842. But it may serve as an interesting introduction to those observations, to give a short sketch of the history of this district previous to the days of the foreign settlement.

The district of Shanghai forms a diminutive portion of the Great Plain of China, which extends from Peking on the north to Hangchow on the south, and westwards to the furthest extremities of Hupeh. The alluvial nature of the soil, the marine shells which have been dug up in places now far removed from the sea, and the similar processes of the alluvial formation of land that we see going on before our eyes, all prove that at one time this whole region was under water, and owes its creation into *terra firma* to the immense mud

deposits of the Yangtse and its confluent. Observation and history alike confirm this geological deduction. We see year by year the growth of Pootung Point. Many of us have witnessed the genesis of the Recreation Grounds from a fluvial, to an amphibious, and at last to a dry-land, existence. The *Blonde Shoal*, which in 1842 had 15 feet of water on it, is now partially above water. When Kintoan Beacon was erected in 1855 it was washed by the river, now the river is nearly a mile distant. It is a historical fact that the island of Tsungning opposite Woosung, which is 32 miles long and averages 10 miles broad, has been entirely formed since A. D. 1350. And this cannot be wondered at when we learn that the Yangtse, when swollen by the floods of summer, is believed to carry in mechanical suspension, 4 feet of the solid mud of the river bed in a continuous stream; and that the shoals in the Yangtse grow at the rate of one foot perpendicular in 15 months.

And we find those statistical accounts of Chinese cities, provinces and districts, in which Chinese literature is so rich, confirming this view of the geological growth of Shanghai. Thus we are told that some 2000 years ago, the city of Quinsan which is now about 80 miles inland was the seaport of this district. In A. D. 1075 the old seaport was still Tsinglung, about 25 miles up what is now called the Soochow Creek, but owing to the gradually lessening depth of the water, the custom-

house officer was in A. D. 1101 ordered to remove to Shanghai, which then became the seaport and rapidly increased in importance. That this brief sketch of the formation of Shanghai is no digression from the subject of the lecture, will be evident if you consider its intimate connection with the drainage and health of our settlement, and the conservation of our harbour.

We must now glance rapidly at the history of the city of Shanghai. There is in existence a map of Shanghai made in A. D. 1010—that is, more than 850 years ago; and there are records that carry us much further back—back to the era of the “Three Kingdoms” B. C. 250, so celebrated in Chinese poetry and romance. This district was then known as Lau in the Kingdom of Woo, the latter being the old name of Soochow. Scattered notices of it occur all down the stream of Chinese history, generally under the name of *Hwating-hai* i.e. the seaport of Hwating,—Hwating being the name in those ages for Sunkeang. A glance at the map of 1010 shows us that about a mile north of Shanghai city, stood two forts, known by the name of Lootse-ching i.e. city of reeds; referring either to the marshy nature of the country, or to the fact that the houses were constructed of reeds. These two forts stood on the site of the present British Consulate; and twenty years ago it was proposed that the foreign settlement should adopt the time-honored name of Lootse-ching,—a suggestion which, if adopted, would at least have

saved us from our present misnomer: "The Anglo-American Settlement."

The first mention we find of the name, Shanghai, is in the year 1015. The town is first spoken of as *Shanghai chin*, meaning, "the market of Shanghai." The word *Shanghai* is generally admitted to mean "up from the sea" or "the upper sea." But sometimes the characters are transposed, in which case the name *Haisiang* means "upon the sea." All these names indicate that what gave the city its importance was its favourable position as the seaport of the immense and productive region stretching inland. As the natural outlet for the rich products of Keangnan, and of the valley of the upper Yangtse, and as a convenient emporium for the interchange and transshipment of the products of the North and South, we cannot wonder that Shanghai rapidly grew in importance. In 1250 it was made the seat of a district college; in 1360 it attained to the dignity of a *huen* or district city; while in 1570 the irruptions of the pirates of Japan led to the erection of its walls, towards the building of which we are told that the inhabitants contributed very readily.

One curious contrast between an ancient and a modern map of Shanghai must here be mentioned. You all know how small the Soochow Creek is now, compared with the river Wangpoo. From old maps we see that the reverse was formerly the case. An old historian tells us that in A. D. 780

when the Wangpoo was only a bow-shot wide, what we now call the Soochow Creek, but which was and indeed is still, called by the Chinese, the Woosung river, was not less than five miles wide—the country for miles north of the Rifle Butts being covered by its waters. The gradual deposition of mud had reduced it in the 11th century to less than three miles wide. Meanwhile the Wangpoo had been gradually widening from causes which I am unable to explain. But it did not then as now debouch into the Woosung river. On the contrary, from the neighbourhood of Lung-wha pagoda it spread eastward by various branches, traversing the district of Pootung and entering the sea at various points near and eastward of the village of Woosung. But between the 15th and 17th centuries, a local philanthropist of the family of Van, improved the outlet of the waters of the Wangpoo, by digging, from near what is now Kaouchang meau Arsenal, a canal, which, running eastward of the city wall of Shanghai, connected the Wangpoo with the Woosung river. This canal was called from its projector the *Van-ku pang*. From that time till now the process of the gradual contraction of the upper Woosung or Soochow Creek, and the expansion of the Wangpoo through what was originally a narrow canal, has gone on till they are what we now see them:—the Soochow Creek about 100 yards wide, and the Wangpoo more than 1200 yards wide and some 6 or 7 fathoms deep.

But the same causes which narrowed the upper bed of the Woosung river:—that is to say, the tides forcing the mud of the Yangtse up the stream and causing the bed to silt up, endangered the means of communication between Shanghai and the sea, on which its prosperity so essentially depended. The people and authorities were early alive to this, and from the year 960 up to the middle of last century, measures were taken to keep the river open to the sea. The great means used was no doubt dredging, in that primitive form in which we see it still practised in the neighbouring creeks, by farmers seeking a top dressing for their fields; that is, a bamboo pole of a length proportioned to the depth of the creek, with a basket at the end to dredge the bottom and to open and shut as required, and a boat in which to deposit the mud. That might be called the remedy for mud already accumulated. But they also did something in the way of prevention, by cutting off the bends of the stream and making it as straight as possible, which, increasing the speed of the current, allowed less mud to be deposited. To keep clear that part of the Woosung river which we now call the Soochow Creek, a special plan was adopted, viz., the building of a flood gate to keep out the mud of the Yangtse. As early as the year 1100 such a flood gate was erected near what is now the north end of Foh-kien Road. But after standing several centuries, the strong tides proved too much for it. It was

swept away, and in the year 1735 we find it replaced by another stone sluice about half a mile further up the river. I believe that vestiges of this sluice can still be seen in the piers of what is now the "Old Stone Bridge," while the existence of both sluices is recorded in the well known names of the Louza station and the Sinza Village—*Louza* and *Sinza* meaning respectively the Old and the New Flood gate.

Much interesting light is thrown on what we may call the Middle Age of the history of Shanghai, by the records of the Propaganda de Fide, and the *Lettres Edificantes*, which contain a copious biography of two natives of Shanghai, Paul Sen, and his daughter Candida, the most illustrious converts whom China has yet given to Christianity.

These rapid introductory sketches bring us down to what may be regarded as the origin of the present connection of foreigners with Shanghai. The approach of the time when, as was hoped, an end would be put to the monopoly which the East India Company had previously enjoyed of British trade with China, led both merchants and missionaries to try to ascertain whether it was not possible to obtain access to the people and trade of China, at other places besides Canton. The first attempt was made by the enterprising Dr. Gutzlaff who, in 1831 secured a passage in a trading junk bound from Canton to Tientsin, calling at various ports on the coast, and reached Shanghai on the 20th August. He had, at this time,

no intercourse with the authorities, but obtained such information as gave him the highest ideas of the fertility of the country and its vast resources for trade.

Next year some foreign merchants at Canton chartered the *Amherst* to proceed along the coast and endeavour to open up a trade with the various ports. Dr. Gutzlaff accepted an invitation to join this expedition in his capacity of medical missionary, to distribute christian books and administer medical relief. Mr. Lindsay was supercargo. Advancing cautiously through the Chusan Islands, they endeavoured to secure a pilot for Shanghai, and hailed the native boats accordingly; but, though several pilots went on board, they all declared that no money would tempt them to pilot the foreign vessel into Shanghai. One of them, however, gave them such directions as enabled them to reach Woosung without accident. Their bearings were taken from a small but lofty island, at the entrance of the Yangtse, which then first received its now well known name of Gutzlaff Island. Perhaps it was no misfortune that the *Amherst* was forced to proceed without a pilot, for Mr. Lindsay and his associates were thus forced to take so many careful soundings and observations, that the chart constructed therefrom was found to be a most trustworthy guide for future navigators and cartographers.

At dawn on the 21st June, 1832, Messrs. Lindsay and Gutzlaff left the *Amherst* at Woosung

and proceeded in a boat to Shanghai. Many attempts were made to stop them, but, merely saying that they had business, and wished to present a petition at the Yamen, they hurried on and reached Shanghai at 4 p.m. They noted the commodious wharves which lined the suburb lying between the city and the river. Their visit to the city is thus described by Mr. Lindsay:—"We landed amid a crowd, entered the city, and proceeded to the office of the Taotai, the people readily pointing out the way. As we approached the Yamen, the lictors hastily tried to close the doors. We were only just in time to prevent it, and pushing back the gate, entered the outer court of the Yamen. But the three doors leading to the inner court were shut and barred as we entered. After waiting a few minutes and repeatedly knocking without seeing any symptoms of their being opened, Messrs. Simpson and Stevens settled the matter by two vigorous charges at the centre door with their shoulders, which shook them off their hinges and brought them down with a great clatter. We then entered the great hall of justice and saw at the other end of it, the state chair and table of the Taotai. Here were numerous officials who seeing us thus unexpectedly among them, totally forgot the unceremonious manner of our entrance, and received us with great politeness, offering us tea and pipes. The Taotai being absent, the Chehien soon made his appearance, and after upbraiding us for our temerity, sat down. I im-

mediately sat down opposite to him, on which he at once rose, and casting an angry glance at us, left the room without vouchsafing us one word; as if he considered himself degraded by seeing us seated in his presence. The Taotai soon afterwards entered; an interview was agreed to, and a petition to be allowed to trade and distribute books was delivered into his hands. He was evidently prepared to brow-beat the strangers, commanding them in angry words to depart instantly and return to Canton. Yet 24 hours had not elapsed before the demeanour of these men was completely altered, and even the supercilious Chehien received us with the greatest politeness and obsequiously forced us to take the highest seats." The reflection with which Mr. Lindsay concludes, is quite as just in 1870 as it was forty years ago. "Such" says he "are the Chinese mandarins all over the empire;—compliance begets insolence, opposition and defiance produce civility and friendly professions."

After visiting many parts of the city they returned to the ship, which they found just entering the river. All the military and naval forces of the district were assembled to prevent this. Tents were erected for troops, and large guns were placed along each side of the river; and to make the scene still more imposing (*imposing* in more senses than one), rows of mud-heaps in the form of tents were thrown up, and then whitewashed to give them the appearance of cotton cloth!

Finally fifteen imperial war junks placed themselves across the mouth of the river. The *Amberst*, however, with quiet persistence, passed safely through their line and anchored some distance up the river Woosung. But in spite of all the tact and courage of the adventurers, their intercourse with the officers was unsatisfactory and unproductive of results. The final policy of the officials seemed to be to take no notice of them, and to keep the people away. They had thus no motive to prolong their stay, and having purchased a few trifles, and some of the beautiful grapes and silks of Soochow, they departed.

The *Amberst* was followed in 1835 by the *Heron* on a similar joint mission of commerce and religion. The missionaries were Messrs. Medhurst and Stevens. They reached Shanghai in October, and leaving the ship at Woosung they reached Shanghai in three hours. They landed at the temple of the Queen of Heaven, and while Mr. Stevens stopped at the boat to distribute three boxes of books and tracts which the people seemed most anxious to receive, Mr. Medhurst entered the temple and was courteously received by the officials. As they were politely expressing their approval of his objects in visiting them, it was announced that the Chehien, who seems to have been sent for, was awaiting him in an adjoining apartment. Here, finding the Chehien seated, Mr. Medhurst was about to sit down, but was told that he must stand. This he refused to do and as

he persisted, an interview was denied him, and he was also debarred from entering the city. They were, however, provided with dinner and supplied with some provisions for the ship. But when they returned to their boat, they found a number of yamên runners, who had collected a number of the books distributed by Stevens, and were preparing to burn them, but were prevented from doing so by the appearance of the missionaries. Altogether the spirit of the officials seemed more hostile than before, while the people were everywhere friendly, and the merchants sent secret messages of their earnest desire for trade.

But if the mandarins of Shanghai refused to receive foreigners as messengers of peace, they were soon forced to receive them in the less welcome character of conquerors. We need not discuss the troubles between England and China which culminated in the war of 1841-42. Suffice it to say, that on the 16th June 1842 Sir Henry Pottinger arrived at Woosung, with a force, large indeed and well appointed, yet miserably small to conduct a war against China had it been at all a question of numbers. They found the entrance to the river defended so strongly as almost to justify the boast of the old chronicler that "Shanghai with its forts and ditches was as strong as a fortress of iron." A battery armed with nearly 200 heavy guns stretched along the west bank from Woosung to Paoushan. Another fort of 55 guns defended the eastern shore. Behind these was

ranged an army of many thousands. The Chinese general in command was a hero, and died fighting with a courage which has secured him posthumous honors, his statue being now placed in the temple of the city god (Chingwang) at Shanghai. But it was in all vain; the guns were soon dismounted; a military party landed and drove the Chinese out of their entrenchments, and the rout was complete; the smaller ships sailed up the river, while the troops marched to Shanghai across country. The latter, crossing the Soochow Creek at what seems to have been the "Old Stone Bridge," made a detour to the left, over what is now the foreign settlement. They proceeded along a street leading towards the north gate. The shops were shut, and the natives were offering propitiatory basins of *Samshu* to the troops, for which they got well drubbed. "Here" says Capt. Loch "merchant's stores, warehouses, builders' yards, and what seemed to be distilleries, indicated our approach to a large city. A soldier of the advance fell back to say they were close to the city walls. We halted, formed close and advanced at the double to the north gate. It was closed, but looking through a crevice we saw two guns pointed at the entrance, but no sound was to be heard. Sealing the walls we found that the soldiers had deserted the ramparts, and were flying with the people by the other gates." The city was formally occupied and the troops quartered themselves among the amenities of what we now know as the Tea



Gardens. Looking down the river they saw the fleet approaching, after demolishing some river side forts on their way up. A fort stood, a modern representative of the old Lootseching, on the present site of the British Consulate, and one opposite to it on the Pootung shore. But the defenders had fled before the fleet approached, and nothing remained to be done but to survey the upper course of the Wangpoo, which was done by the gallant old gentleman who is now British Admiral of this station, and who was then known and admired as Capt. Kelleth.

You all know what followed. Repeated victories constrained the Chinese Government to grant to foreigners the very moderate stipulations of the Treaty of Nankin. One of these was that Shanghai, with other four Chinese ports, should be open to foreign trade.

On his way down river from Nankin, Sir Henry Pottinger selected the present site of our settlement on which to erect the buildings necessary for the residence and business of British subjects trading at this port. His selection was based chiefly on strategical reasons, there being a wide navigable river on the east, and defensible creeks on the three other sides of the site selected.

In accordance with these arrangements on the 9th Nov. 1843, H. B. M's Consul, Capt. Balfour arrived at Woosung. He was accompanied by Mr. W. H. Medhurst, then Chinese Interpreter and by other officers. The mercantile interest

was represented by Mr. James White, now the well-known M. P. for Brighton. The pioneer of the missionary cause was Dr. Lockhart, the highly distinguished and successful medical missionary, who having conducted with gratifying success, a Medical Hospital for the Chinese at Chusan, during its occupation by British troops during the war, now sought to introduce a similar establishment at Shanghai. The party came up from Woosung in the little steamer *Phlegethon*, and as they rounded Pootung Point, the immense crowd of junks skirting the eastern suburb of the city, and then reaching as far down as the Yangking-pang, became one animated mass of eager spectators. Through the great kindness of the above mentioned Mr. W. H. Medhurst, who has in the interval, as the result of much laborious and distinguished service to his government and to the public, risen to be H. B. M's Consul at the chief commercial emporium of China, I am able to avail myself of his personal recollections of their reception and of their early experiences.

Landing at what we now call Little East-Gate Street, they went direct to the Taotai's Yamen. They were received with all due courtesy, but when Capt. Balfour asked to have a house to stay in, the Taotai persisted in saying that it was impossible that he should have one inside the city; he must be content with one in the adjoining suburbs. Balfour declared that rather than submit to that, he would moor the *Phlegethon* to the jetty,

and live on board of her. They left the Yamen in high dudgeon, but had not proceeded far, when a respectable looking Chinaman came rapidly up from behind, and saluting them, said that he had a house which they might have, if on inspection, it suited them. They went with him, and in the street called *Yaouku-loon*, found a most ample and beautifully furnished house the possession of which they entered upon there and then. I don't know whether their previous experience of Chinese officialism took the edge off their astonishment, when they learned, as they very soon did, that in the face of all the impossibilities urged by the Taotai;—the Taotai had himself got that house ready for them, before they had left Canton! But was this atrocious duplicity without an object? By no means. They soon found that their house belonged to, and was partly occupied by, a leading merchant to whom the Taotai had by anticipation granted a monopoly of all the trade to be done with foreigners. And the getting of the British Consul through whom all foreign trade must pass, into the same premises with the merchant who was to have this monopoly, was the grand contrivance by which it was hoped to establish this new development of the old Canton Co-hong system. And now ensued a most exciting contest between Chinese astuteness and Western energy. The merchant was driven from room to room, and made a final desperate stand in the gate-house, but at length,

after a struggle of months he was forced to evacuate the premises.

Meanwhile Merchants and Missionaries began to arrive. The Missionaries, led by the venerable Dr. Medhurst then entering on a vigorous old age rich with ripe learning and varied experiences, generally went to the river side outside the South gate. The merchants got premises about East gate either inside the city, or in the suburb outside. The earliest merchants here were Mr. White, already mentioned, Mr. Mackrill Smith one of the most public-spirited early residents, and Messrs. Gibb, of Gibb Livingston and Co. and A. G. Dallas, of Jardine Matheson and Co.

I may here mention that, immediately after the Consul and his staff had paid their first visit to the Taotai, Mrs. Dr. Lockhart, and the wife of a ship captain whose name I have not learned, being the only ladies who accompanied Captain Balfour's party, sent their cards to the Taotai, requesting permission to visit His Excellency's ladies. The request, however, was most indignantly repelled; and this, I believe, was the first and last attempt of the foreign ladies of Shanghai to engage in social intercourse with the ladies of Shanghai—at least those belonging to the official classes. It is pleasant to know, however, that, among Chinese females of other classes, the action and influence of foreign ladies has been perseveringly exerted in a way that may one day solve the question of the "social compatibility" of the two races, more

decisively as well as more pleasantly, than a recent learned discussion.

On the 14th November 1843, Captain Balfour issued the first Consular Notification to foreigners in Shanghai. He announced the temporary situation of the British Consulate; the formal opening of Shanghai to foreign trade on the 17th November; the establishment of a mooring station at Woosung, and the limits of the future foreign settlement between the Yangking-pang and the Soochow Creek. The foreign harbour was to extend in front of these limits, but room must be left for junks to pass along the western shore of the Wangpoo, and a towing path be left open, on what we now regard as the sacred territory of the bund. The expected amount of trade was indicated by the intimation, that whenever there were more than *fifteen ships* in the harbour, they were to be moored stern and stern to prevent them from swinging and fouling each other! The Custom House Bank for the payment of duties was established in Little East-Gate Street. Standard weights and measures were to be had at the Consulate, and merchants were recommended to supply themselves therefrom. They were warned too, of the different weights which prevailed in various trades and in different provinces. Finally, more permanent arrangements were declared to be in progress, and all foreigners were invited to assist the Consul in carrying out the duties assigned him by the Treaty of Nankin.

A temporary settlement having been thus effected, Capt. Balfour's next duty was to secure the site selected for the permanent occupation of foreigners. Many of you have no idea of the picture then presented by the land on which you are now residing. The present site of the British Consulate was then a fort, half demolished, surrounded by all manner of ditches and quagmires. From there to the Yangking-pang was a congeries of mud-docks and wood-yards, the counterpart of which you may still find on the river side above Tunkadoo Cathedral. Behind, was a rural scene of cotton and paddy fields, with a Chinese hamlet about the back of where the Club now stands. Stretching south of the Yangking-pang between the city and the river as far as the South-Gate, was a crowded suburb in which the vast junk trade of Shanghai was carried on.

Capt. Balfour's original intention was to purchase in the name of Her Britannic Majesty from the Chinese Government, space sufficient for a foreign settlement, which could be afterwards sold to applicants (as the Auctioneers say) "in lots to suit purchasers." But, as good fortune would have it, as I cannot help thinking, the Taotai refused to give effect to this proposal, insisting that foreigners should themselves make their own bargains with the existing owners. Now, if to the natural genius of the Chinese for haggling, you superadd their prejudice against the then little known foreigners, intensified by a recent war, you can have a faint

idea of the task on which the Consul and his officers had then to enter. Its chief difficulties lasted to 1846, though even then they were not quite at an end. Generally, the intending purchaser, the Consul, but most frequently Mr. Medhurst, and the Taotai or one of his officers, went to the Chinese landowner to negotiate the sale. Then came "the tug of war." Even when the Chinese were willing to sell, all the ingenuities of commercial rhetoric and chicanery were exhausted to enhance the price. But the owner was often not willing to sell, and then the case became serious indeed. One amiable old lady, who was owner of the lot on which Messrs. Heard & Co.'s hong now stands, went so far in her opposition to all proposed bargains, that, after pouring on the head of the party a torrent of colloquial Billingsgate, she actually, I blush to say it, *spat in the Taotai's face* and declared that she would *never* sell her patrimony to foreign devils! About the place where the Chartered Mercantile Bank now stands, was a pond of considerable size with an island in the centre, crowded with houses. The principal owner of this lot was a woman, who came to be known among foreigners as the "Island Queen" though of course Scotchmen *would* think of the Lady of the Lake. Well, the island was approached by a drawbridge, but a regular watch seemed to be kept, and as soon as the foreign and Chinese officials were seen approaching, the bridge was drawn up at the instigation of this virago and

all access denied. But Mr. Medhurst and the Taotai, remembering the maxim, "None but the brave, &c.," persisted, and as usual in all such cases, ultimately succeeded, and the dominions of the "Island Queen" entered on a course of treatment, which has transformed them into the stately pile of buildings that might now be appropriately named *Bank Square*.

This suggests another remark to us. From the Yangking-pang a wide creek ran along what is now Keangse Road as far as Commercial Bank Buildings. Here it turned down our modern Nankin Road to the Wangpoo. This fact accounts for the river-like bend of the Road, between Szechuen Road and the Bund. Some of the willows that grew on the banks of this creek may still be seen hanging pensively over the wall of the Borneo Company's compound. A branch of this creek struck westwards from the late Sweetmeat Castle up Foochow Road as far as Walsh's printing office, and then turning south along the course of the modern Shantung Road, (which also has a river-like sinuosity) joined the Yangking-pang—thus making an island of that section of the settlement.

X The acquisition of land by foreigners went on very slowly. The river front from Jardine's to Heard's was first built on. The whole place was so low that it had to be artificially raised in the same way as the Recreation Ground was three years ago. So much was this the case

that the rubbish of the Imperialist camps in 1854 was eagerly appropriated for this purpose after their retreat; in 1861 we find Mr. E. M. Smith proposing to pay for the digging of the Defence Creek by selling the excavated soil to landowners, while, quite recently, the Revd. Mr. Yates drew a startling picture of the sanitary condition of Chinese houses that were built on land that was not raised above its original level. How slowly the settlement grew may be inferred from the fact, that when Dr. Medhurst, in 1846, obtained a lease of the present London Mission ground it was on condition that the mission premises should be built after the Chinese fashion, lest the appearance of foreign houses *so far from the foreign settlement* should excite popular discontent. And as late as 1851 we find it mentioned that Chinese coffins lay above ground in the fields between the foreign cemetery and the London Mission. An annual census from 1844 to 1851 gives the following view of the growth of the foreign population :—

1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
50	90	120	134	159	175	210	265

persons, showing indeed a steady, but a slow, increase. The first great increase of the population was caused by the Chinese refugees from the Taiping Rebels, on their first approach in 1854. The original Land Regulations, indeed, expressly prohibited Chinese from living in the foreign settlement. But this enactment was compassionately overlooked so as to afford refuge to about 20,000

outcasts, many of them, as it turned out, the very offscourings of Chinese society. Most of these congregated in Chinese density to the rear of the original Chinese village along the north bank of the Yangking-pang. When this first inroad had abated, repeated enactments were made by the authorities, native and foreign, that our Chinese tenants should be sent away, or, at all events, that no more immigration be permitted. And yet when in 1860 the Taiping hordes again approached us, to the number of 120,000, carrying fire and sword over the blazing horizon, the influx of refugees was so great that our Chinese population is said to have reached the enormous number of 500,000. (I grieve to think that I am forced to pass on without saying a word of the valiant and successful defence of our settlement by the foreigners on those two occasions, and that my plan prevents me from awakening interest in my subject by recording the exploits of Muddyfat). The result was that the population, which in 1850 was as we have seen, 210 persons, including the French settlement, amounted according to the census of 1865 to 5,129 foreigners, and 77,500 Chinese; while the census of 1870, just concluded, shows a grand total of 2,773 foreigners, and 51,421 Chinese. It is to be noted that the French settlement is not included either in the census of 1865 or in that of 1870; and also, that the falling off of foreigners in 1870 as compared with 1865 is almost entirely due to the Army, Navy and Mercantile Marine. The

number of civil residents has remained nearly stationary.

Capt. Balfour's policy was to make this a *British* settlement gained by British arms at Nankin. But the Treaty of Nankin placed all foreign nations on the same footing as regards privilege, and Capt. Balfour soon found that his insular pretensions were impracticable. True, the Taotai decreed that communications from foreigners must come through the British Consul; that all land leased by foreigners in the settlement must be registered in the British Consulate, and that the Committee of Land Renters to make and maintain roads and jetties, must be appointed by the British Consul. But other nationalities kicked against all this. The French Consul who arrived about 1846, evaded the difficulty by settling on the south of the Yangking-pang, near where Dato's store afterwards was. The American Consuls, at first traders, and named successively Griswold, Wolcott, and afterwards the well-known and justly popular Edward Cunningham, after various shiftings of domicile, located himself in the now odorous precincts of Laoukechang, and dared there to hoist "the star-spangled banner." Consul Balfour loudly protested and much official correspondence, and a good deal of civil bickering ensued. The American Consul at last good-naturedly withdrew the offending bunting, but Balfour felt that it was but a Pyrrhic victory—equivalent to defeat. National pretensions were gradually abated, and

long before 1854, were quite in abeyance. In that year the rights of all other nationalities were expressly recognised; the Land Regulations were sanctioned by all the Treaty Powers; the Municipal Council was to be elected by the Land Renters of whatever foreign nation; and foreign-owned land was to be registered at the office of the purchaser's own Consul. Since then one nationality after another has found it expedient to appoint a Consul at this port, till we find the notification summoning the recent Ratemayers' Meeting signed by no less than thirteen Consuls.

While what was originally designed to be the British settlement gradually spread westward in the manner I have hinted at, the Americans to the north and east, and the French to the south, gradually increased the area occupied by foreigners to its present dimensions—from Yangtsepo Creek on the east, round northwards to Little East-gate Street on the south;—with a river frontage of nearly four miles, and an average depth inland of one mile, besides a number of outlying villas not strictly within the limits. The American missionaries, led by the late accomplished Bishop Boone, first rented land north of the Soochow Creek in 1848. Shortly after this we find the Old Dock in existence and receiving merited encouragement. And our American friends, with the passion for territory which characterizes them, had so far appropriated Hongkew by 1854, that in that year we find them sending a separate detachment to

the defence of the settlement. From that time to 1863 the affairs of Hongkew were managed by a Committee of those interested. At the date mentioned an agreement was come to between Mr. Consul Seward and the Taotai Woo, defining the boundaries of the American settlement and the privileges to be enjoyed by foreigners within those limits, and in Nov. 1863, it was amalgamated into a Municipal unity with the so-called British settlement, and the union has been fruitful in profitable and beautiful results. There is an old Scotch saying that "blood is thicker than water" to which, if I mistake not, in its profounder meaning, we must look for a solution of the fact, that while the Anglo-Saxon, and indeed, all the Teutonic nationalities, intended at first by officials to be kept apart, have constantly tended to a closer union now in process of a happy consummation ;—there has been a contrary process of gradual separation going on from our Gallic neighbours south of the Yangking-pang. Official courtesy first allowed the French Consul to settle there. But the bulk of the French resided as many happily still do, in the cosmopolitan settlement. Time wore on. In 1853 the Chinese Secret Society known as the Triads or Short Sword Men, pretending to be in connection with the dreaded Taipings, seized Shanghai city. Other foreigners held aloof from the contest between them and the Imperialists ; but the French allowed themselves to be drawn in to assist the latter, with a force which had been sent to protect

themselves. During the struggle, a fire occurred, which, burning 1,500 houses and \$3,000,000 worth of property, swept away the river-side suburb stretching southward from the Yangking-pang towards Tunkadoo. The French naturally turned the eye of desire towards the ground thus left vacant, its area being further enlarged by the demolition of houses outside the northern wall as far as the Ningpo Joss-house, rendered necessary by the artillery practice against the city. And, when, greatly by their help, the pseudo-rebels were driven out of the City, they directed the double prestige of friendship and bravery, thus acquired, to that peculiar process which has resulted in the recon-dite but practically most important fact, that they now claim to call the river-side district from Yangking-pang to Little East-gate, backwards to a *shifting* boundary beyond the Ningpo Joss-house, the French *concession*, as distinguished from a mere *settlement*. Whether this course of policy has conferred any very decided advantage on the *concession* over the *settlement*, is beside the present purpose. All we have to note is that the working out of this policy has gradually separated the French from the foreign community north of the Yangking-pang, though constantly interchanging good offices for mutual benefit, and bound together also by the thousand ties of business and friendship ;—and that in what I have still to say, I must be understood to confine myself to the dominions of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

Time forbids me to trace with a fulness which would be both interesting and instructive, the development of the Municipal Council from its origin in "three upright British merchants" appointed by the British Consul, to its present standing of nine qualified men of any resident nationalities, elected by all substantial ratepayers, responsible to the electors for their intrusions, and backed in their legitimate functions by the sword of all the Treaty Powers. Their first operations were sufficiently modest—a revenue of \$2,000, leaving a reasonable balance in hand after paying all necessary expenditure. For a long time Mr. C. M. Donaldson was the only paid foreign official. By and bye a permanent clerk was appointed. In 1860, Mr. Pickwood became the first Secretary. The exigencies of 1862 rendered it necessary to secure the trained experience of Mr. R. F. Gould as Secretary, with several assistants. When Mr. Gould left in 1865 he was succeeded by Mr. A. J. Johnston, the present Secretary, with an able staff of foreign and native assistants. This statement of the growing *personnel* of the staff will have prepared you for larger figures in money matters. The wider basis granted to the Municipality by the Land Regulations of 1854, and the increased wants caused by the influx of Chinese raised the annual expenditure to Tls. 20,000. In 1863-64, a celebrated Council emboldened by the enormous growth of the place, presented a Budget which reached Tls. 700,000 of proposed expendi-

ture. And now, when all unhealthy excitement is over, such has been the steady growth of the settlement in substantial well-being, that it is able, without taxation being felt sensibly burdensome, to expend, for purposes of public protection and general advantage, over Tls. 200,000 per annum.

The police of the settlement seems for the first ten years to have been cared for by Constable constables and native watchmen. The influx of Chinese, many of them vagabonds, in 1853, led to a proposal to raise a force of thirty foreign constables, with a chief and assistant superintendent. But it was found difficult to raise the funds; only eight constables were employed, and a part of the building erected with a view to the larger number (the nucleus of the present Central Station) was lent to the Library Committee, the rent helping to pay the eight constables and their superintendent. This latter office was first filled by Mr. S. Clifton, who after eight years' service, was succeeded by Mr. Ramsbottom; and when, towards the end of 1863, he resigned in consequence of failing health, professional men were engaged in London, and in April 1864 Mr. Penfold entered on the duties which, with the assistance of Messrs. Strippling and Fowler, he still performs to the satisfaction and advantage of every one. About 1855 the force was increased to thirty; and when in 1862, the presence of the Rebels and the consequent crowds of refugees increased the



need of a larger force, and the regiments leaving China after the Peiho expedition furnished an opportunity of getting suitable men, the 700,000-Council had a force enlisted of 164 men. But financial reform quickly reduced this number; and about the beginning of 1865, the expense was still further lessened by drafting into the force native constables, who under able management have proved both economical and efficient. The police force now stands at 112 effective men.

In the accounts that have been left of the early fires in the settlement, we find that the work of extinguishing them, was done by the private engines of various commercial firms, worked by such voluntary assistance as could be obtained on the spot, and almost invariably supplemented by the strong and willing arms of the blue-jackets. It was not till 1862 that the Municipal Council ordered a Fire Engine from Boston; and shortly afterwards we find Messrs. Bower, Hanbury & Co., proposing to hand over to the Council an English Fire Engine. In 1866, the Shanghai Fire Department (Volunteer) was inaugurated by the enrolment of the Hongkew Engine Company (No. 2). The Department is now presided over by a Chief Engineer and three District Engineers, and consists of five Engine Companies, one being a Steam Engine, and one Hook and Ladder Company, shortly, I believe, to be increased to two. In this Department, we are happily amalgamated with our French neighbours.

Roads and Drains are not a very poetical subject; and yet in Shanghai this has been one of our chief difficulties, and latterly of our chief triumphs,—emphatically a triumph of mind over mud. According to the original Land Regulations, four roads and four jetties were to be made and maintained by foreigners in their settlement, and to this object the funds of the Municipal Committee (raised by a Land Tax, and afterwards augmented by Wharfage Dues) were first devoted. But soon drains also claimed a share of attention and expenditure, and bridges also, and these were gradually but slowly extended. In 1852 the first regular drainage scheme was brought forward, to carry out which it was proposed to borrow \$10,000; but this was objected to and defeated. At a Land Renters' meeting about this time, the Committee was complimented in handsome terms on the perfection the roads of the settlement had attained to. The feeling of satisfaction was universal. Even the Ishmaelites of the Land Renters' meeting for once held their tongues. But no one seemed to notice that it had been dry weather for two months before. A few days afterwards it rained heavily, and we find a Diogenes writing to the newspapers protesting against the hasty eloquence of the Land Renters, and declaring that he had been nearly swallowed up in the mire when trying to make his way from the Bund to the Library. Things continued in this unsatisfactory state till the *silver age* of 1862, when a regular system of

drainage was agreed to, adequate to the growth of the settlement. But it was entrusted to unskilful hands and had no competent supervision, and so in the caustic language of a critic "the Council of that day spent Tls. 85,000 in trying to make water run up hill." It was now felt to be absolutely necessary to engage a Municipal Engineer and Assistant, Messrs. Clark and Spenser, who have since been succeeded by Messrs. Oliver and Clark, in whose hands a system of drainage is being elaborated that promises to be as successful as the unfavorable levels of the place admit of. I can only hint at the persevering labour that has transformed the open fields, and mired footways of the Chinese (with a single row of granite slabs running in the centre of those most frequented) through a middle state of rough broken brick, horrible to the thoughts of the rheumatic driver, and rapidly sinking into the underlying mud, into the scientifically centre-raised roads and streets, covered with rain-absorbing granite chips, over which the multitudinous traps of the settlement rush, as some pedestrians complain, with a *fatal* facility; and along which, even after the heaviest rains, pedestrians can promenade without the burdensome protection of knee-boots, which a few years ago were so necessary.

It may be here observed that I find it noted in Sept. 1852 that Mr. J. Caldecott started the first carriage in Shanghai, and the track of its first afternoon drive is faithfully recorded in the paper

of the day. Truly Mr. Smith's carriage has had a numerous following.

Let us now return to the Bund, with its *bundlers*, its gossip, its cool evening breezes, its ever-changing outlook, its pleasant promenades, its reminiscences of valued friendships, its pensive regrets. This was originally as we have seen, a sedgy swamp bordered by a towing path for junks. Foreigners first made a road along the highest part of the ridge, of the handsome width of 25 feet. About ten years afterwards, it was widened to 50 feet. In 1863 a proposal was made to extend it to low water mark—8 feet was to form a sidewalk; 30, a carriage way; while the remaining 30 feet was to be planted with trees, under the shade of whose leafy colonnades, the public might promenade. It was a delightful vision; but the stern necessity for retrenchment, just then beginning to be manifest, swept it all away. Part of the plan, however, has within the last two years been realized; and if the beautifully drawn plan of the *foreshore* exhibited at last Ratepayers' meeting only finds the favour it deserves from the public, the dream of 1863 may become the waking enjoyment of 1873.

Passing to outside roads—as early as 1850 we read of the Great Western road by which residents could go to the Bubbling Well, and come back by a place with a sentimental name, *Budville*, not known in the books of any foreign Consulate. But this was only for foot passengers and riders.

We read too of a riding road to Sicawei through a fine grove of trees at Catherine's bridge. But it was to the military operations against the Taipings in 1861 that we owe our first drive out of Shanghai. When the British soldiers in 1861, made a military station close to what is now the upper boat-house, the immemorial foot path from Shanghai to Sinza Village was widened into a road fit for the transport of artillery. During subsequent operations this road was carried along the Soochow Creek, past what we now know as Alpha Farm, on the horse-shoe river-curve on which now stands the pleasant retreat of Jessfield. From this point the military road was carried almost due south to Falwah, whence by an extension of a mile it terminated at Sicawei. In 1862, the rebels being concentrated at Kahding the British troops marched to dislodge them. It was necessary to transport thither heavy siege guns. These being with much risk got over the "Old Stone Bridge," a road 40 feet wide was made for 13 miles *en route* to Kahding, when further progress was declared unnecessary. It was about the same date (1862) that the road was extended from the Sinza military station to the Bubbling Well, which, under the name of the Sinza road, still exists. But we cannot refrain from regretting that the road towards Kahding, and the road by Alpha Farm to Jessfield, and from Jessfield to Sicawei *via* Falwah, should have been allowed to fall into disuse, when we reflect how greatly

they would now have added to our means of health and enjoyment.

In the course of the same contest the French military caused to be made what we now know as "The French Road" to Sicawei. Not to be outdone by the French, some of the foreign community in our settlement formed a Committee and made a drive as far as the Bubbling Well, which was shortly afterwards extended to Sicawei. Starting from this road at the Bubbling Well, in 1863 was constructed by Messrs. Hogg Bros., the road to Hogg's Bungalow to which the public are so much indebted for a variation from "the everlasting round." About the same time, at the instance of Messrs. Jardine and others, arrangements were made, through the Taotai, for the construction of a cross-country road to Woosung. But this has subsequently, through official neglect, and rustic cupidity, ceased to be available. It is greatly to be desired that the existing projects of renewing this road as far as the halfway village of Kongwan, and of carrying a new road by the river side to Woosung, may be ere long carried out.

I can say no more than a word, on the health of Shanghai as a foreign settlement. In its early days Dr. Lockhart pronounced it to be decidedly healthy. We find that from 1846 to 1851 with a population averaging, according to a statement given above, about 175, the average of deaths was only 4 annually. But the influx of Chinese, with their filthy habits and utter disregard of

sanitary conditions, gradually increased the rate of mortality for the foreigners living among them, till in 1862, when defective and abortive drainage was at its worst, it culminated in that terrible epidemic which filled our cemeteries with so many cut off in their opening manhood, and has given Shanghai hygiene, over most of the civilized world, a bad reputation by no means warranted by the statistics of the last five years. From 1865 to 1869 inclusive, with a foreign population the average of which may be stated at 4,500, we find the annual number of deaths averaged 93.

The first Cemetery Company was associated in 1844, and by the issue of shares raised \$500. With this they bought a plot of ground to the rear of that Chinese structure on the Bund which has now become our Custom House. But before it could be laid out as a cemetery, Messrs. Lindsay & Co. bought the plot which has since been known as the *Quangloong* Compound, giving the Cemetery Company in exchange a plot considerably larger, with a wall, gateway and mortuary chapel. the whole forming what we now know as the old cemetery in Shangtung Road. It is a pleasing fact that from 1847 to 1851 the average annual revenue was only \$90. From 1844 to 1851, 16,680 seamen visited this port, of whom 54 died here. These were buried in the same cemetery with the residents. But the rapid increase of the shipping rendered necessary the opening of Pootung cemetery for the special use

of sailors. The new cemetery of Shanghai opened two years ago has been arranged on the approved extra-mural principle, and promises to become a very tasteful place of rest. All the cemeteries of the settlement are now transferred to the care of the Municipal Council. A suggestion made in 1851 that our cemeteries should be made *arboresca*, in which all suitable plants of other countries might be introduced to China, is I submit, worthy of attention.

Places of worship naturally received the early attention of foreign residents. Dr. Medhurst, who arrived here in 1843, continued to conduct worship at the British Consulate, and in the city till 1845 when he transferred that duty to the Rev. Mr. McClatchie by whom it was performed till the 10th of April 1847, when the first Trinity Church was opened, and the Rev. Mr. Lowder of the Church of England was appointed pastor. It ought to be mentioned that the spacious Church Compound was the gift of Mr. Beale of Dent & Co.'s, a gentleman to whose munificence and unwearied labours the settlement was largely indebted in its earlier history. Trinity Church cost at first only \$6,000; but in June 1850 the roof fell in, and it cost \$5,000 to repair it. It then lasted till 1862, when a temporary Church was built, the old one was pulled down, and after years of consultation and discussion, and much difficulty and great liberality, the present Trinity Church stands among us, by far the most sumptuous

tuons building in the settlement. In 1846 the London Mission premises were opened on their present site, but some years elapsed before a chapel was built for the worship of foreign Dis-senters. In 1864-66 the Chapel originally built for this purpose was replaced by the present Union Chapel. It was in 1848, as has been already mentioned that the Revs. Dr. Boone and Mr. Style of the American Episcopal Church, removed from their temporary station near South-Gate to a newly built house, school and Chapel at Hongkew. In 1853 the original Church gave place to the present Church of our Saviour, Hongkew, which with its modest steeple rising from the midst of embowering trees, forms the one redeeming feature of that otherwise unpicturesque neighborhood. The Seaman's Church which for several years was a floating Bethel, was about four years ago transferred to a very tasteful building appropriately situated at the entrance to the Pootung cemetery, and which, with its "taper spire" and cheerful chimneys, and Sabbath bells, and clustering green trees, and adjoining graves, is well fitted to suggest to the hardy wanderers who assemble there softening thoughts of their early days.

Let me now, following the distinguished example of the present English Ministry give you a little homely information about matters that lie at the very core of Shanghai considered socially.

In 1850 we find that the following articles of domestic use sold at the following prices.

Fresh Beef.....	5½ cents per lb.
do. Mutton.....	8½ " "
do. Pork.....	8½ " "
Fish.....	8 " "
A live Sheep.....	\$4.00
A milch Goat.....	2.00
do. Cow (native)....	14.00
Vegetables.....	1 cent per lb.

Fresh Eggs..... 50 cents per 100.

With this we may compare the prices now ruling in the market, as published the other day.

Beef—Native Butchers,	7	a	8 cents per lb.
do. European do.	9	a	10 " "
Mutton do.	18	a	20 " "
do. Native do.	14	a	16 " "
Veal do.	14	a	16 " "
do. European do.	18	a	20 " "
Pork do.	20	a	25 " "
Fish.....	7	a	8 " "
do. Soles.....	10	a	12 " "
do. Pomfret.....	10	"	" "
Samli.....	8	a	10 " "
Sturgeon.....	6	a	8 " "
Quail.....	\$1.00	a	— per dozen.
Fowls.....	2.00	a	4.00 " "
Eggs.....	1.00	for 160	a 200.

Quotations being also given for Pheasants, Grouse, Hares, Wild Ducks, Bustards, Deer, Widgeon, Teal, Wild Geese, Snipe, Woodcock, Turkeys, Pigeons, Potatoes, a great variety of European vegetables, Milk from foreign dairies,

Butter, Oysters, &c. The increased list of articles as well as the change in price being suggestive of social growth. But it should here be carefully observed that the above prices give no correct idea of the expense of living in Shanghai as compared with other places. The high price of the very numerous articles, in addition to the above, essential to a comfortable existence in a climate where the temperature ranges from 25° Fahr. in Winter to 100° in Summer; the high rents, and general style of living, bring us to this startling result in domestic economy, that a dollar in Shanghai is scarcely equal to a shilling in England;—in other words a man can live more comfortably on £100 a year in England than on £400 a year in Shanghai.

Let it be here noted that the first currency of the settlement was Spanish dollars. The Chinese liked those coins so immensely that they soon became very scarce, and were made still more so by speculation and a growing trade, till the dollar was actually several pence higher than the tael in sterling value. This after a vain trial to enforce the introduction of the Mexican dollar, led to the use of our present Tael currency as a medium of trade, though Mexicans are still used in transactions of a domestic and foreign-official character. Recurring to the domestic life of Shanghai in 1850, we find that \$4.00 a month was then the usual wages of a coolie; while a trained boy got only \$6.00. Why the wages of that Anglo-

Chinese Institution, *the boy*, should have increased, while the immense increase of aspirants to the office would have suggested a lowering of the rate, is a problem we must leave to scientific economists. I suspect it is one of the many instances we have of Chinese combination. One remarkable fact is, that in the early days of our settlement we see almost no record of servants brought into Court by their masters, and *vice versa*, as is now so common. I suspect that a wholesome system of domestic discipline, on Solomon's old plan, suited both the name and nature of the *boy* much better than the Mixed Court.

Brief as has been my sketch of the development of the basis and framework of our social system I must be still more summary in dealing with the superstructure; giving, in fact, nothing more than a catalogue of the chief existing social institutions. In the 1850 we find in existence and flourishing the Shanghai Library, the exact date of the foundation of which I have been unable to ascertain. For many years it remitted annually to England from £200 to £250 for the purchase of books, as the result of which we have now a Library of 8,000 volumes. The annual subscription being TLs. 15=£4.10s. 6d.

There are now in the settlement four Medical Hospitals, viz: three for Chinese and one for foreigners. I have already mentioned the opening of the London Mission Hospital for Chinese, by Dr. Lockhart in 1843. Almost, if not quite, since its origin

it has been supported by local subscriptions, and has administered relief to an average of 12,000 patients annually, during the 27 years of its existence;—its published reports furnishing abundant matter for the physician, the sociologist and philanthropist. It is now under the medical charge of Dr. Johnston. The American Episcopal Mission Hospital is of much more recent origin, dating from 1866, but it has already done much to relieve suffering Chinese, and to conciliate their friendly feeling towards foreigners. Within the past year the Municipal Council has felt constrained by the condition of a certain class of the native population to establish what may be regarded as a rudimentary Lock Hospital, which has already effected salutary results. The want of a Medical Hospital for foreigners was early felt, and in Sept. 1852, Dr. Murray opened a building erected for the purpose, under the name of the Seaman's Hospital, which has been subsequently known as the Old Clarendon Hotel. This, conducted by Dr. Sibbald, who succeeded Dr. Murray, seems to have supplied all local wants, till the crowded shipping of the Peiho Expedition and the commercial mania that followed it, led to the establishment of the floating Hospital, *Berwick Walls*, and of the Shanghai General Hospital. The two former have since then ceased to exist; and the wants of foreigners in respect of hospital accommodation, are now supplied by the last named. It has the benefit of an excellent staff of nurses, Sisters of Mercy, whose services

are worthy of the highest praise; though the difference of religious belief between them and the great bulk of their patients, is certainly a drawback. The institution is self-supporting.

The first Association for mental culture in the settlement, was the "Literary and Scientific Society." This was in 1859 transformed into "The North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" which, with a period of suspension, still exists. During all, except the hot months, two papers are generally read and discussed each month, on subjects referring to China. The Society has gradually gathered together the nucleus of an excellent library, having purchased in 1868 the valuable collection of works on China belonging to Mr. Wylie, of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It has also the rudiments of a Museum, which I hope may ere long be largely increased. A Debating Society has from time to time started into existence, but is at present in abeyance. Indeed, the experience of all organisations in Shanghai that aim at the severer studies, goes to illustrate the migratory character of its foreign population, and tends to establish the belief that their energies are already sufficiently tasked by their ordinary employments. There is little or no "learned leisure."

As early as 1852, we find the want of some central place of social resort so generally recognised, that a Committee was appointed to put things into a practical shape towards supplying the want. The suggestion was, a building which was to

combine within itself a Club, a Theatre, a Masonic Hall, a Library, an Exchange, an Auctioneer's Room, a Billiard Saloon, and Bowling Alley, not to speak of a General Committee Room and other accommodations. It is not to be wondered at that a scheme so comprehensive in so small a community, was stopped *in limine* for want of funds. It was not till 1862 that the scheme, reduced to a simple Club, with the usual News, Billiard and Dining Rooms, was got into practical form, and the present handsome Shanghai Club, after ruining three contractors, and being finished only by money curiously borrowed from the Recreation Fund, was opened in 1864. Since then it has well earned the name of the local Sphinx of finance, and nothing but the general conviction that it supplies an urgent want of the community, has kept it from utter collapse. In 1865 the German-speaking members of the community were impelled by the cordial good feeling that reigns among them to establish another Club, in which German should be the recognised language, but which should be open to members of all nationalities, duly proposed and elected, and which was appropriately named the Concordia. It was opened towards the close of 1865. Its course has been smooth and prosperous, and it has gained deserved popularity by the high class musical and theatrical entertainments which it gives, throughout the cool months, to the community.

As was to be expected in a community, the great

majority of whom are separated from all home enjoyments and ties, the attractions of the mystic bond of Masonry were early and strongly felt. In 1849 the first Lodge, the Northern E. C., was established in Shanghai. This has since been followed by the Sussex, E. C.; the Tuscan E. C.; the Cosmopolitan S. C.; the Ancient Landmark A. C.; the St. Andrew in the Far East S. C.; the Zion Chapter E. C.; the Rising Sun S. E.; the Celestial Encampment and Priory of Malta E. C.; and the Royal order of R. S. Y. C. S., making in all eleven bodies numbering an aggregate of over 500 members. The original Masonic Hall in the Canton Road gave place in 1868 to the palatial Hall which, standing over the Recreation Grounds, forms a prominent object to those who for the first time visit Shanghai. But the brotherhoods have erected for themselves a nobler and more enduring memorial in the hearts of the many objects of their unobtrusive beneficence.

I hasten to say a few words on the amusements of Shanghai. The first places of public amusement of which I have seen any record, were the Fives Court and the Senior Bowling Alley, the sites of which were purchased in 1848 and cost respectively \$160 and \$195. When the Chinese began to crowd into the settlement, the Club thought they had made a most admirable arrangement when they leased all the ground they could spare from their lots, to Chinese who were eager to get sites for shops at what then promised to be,



and has since become, the most central part of the Settlement. Thus it was that the shops came to be built that now hem in the Court and Alley, forming such a contrast to the unenclosed nakedness of the new Racquet Court. But the Club were destined to find that they had not managed so well, after all. Trouble arose between them and their land-renters, whom they therefore sued before the Taotai. What was their consternation when the Taotai, referring them to their title-deed pointed out a stipulation there that the land was let to them to be used only for purposes of recreation, and that if ever it was alienated to other purposes it should at once revert to the Chinese Government! So that, instead of gaining their case against the tenants, they owed it solely to the Taotai's good-nature that they were allowed to retain their property.

It was, of course, impossible that Englishmen could be long ashore without some attempt to establish horse-racing. And the earliest records of the settlement that I have perused, speak of that English pastime as already existing. The first race-course passed round the outskirts of what is now the densely peopled Louza district. In 1850 Messrs. Medhurst and Wills formed a Committee to secure a new race, and riding-course, which, including part of the old course, should stretch southward to near the Yangking-pang, and passing up towards what is now the Defence Ditch, should go round again to Louza—a distance

stated to be nearly two miles. But the proposed course ran near a Fuhkien temple and through some Fuhkien graves, and the natives of that turbulent province residing in Shanghai rose in a riotous manner, chased off the workmen, put even the foreign gentlemen who superintended the work in bodily fear, and thus prevented its completion. Advantage was taken of the rebel troubles in 1853 to secure the possession of what is already falling into oblivion as the old Race Course. The Land Mania of 1862 rendered this ground an object of eager competition to speculators, who willingly gave for it much more than was necessary to secure the present spacious Course and to erect its commodious stables and picturesque Grand Stand. The first Race Meetings at Shanghai were very primitive affairs, hardly to be compared with a modern Kinkiang Meeting:—four or five events, all over in three hours: "Time not given." But things were changed in 1862 and 1863 when *Sir William* and *Exeter* and *Haeremah* and *Kungaro* pranced the turf, and all the fashion and beauty of Shanghai turned out to decorate the Grand Stand. Then came evil days in which the Turf was fast becoming disreputable. Its marked recovery of late, is largely due, I am told, to the influence of a gentleman to whom we owe many other good things—Sir Edmund Hornby.

Within the bounds of the old Race Course, a space now occupied by those bizarre symbols of rashly eager speculation,—the gaunt three story

Chinese houses immediately East of the new Racquet Court, was the original Cricket Ground of Shanghai. This was, in 1862, sold for such a sum as not only secured the present Cricket Ground, but left a surplus of Tls. 55,000 which in terms of a resolution of the Shareholders of the old ground went to form the never-to-be-forgotten Recreation Fund, on the history of which I do not enter, though it has well earned a title to notice among the amusements of Shanghai. A Chess Club started in 1850 seems to have soon died out and never to have been revived. So small a community of foreigners, as Shanghai for a long time contained, could not hope to attract professional actors or musicians of a high class, and they were therefore forced to depend for theatrical amusement on Amateur efforts. Theatres were improvised season after season in various godowns; the scenery was rude, the action imperfect, but a good-natured audience showed that charity which covers a multitude of sins and seldom failed to enjoy themselves. The pieces chosen were almost invariably farces, burlesques and extravaganzas, while there has always been sufficient wit and humour resident among us to give fresh zest to the entertainment by songs and local allusions, some of them of marvellous felicity and talent. At length in 1866 the Lyceum Theatre was built by shares redeemable by the profits, so that ultimately it will become the property of the community. Unfortunately however, a lease of

its present site behind the British Consulate could only be obtained for five years, which expired in 1871. The charges for admittance are almost invariably \$3 for the stalls and pit and \$1 for the gallery. In 1867 the Concordia Club erected a neat little Theatre within their own precincts, in which entertainments of a very high class are given every season. Admission is gratis by invitation through members, the expense being provided by a commission on Race Lotteries held in the Club. Hand in hand with the improvement of our Amateur Theatricals, has gone the study of music, vocal and instrumental, of a very high class. Improvement in these has been greatly stimulated by the influence of Mr. Hogquist, leader of the German *Leider tafel*; and still more by the exertions of Mr. Remusat, who since his arrival in 1864, has inaugurated the Philharmonic Society which gives Vocal and Instrumental Concerts to subscribers of five *Tuels* annually; and recently the Amateur Wind Instrument Society who give openair Concerts during the summer.

I shall only mention among our other amusements, a well appointed Gymnasium, giving a series of Athletic sports with appropriate prizes annually; a Rowing Club, supported with great spirit; a Yacht Club, which has already given two very successful Regattas; a Pony Paper-hunt, affording a healthy weekly amusement; a Foot Paper-hunt, which over a heavy country intersected by many water-courses invariably crowns the winner with

mud and glory ; a Foot-ball Club, promoting a lively circulation of the blood during frosty weather ; with a Rifle and a Gun Club, whose exercises are well fitted to develope steadiness promptitude and precision among our young men ; while Croquet, and Race, Masonic, Batchelor, and Butterfly Balls, show that the ladies are not neglected. Indeed when one comes to think of it, it is astonishing in how many ways provision is made for the leisure hours of our community. When a gentleman, long a prominent member of our community went home last year to America, the newspapers of the native town rejoiced over him as a remarkable instance of Yankee versatility because he was, in addition to being a merchant, a member of the Municipal Council, an officer of the Fire Brigade, a stroke of the Rowing Club, member of a Church Choir and of the Philharmonic Society, Treasurer of a Church, and a teacher of a Sunday school. But such a list by no means exhausts the possible social relations of a resident in Shanghai. We know some, who, if they but made use of the initials of all the Clubs, Associations, &c. of which they are members, might render their names as formidable as that of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington K. G. ; K. St. P. ; K. C. B. ; Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c., &c., &c., &c.

In this hasty sketch of the gradual development of the foreign settlement of Shanghai from 1843 to the present time, I have indeed, rather hinted at, than described, the process by which such

progress has been effected ;—a muddy swamp transformed into a well-drained, well-roaded town, with many palatial buildings, and admirable institutions, and enjoying such a degree of order and good government as is possessed by few other Municipal communities in the world. As we trace backward in thought the wonderful and beneficent transformation, let our minds recall with gratitude, mingled in some cases with the pensive shadows of another world, the many public-spirited men who have given their best energies to promote it.

Let me now attempt to indicate a few of the marked social peculiarities of Shanghai. I notice.

1.—Pecuniary liberality combined with a great want of public spirit. These two characteristics may be thought mutually incompatible ; yet here we do as a fact find them co-existing side by side, which conclusively proves their compatibility. Few as the early settlers were, and burdened as they were with a heavy outlay in forming business establishments here, we find them giving \$1,000 a year to the London Mission Hospital between 1844 and 1848. At the same time they contributed about \$10,000 to build Trinity Church and its appendages ; \$5,000 more, needed to repair it in 1850, was subscribed within a week. At the same time the Chaplain was comfortably provided for, and when in the summer of that year the Revd. Mr. Lowder was accidentally drowned while bathing at Pootoo, more than \$8,000 were subscribed for his family in a few hours. The excel-

lent Mr. Hobson who succeeded Mr. Lowder was not a man to allow the community to decline from this high standard of benevolence; it was maintained and improved on;—witness the repeated and liberal contributions to the Patriotic Fund in 1856, and to the Cotton Famine Fund in 1864, the erection and support of the Anglo-Chinese School, and a host of other cases too numerous to mention. And this liberality has by no means died out. Without attempting the delicate task of adducing recent instances, let it suffice to say that no really worthy and suitable public object, and no genuine call for charity, fails to secure generous encouragement and support. And yet there is a want of public spirit;—of that spirit which is willing to devote time and thought, and submit to personal inconvenience, for the promotion of the public good. It was remarked twenty years ago, that it was easier to get \$5,000 in Shanghai than a well attended public meeting. And it is so to this day. No doubt, we see some twenty or thirty individuals who devote a large amount of time and labour to the public interests, and whose names are constantly cropping up in connection with a great variety of public objects; for the willing horse is saddled the more heavily in proportion to the unwillingness of the others. But the great majority stand apart, give their money, and show their interest in public matters only by an occasional out-burst of querulous criticism. The recent Municipal Elections, and Rate-

payers' Meeting were marked instances of this. How is this indifference to be accounted for? I ascribe it to a combination of many causes, the most prominent of which seem to be: a climate unfavourable to great mental or bodily exertion; the fear of criticism in a community where everybody knows every one else so well; sufficient hard work in one's own private calling; and the ordinarily short term of residence that has prevailed hitherto, causing this place of transient sojourning to be regarded with little interest.

Another social characteristic of Shanghai is.

2.—The comparative rareness of domestic life. The Junior-Hong system with its enforced association in the same mess, of men of uncongenial natures and widely different resources, although it was doubtless a necessity in the early years of the settlement, has by its prolonged continuance proved an undoubted evil. I am glad to see that it is being somewhat broken up, and that young men are beginning to rent houses where they may either live alone or with companions of their own choosing. But wives, and sisters, and female friends are undoubtedly essential to the full enjoyment of social life. And in this respect Shanghai life is very defective. Two ladies, as we have seen, came with the first party of settlers. In 1851, in a population of 210, the ladies had increased to 17. There was a gradual increase till the epidemic of 1862 created a panic and caused our settlement to be regarded as especially fatal

to the female constitution. But five successive healthy years have done much to turn the tide again the right way, and the census of 1870 shows a marked improvement, for to a population of 1270 male residents in this Settlement and Hongkew, there were 295 females. And how many social improvements have followed in their train! Objectionable social usages gradually broken up; a higher tone of propriety and taste and geniality infused into our social intercourse, and into our public amusements; a greatly improved standard of domestic comfort; the decoration of our settlement and suburbs, especially our tasteful and growing Recreation Ground;—all these, I hold, are to be ascribed to the increased numbers of ladies among us. And the change, like the genial influences of spring, has been noiseless, imperceptible, beautiful, irresistible. But there is still much room for improvement. Let our capitalists and housebuilders set themselves to the construction of houses, the rent of which will be within the reach of artisans, ships' officers, and mercantile assistants, and the necessity for a more lengthened stay in China which the course of trade makes every year more apparent will soon cause our social system to be pervaded by the pure and cordial spirit of domestic life.

Another very prominent feature of this Community is.

3.—Its cosmopolitan freedom. There are among us 19 foreign nationalities, and all these stand on

a footing of perfect municipal equality; are subject to equal taxation, and are all equally eligible for Municipal office. In respect of their several home Governments they have, it is true, various degrees of privilege; but as to the whole course of their social life, the joys and sorrows of which no Governments "can cause or cure," they enjoy almost absolute freedom. The spirit of the new Municipal Regulations is, as we were assured on the highest authority at the last Ratepayers' Meeting, to leave the Ratepayers as much as possible to manage their own affairs. And the mixing on this equal footing of so many different nationalities, each sure to be supported by its official representative in the maintenance of its just rights, obviously tends to promote broad views and sympathies, most fatal to red-tapeism and parochial Bumbledoms in our institutions. The free cities of Greece had no healthy popular literature to advocate the cause of an intellectually superior minority, and restrain the deplorable excesses of mob-law. The mediæval republics of Italy and the Hanse Towns, had their action cramped and even the sanctity of their hearths invaded by a dominant oligarchy. Our municipal and personal freedom labours under no such disadvantages. Every man is left almost absolutely to work out, consciously or unconsciously, his own ideal of life. The restraints of long established conventionalism, so powerful in old communities, so respectable and convenient in some aspects, yet so hollow at

best, and so often cramping unhealthily individual action, are here to a very large extent inoperative. And I know no place where a man more completely stands on his own merits. There may appear on the surface a good deal of pitiful snobbery and exclusivism. But it is only superficial. The surface is ere long penetrated. The bore, the sneak, the noodle, the jack-a-dandy, the humbug in every form, is in due time assayed, and has his essential value set upon him, no matter in what social circle he moves; while those who really deserve social appreciation are sure in the long run to be recognised.

I notice only one other social characteristic, viz: 4.—Shanghai is a *Model Settlement*:—that is, it is an advanced post of Western civilization on the borders of some 300,000,000 of a closely observant, semi-civilized heathen race. In this settlement are worked out before them questions of law, finance, commerce, education and science as applied to the arts of daily life. Here too are exhibited to them the higher problems of social and domestic life, and of religious belief and practice, as set forth under a nobler and purer system than they ever before had opportunity of contemplating. "This is an aspect of our community, surrounded by far-reaching issues and grave responsibilities, on the consideration of which I cannot enter. Already our financial system, in the matter of taxation, pressing, like the atmosphere, so equally in every direction, as to be felt oppressively by none, has been adopted by

them in their Maritime Customs. Our legal system too, in which adequately paid officers, raised above the shadow of a suspicion of corruption, dispense pure and impartial justice to all alike, promises to bear fruit in a new Commercial Code. And in practical mechanics they are making rapid progress. Let us hope that in higher matters we may be able and worthy to lead them onward in an upward path.

Perhaps I cannot better conclude this Lecture and the Series of which it is the last, than by offering a few suggestions for the further improvement of Shanghai, beyond the point to which we have now traced it. These suggestions, however, can at present assume the form only of a bare enumeration. Other opportunities may occur for their exposition and enforcement. They are 1. The continuation of the road from Yangtszepoo along the river bank to Woosung (9 miles); and the construction of a road to the Tsingpoo hills (17 miles), with cheap houses of entertainment at both places. 2. A Sanitarium at the North Saddle, under the wing of the new Lighthouse there. 3. The formation of a Horticultural Society to encourage private gardening. 4. The establishment of a Public Savings Bank. 5. An adequate Water Supply for domestic, manufacturing and Fire Brigade purposes, properly distributed through the streets and houses, and; 6. A Public Institution open to the whole community; to comprehend a Library, Reading and Lecture Room, with if possible, Baths, Billiards, Bowls and other Amusements.

## FOREIGN POPULATION.

SHANGHAI FOREIGN SETTLEMENT (NOT INCLUDING THE FRENCH CONCESSION.)

CENSUS 1870.

NATIONALITY.	English Settlement.		HONGKONG SETTLEMENT.		POOTUNG.		RESIDENTS AT LARGE.		SHIPPING.		BUILDING WITH ROAD.		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
English	454	63	51	568	145	39	28	212	36	4	376	32	1888
American	71	20	14	103	75	20	128	1	97	3	97	6	163
German	76	10	2	88	15	1	18	7	39	2	39	7	163
Danish	8	1	2	3	32	2	36	1	10	7	10	6	56
Spanish	1	1	2	2	3	2	3	6	1	10	7	10	6
Italian	3	2	5	3	1	2	2	14	1	14	1	14	103
Dutch	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	8
Portuguese	24	11	10	53	26	8	45	15	15	4	15	28	23
Norwegian	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5
Swedish	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	7
Russian	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Swiss	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	3
Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Austrian	11	1	12	5	3	1	7	1	28	1	28	1	379
French	17	1	12	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	3
Mexican	16	1	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Prussian	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	152
Belgian	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	29
Japanese	718	109	81	908	448	92	609	35	3	3	45	45	2767
Totals...	718	109	81	908	448	92	609	35	3	3	45	45	2767

## SHANGHAI CONSIDERED SOCIALLY.

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Permit me one word on this last subject. There are as we have seen, a great many places and ways in which time may be pleasantly passed in Shanghai; but they are not, and cannot be open to the public. Now this want is a very serious evil. This has been the great stumbling-block of the Temperance Society. It proposed to take away a vicious form of enjoyment, but it had nothing to offer in its place. Listen to a poor sailor brought up for drunkenness the other day:—When asked how he came to get drunk he said:—“This is such a dull place, one walks about till he gets tired, he does not know what to do with himself, and he gets led away. It is not like a large city where there are plenty of amusements.” This poor man was, perhaps, on the lowest rung of the social ladder, yet he represents a social want reaching much further up. Ship captains and officers obliged to spend some hours ashore waiting for some business; respectable young men, temporarily out of employment; the increasing number of occasional visitors from the outports; the intelligent artisans and clerks of our settlement who long for some place where they could spend an evening pleasantly without enforced dissipation; it is for these and such as these that I would propose this Institution. I am sure there is liberality enough in the settlement to set such a place a-going; while I believe its current expenses could be paid by a small charge within the reach of every one. The Library I would propose to supply with books by the proceeds of a yearly Course of Lectures and Readings:—thus meeting another want of the settlement which the Temperance Society has hitherto attempted to supply.

# PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS.

CENSUS 1870.

	Hongkew Settlement.	English Settlement, including Bubbling Well Road.	Residents living Afloat.	Pootung.	Shipping.
Accountants	4	8			
Apothecaries, Druggists	10	10			
Architects	1	2			
Bakers' Staff	1	18			
Barbers	1	4			
Blacksmiths	3				
Brewers	1				
Butchers	3	3			
Bookbinders	1	3			
Consultant Establishments	14	17			
Clergymen	2	3			
Civil Engineers	3	5			
Carp. & Cabl. Makers	3	4			
Cooks	68	92		2	
Children	2	42		5	
Com. Agents & Brokers	1	1			
Dentists	1	2			
Divers	26	2			
Engineers & Machinists	85	95		4	23
Females	2	3		3	5
Gas-fitters					
Groomers					
Gedown Keepers	4	3			
Gentlemen	1	3			
Gold & Silversmiths	1	1			
House & Land Agents	3	4			
Hair Dressers	3	3			
Hawkers					
Insurance Companies	2	1			
Inn & Hotel Keepers	12	7			
Journalists	6	15			
Labourers	5	2			
Livery Stable Keepers	3	132			
Merchants	3	3			
Miliners					
Carried forward	240	492	12	36	
Brought forward	246	492	12	36	
Monitors	2	4			
Master Mariners	26	4			
Mercantile Assistants	37	256			
Misellaneous Males	1	5			
Musicians	2	3			
Nurses	2	1			
Police	7	27			
Prisoners	1	3			
Public Officers	20	23			
Professor of Astronomy	1	34			
Public Companies	1	5			
Physicians	1	13			
Printers & Compositors	1	12			
Painters	2	1			
Photographers	19	1			
Pilots	1	8			
Silk Inspectors	1	1			
Solitors	1	2			
Ship Builders	1	3			
Sail Makers	201	8			
Seamen	5	9			
Shipping Makers	5	11			
Servants Male	9	6			
" Female	6	18			
Store Keepers	4	1			
Ten Tailors	2	10			
Tailors	7	7			
Toll and Tax Collectors	2	1			
Teacher of Languages	1	1			
Unemployed	7	1			
Wine Merchants	1	1			
Wharfingers	7	7			
Watch Makers					
Total, exclusive of Army and Navy, 2318	699	960	52	40	
Royal Navy.			419		
Grand Total.			2767		

# CHINESE POPULATION IN THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT.

CENSUS 1870.

ROAD	HOUSES.			OCCUPANTS.					
	Occupied	Unoccupied	Total	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
				Adults	Children	Adults	Children	Male	Female
Speichen	266	27	293	1000	207	451	269	1507	1588
Kiangse	96	14	110	418	67	198	78	488	726
Honan	338	99	437	1749	283	379	110	2652	2821
Shantung	248	37	285	1061	186	412	101	1277	1700
Shanse	237	18	255	864	177	322	90	1031	1412
Chili	318	35	354	702	258	407	88	900	1258
Fukien	800	82	882	2783	605	1250	375	3178	3925
Hoopeh	375	50	425	832	272	692	140	1204	1802
Quangse	171	651	822	1021	319	811	130	1340	2341
Szechwang	480	66	546	1801	374	666	81	1084	1697
Woo Hoo	274	16	290	1852	313	1412	226	2536	3874
Canton	445	61	506	1911	410	692	197	2521	3170
Peehoy	147	4	151	474	135	392	71	789	931
Hankow	330	9	339	1039	265	515	166	1500	2271
Kinkang	336	122	458	1325	519	776	184	2355	4358
Monking	547	142	689	3363	519	469	155	1183	1760
Tientsin	215	28	243	976	187	238	80	1446	1928
Ningpo	247	0	247	1034	299	365	146	1446	1928
Tientsin	159	11	170	309	104	231	78	608	838
Woosoh	165	13	178	404	102	725	258	1063	1663
Peking	40	53	93	1271	161	331	71	509	902
Soohow	146	29	175	439	40	297	21	509	827
Foreign Hong				434				434	454
Shipping	6801	1106	7906	29408	5716	12288	3179	35124	50591
				Sampans.....				782	
				Yanching-pang.....				463	
				Soohow Creek.....				3352	
				Off Shore.....				1708	
				Vagrants.....					
				Grand Total.....				50591	
								2056	
								6306	
								65051	



# CHINESE POPULATION IN HONGKEW SETTLEMENT.

ROAD	HOUSES.			OCCUPANTS.						Grand Total.
	Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Total.	Males		Females		Total		
				Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Male.	Female.	
Hongkew. . . . .	417	59	476	1,707	310	548	163	2,017	711	2,728
Hongkew Village. . . . .	721	102	823	1,922	467	701	214	2,389	915	3,304
Woosung. . . . .	283	94	377	756	210	376	158	966	534	1,500
Malay Street. . . . .	315	16	331	749	188	300	99	937	399	1,336
Inner Hongkew. . . . .	289	12	301	583	217	311	117	800	428	1,228
Yuepo. . . . .	103	10	113	410	86	208	111	496	319	815
Teindong. . . . .	214	27	241	811	123	291	108	934	399	1,333
Broadway. . . . .	131	33	164	100	386	141	58	486	199	685
Employed in Foreign Hongks. . . . .	...	...	...	554	4	103	20	558	123	681
In Beggars' Camp. . . . .	...	...	...	225	106	189	59	331	248	579
Boats in Hongkew Creek. . . . .	...	...	...	239	44	82	22	283	104	387
Unassessed Villages. . . . .	...	...	...	593	273	461	163	866	624	1,490
Totals. . . . .	2,473	335	2,826	8,349	2,414	3,711	1,292	11,063	5,003	16,066