

A Chinese Statesman in Canada, 1903: Translated from the Travel Journal of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

In 1903 the Chinese statesman Liang Ch'i-ch'ao toured continental North America.¹ He spent his first two months in Canada, primarily in British Columbia. Liang's trip was not a matter of simple tourism. A major figure in one of China's earliest political parties and a leading intellectual, he came partly in order to strengthen his party (it had many branches in North America's Chinese communities). In addition, he wanted to broaden his knowledge of world politics and to learn something about Western democracies that could be communicated to his fellow countrymen back in China. His journal reflects all of these con-

* The journal of which I have here translated a portion is Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超, *Hsin-ta-lu yu-chi* 新大陸遊記 (*Journal of a Trip to the New World*). The edition I have used is Shen Yün-lung 沈雲龍 (ed.), *Chin-tai Chung-kuo shih-liao tsung-k'an* 近代中國史料叢刊 (*Historical Materials Relating to Modern Chinese History*), vols. 96-97 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1967). The entire journal is a little over 200 pages long. In this article I have only translated the first twenty pages (pp. 223-44 in the Shen Yün-lung edition). The translation is preceded by a short introduction. In the body of the translation itself anything marked by brackets [] is material I have inserted. All other material, including that in parentheses (), is Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's. Finally, I should make a couple of acknowledgements: my husband, Jeong-Huei Ma, helped me with a few of the more difficult places in the text; Dr. Edgar Wickberg provided specific information on Chinese in Canada for my introduction; and my mother, Mrs. E. G. Ballard, gave editorial advice. Any errors and weaknesses are my own.

¹ This introduction is based primarily on my articles (some published under the surname "Ma," some under "Armentrout-Ma") and my PhD thesis ("Chinese Politics in the Western Hemisphere: Rivalry between Reformers and Revolutionaries in the Americas, 1893-1911," unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, 1977). Additional material on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao can be found in Hao Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Philip C. Huang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972); Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); and Don C. Price, *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution, 1896-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). For information on Chinese in Canada, see Edgar Wickberg, "Chinese and Canadian Influences on Chinese Politics in Vancouver, 1900-1947," *BC Studies* 45 (Spring 1980): 37-55; and Edgar Wickberg, et al, *From China to Canada: A History of Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982).

cerns. Furthermore, it is an excellent source of information about Chinese in North America at the turn of the century.

Liang's visit came at a time when Canada's Chinese communities were undergoing a major transition. The end of the Gold Rush and the completion of construction work on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) had brought about changes in the geographic and occupational distribution of the Chinese. For the first time, Chinese moved eastward across the country, settling in small towns and forming Chinatowns in major central and eastern cities. The majority, however, remained in British Columbia, where they were concentrated in Victoria and the Lower Mainland. In British Columbia, Chinese occupations were diverse and often related to the resource-extraction base of that province's economy. Outside of B.C., Chinese were almost entirely operators of laundries and restaurants.

The Censuses and Royal Commissions of the day reflect some of these conditions. Their findings are outsiders' views of the Chinese communities in Canada, as contrasted with Liang's perspective, which was closer to that of an insider. Canadian government figures show us a Chinese population of over 17,000, increasingly spread over Canada and increasingly urbanized, but with over 85 percent of it still concentrated in rural and urban B.C.

White opposition to the Chinese had begun to develop in B.C. from the 1870s onward. Partly in reaction to this opposition, the Chinese had begun to form organizations for defence and mediation. By 1900 as well, Canada's Chinese had begun to establish ties with Chinese political parties, for the purpose of furthering their own interests as well as for the sake of Chinese political future.

The political party with which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was associated was then called the Chinese Monarchial Constitutionalist Party in English, and the *Pao-huang hui* in Chinese.² The shorter Chinese name will be used in this article. The party was the second such in all of Chinese history. It was founded in 1899, four years before Liang's trip to North America and five years after the founding of China's first political party. These two parties were part of a movement which culminated in 1911, when China's so-called "Republican revolution" ended a centuries-old imperial system and replaced it with a republic. The first provisional President of that republic was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of China's first

² *Pao-huang hui* means literally "Save-the-Emperor Society." The most important of the other titles used by the party were *Pao-chiu ta-Kuang-hsü huang-ti hui*, *Chung-kuo min-tsu hsien-cheng tang*, and Chinese Monarchial Constitutionalist Party.

political party, referred to above. The Pao-huang hui (by then with a new name) and its leaders were one of the chief political rivals to Sun and his party, and a major force in the politics of the period.

The Pao-huang hui, curiously, was founded in Canada. Its official founder and head was a man named K'ang Yu-wei. (Liang came second in the party hierarchy.) K'ang, Liang's mentor and his former tutor, was a radical reformer whose political ideas had led reactionaries in the Chinese court to attempt to execute him in 1898. Fleeing China (along with most of his followers, including Liang), mid 1899 found him in Canada where he founded the Pao-huang hui as a vehicle for pressing the Chinese court to institute the reforms he desired and for giving him substantive political power. The Pao-huang hui rapidly spread throughout overseas Chinese communities in the Americas and Southeast Asia, while K'ang, Liang and their followers also acquired or re-established their influence over important segments of the intelligentsia and bureaucracy in China.

Certain elements of the Pao-huang hui almost from the very beginning favoured allying the party with revolutionary proponents such as Sun Yat-sen in order to launch a revolution in China. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was an early and important member of this faction. Except for a brief period in early 1900, however, K'ang Yu-wei looked with extreme disfavour upon revolution (although he was not adverse to showing military muscle or encouraging political assassination plots). K'ang was particularly unhappy that Liang talked of revolution, and as his mentor and former tutor, he ordered Liang to abandon these views and even to remove himself from his base in Asia. It was partly in order to please K'ang that Liang set out for North America early in 1903. He arrived in North America, landing in Vancouver in March of that year.

In addition to bowing to the wishes of K'ang Yu-wei, Liang travelled to North America in order to raise funds for the Pao-huang hui: Liang was a great publicist, and he was involved in party newspapers, party bookstores, and other such ventures. These were always in need of funds. In addition, K'ang desired to promote that wing of the party which stood for commercial modernization, and hoped that the party itself could launch various capitalistic ventures. This also required money. Then, party leaders such as K'ang and Liang were in need of travel funds. In a word, fund-raising in America was to be one of Liang's major objectives, although it met with only marginal success.

Liang also went to North America in order to strengthen the Pao-huang hui chapters on that continent. The party already had branches

in western Canada and in several cities in the United States, but the Chinese court had engaged in a number of relatively successful efforts to weaken them. In addition, factional disputes within the Pao-huang hui had caused a significant number of members to become inactive. Liang hoped that by going to North America he could reverse these trends and leave the party far stronger than he found it. Indeed, he was able to achieve this particular goal without much difficulty.

As for Liang's desire to learn more of world affairs, he was interested in studying both the functioning of American democracies and the capabilities (as far as he could determine) of Chinese for democratic government. He seems to have anticipated from the beginning that through some kind of written work he would publicize his findings to his countrymen in China. This, indeed, is the primary function of this travel journal. Chinese intellectuals and bureaucrats (the literati/gentry) on the whole remained ignorant of the spirit of the Western world — democracy, capitalism, the scientific and industrial revolutions — until a comparatively late date. At the time that Liang wrote, the great majority of Chinese still had little or no concept of these matters, although they had begun to learn something of Western military might and Western colonialism. Liang sought to dispel some of this ignorance. He also wanted to satisfy himself for once and for all as to whether or not China should have a republican, democratic revolution. By the time he left North America, he concluded that it should not.

Finally, Liang's travel journal tells much about the Chinese in both Canada and the United States at this period. My translation here encompasses only some sixteen pages extracted from the first twenty pages of the journal, being limited to Liang's stay in Canada. What he learned of the Chinese in Canada confirms other reports: First attracted by Canada's gold rush and then by prospects of employment building the country's transcontinental railroads, hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrated to Canada (mostly to British Columbia) in the late nineteenth century. Those who stayed on after completion of the railroad, however, found themselves discriminated against and desperately underemployed. As a result, by 1900 the prime goal for most was to slip illegally into the United States where their chances of employment were much greater.

A note concerning the translation: written Chinese is a much more condensed language than is English. In addition, Liang wrote when written Chinese was in the process of a major transition, moving from a classical form essentially lacking punctuation, full of literary allusions,

and using a rather special language, to a modern form that closely follows the spoken word. Liang, himself a literary stylist, helped set the direction for much of this change. Because he was a transitional figure, his writing style can be a bit uneven and occasionally hard to follow. The grammatical structure of Chinese itself, which permits most words to be used as nouns, adjectives or verbs without any change of form, somewhat complicates the matter. However, written Chinese is comprehensible. In my translation I have tried to give an accurate mirror of Liang's style, making changes only when absolutely necessary for comprehension. Since I have tried to be as literal as possible, the translation may be a bit stiff in places, but I felt the demands of accuracy outweighed those of a flowing English style.

LIANG CH'I-CH'AO'S *Journal of a Trip to the New World*

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST TWENTY PAGES

Author's Introduction (written by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao of Hsin-hui³):

When I travelled to America, each day I jotted down some notes in a helter-skelter fashion. . . . When I was struck by a feeling, I was unable to prevent myself from recording it. After several months, my jottings on paper reached more than a foot⁴ in height. When I looked over them again . . . I really had to laugh. But the contents also included information that my fellow-countrymen in China will not have been able to learn about. . . . [So] after spending a month's effort, I have [edited and reduced] my jottings to a small volume. . . .

Written on [Chinese] New Year's eve in the k'uei-mao year [15 February 1904];⁵ author's note.

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From Yokohama to Canada

Entry # 1

I have wanted to go to America for the past four years. In the winter of 1899, political sympathizers from San Francisco wired me inviting me

³ *Hsin-hui* is a district in Kwangtung province near Canton. It was Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's birthplace.

⁴ A Chinese "foot" is actually 14.1 inches.

⁵ Naturally enough, Liang used the Chinese calendar when recording dates. Henceforth I shall simply give the equivalent according to our calendar.

to visit. Thereupon, I set out from Japan upon my travels. . . . I travelled to Hawaii. . . . The Hawaiians hindered me . . . [and] on July 14, I was strictly forbidden [by Hawaiian authorities] to proceed to North America.⁶ . . . Thereupon, on July 17 I turned my head towards the west. . . . [Then, on 22 February 1903], I started out again towards my original destination [of North America]. . . .

Entry #2: March 5, 1903

Early in the morning: The ship entered an estuary of Canada's Vancouver Island. On both shores there are green mountains — seeming to give a warm farewell, or to beckon the traveller to approach. To the left is English territory, to the right is the United States. The mountains are covered with beautiful forests and dense undergrowth. The ship proceeded forward between the blossoming dawn and the smooth wake, moving at a fairly rapid speed.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the ship arrived at Victoria. It docked there for fifteen minutes. Then it resumed its journey. At dusk it arrived at Vancouver.

The English territory of Canada is divided into seven provinces. The one along the Pacific coast is called British Columbia. The total number of Chinese who live in Canada is about 20,000. Of these, 60 to 70 per cent live in British Columbia. British Columbia's provincial capital is called Victoria. The large cities near it are called Vancouver (which Chinese have nicknamed "Bayside City") and New Westminster (which the Chinese have nicknamed "Second City"). Chinese businesses and Chinese labourers are centred in these cities. The Chinese population can be broken down as follows:

Victoria: 5,000+	Vancouver: 4,000+
New Westminster: 1,000	Port Alberni: 1,000
Nanaimo: 500	Calgary, 1,000
"Cariboo" (Mtns.): ⁷ 1,000	Montreal: 2,000+
Ottawa: 200+	other: 3,000+

Ten-odd years ago, when the CPR [Canadian Pacific Railway] was constructing its great railway, Chinese came to Canada in the greatest num-

⁶ There was a bubonic plague scare in Hawaii at that time occasioned by several deaths which were attributed to bubonic plague. Government authorities on the islands felt that Chinese were most likely the transmitters of the plague and restricted the travel of all Chinese, as well as instituting other measures.

⁷ I am not sure of the identification of this place. The Chinese transliterates as "Kali-pu," which sounds like it might be the Cariboo Mountains.

bers. At the height of the immigration, there cannot have been fewer than 70,000 to 80,000. After the railroad was finished, the need for labourers greatly decreased. Now these [above] are all that remain.

Entry #3

The city of Vancouver, up until fifteen years ago, was just a wilderness. When the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) opened up a great railroad line stretching across the continent and connecting with New York, it carved out a route between Europe and the Far East. It also began running the three steamers *Empress of China*, *Empress of Japan* and *Empress of India* to Japan and China. The railway and the steamship line both have their terminals in Vancouver. This is why Vancouver has begun to flourish. In the beginning, Victoria had been the principal city of the province of British Columbia. Today, all of the influence and power have moved to Vancouver. The price of land has gone up to several tens of what it used to be. As for us Chinese, those who came here fifteen years ago have now been followed by many others. That so far none has been willing to buy the land in order to reap the profit [of the increase in land value] is proof that they are not capable of competing successfully with Westerners, although some [have the additional flaw that they] only imitate the advice of their Western friends and others lack education and experience.

As for Chinese in Canada, their life is very distressed and cramped. It's not nearly so good as what is found in the United States. Fifty to sixty percent of the labourers can't find jobs. Their situation is pitiable beyond description. The merchants depend upon the labourers for their livelihood. Since the labour situation is not good, the business situation is also not good. None of the Chinese merchants here have a large amount of capital. The biggest businesses go no farther than to specialize in their country's articles of daily usage and foodstuffs. They stock them for the labourers in order to make a profit. That is why in areas where [Chinese] labourers are few, [Chinese] shops are also few. When the labourers have difficulties, the merchants' profits decrease. When I travelled to Hawaii, Australia and every other place, I noticed this same phenomenon. However, it's particularly true in Canada.

The majority of the labourers in the province of British Columbia get their jobs from the salmon fishery. It's been calculated that each year during the fishing season, those who work in this business can make no less than thirty to sixty or seventy dollars U.S. a month. But the season

only runs each year from May until August. As for the rest of the year, all those involved in the fishing industry are unable to find jobs. With no resources, they can only sit and eat. That is why, before the year is out, they are left with no means of sustaining themselves.

The Japanese that are here also work in the fishing industry. The Japanese, however, work as fishermen. The Chinese only work in the fish canneries. A fisherman's daily wages are several times greater than those of a fish canner. But the Westerners in this place limit the Chinese by requiring that unless a Chinese has become a British citizen he is not allowed to fish. For that reason, although it [income from fishing] is a case of a very small amount of money, they [Chinese] are unable to compete with people of other races for it.

Other than working in the fish canneries, the only principal forms of employment remaining are work as a cook and in a laundry. Work as a cook of the very highest class can bring in seventy to eighty dollars U.S. a month. The lowest class only gets something over ten dollars a month. Laundry work pays very little. Monthly earnings probably run something over ten dollars U.S. Montreal has the largest number of [Chinese] laundrymen. That place is Canada's largest city. As for the rest, there are miners, loggers and the like, but not very many.

Taking a look at the business situation in British Columbia (only with respect to Chinese merchants), we find there are something over 140 businesses in Victoria. In Vancouver, there are some fifty-odd. In New Westminster, there are twenty to thirty. You cannot say that the number is not large. However, only one or two do business with Westerners. All the rest depend on the Chinese labourers to support them. Variety shops selling Chinese goods account for seven or eight out of every ten. In Victoria, the processing and handling of opium is an important trade. This is because the import tax on opium is very low; so it is easy to make a profit. However, the profit obtained all comes from the Chinese. More than half is sold into the United States. Recently, the United States has been very severe in inspecting for the [import] tax [on opium]. For that reason, every year less of it is sold. As for the other businesses [in Victoria, etc.], there are some ten-odd sewing factories specializing in Western clothes that give a little touch of competition to Western manufacturers.

Merchants in this place have made gambling into a form of business. There's hardly a single shop that doesn't have gambling. In just the tiny community in Vancouver there are more than twenty *fan-tan* gambling

houses and sixteen or seventeen [Chinese] lotteries.⁸ They say that in other communities it's the same. I often inquired as to how great their monthly expenses were. Each *fan-tan* parlour has five or six employees. Each man gets a weekly salary of about six dollars U.S. Each parlour pays rent of about forty dollars U.S. for its quarters. Taking it all together, every month Vancouver's *fan-tan* parlours pay out about \$6,000 U.S., more or less.⁹ In everyday Chinese currency this is 12,000 *yüan*. Each year their cost of doing business is about 150,000 *yüan*. As for the lotteries and other types of gambling establishments, their total operating costs are said to be about the same. This means that every year in Vancouver, the amount of capital eaten up by gambling is 300,000 *yüan*. If you total it up for the entire province of British Columbia, each year more than 1,000,000 *yüan* is eaten up. This is a principal reason for the Chinese' steadily declining standard of living.

Japanese also particularly love to gamble. I hear that every year they transfer to Chinese [by losing at gambling] some \$160,000 U.S. (This is in Vancouver.) This is one way of [Chinese] competing with foreigners. Ah, well.

Japanese are even worse at commercial affairs than are Chinese. There are no fewer than 4,000 Japanese here, according to a rough estimate. But there isn't even the tiniest [Japanese-run] business. Some time ago, I went to Thursday Island¹⁰ (to the northeast of Australia). I saw that in that place, there were more than 2,000 Japanese, all of whom were very poor. There were fewer than one hundred Chinese, all fairly well-to-do. I investigated into the reason: it is that these several tens of Chinese depend upon the 2,000 Japanese for their trade, and that brings them their wealth. There was not one among these 2,000 Japanese who could set up a business. Those who doubt that Chinese are far more capable than Japanese when it comes to commercial affairs can now look at this place for ample proof. However, Chinese' native business sense is limited to profiting off of their own countrymen [and] to profiting off of Asians in general. If they meet up with Europeans or Americans, they are immediately defeated. This is because they only have an inborn commercial ability and don't know how to develop it.

⁸ For a description of *fan-tan* and the Chinese lottery (also called *pai-ho-p'iao* or Pak Kop Piu), see Stewart Culin, *The Gambling Games of the Chinese in America* (Las Vegas: Gambler's Book Club, 1972).

⁹ Evidently, this figure includes the money paid out to winners as well as the rents and salaries Liang enumerated above. The rents and salaries come to about \$3680/month.

¹⁰ This is an Australian island in the Torres Straits.

Entry #4:

The province of British Columbia also has laws that discriminate against Chinese labourers. Formerly, each [Chinese] person that landed had to pay a tax of \$100 U.S. Recently, it has been raised to \$500. This is more than 1,000 *yüan* in ordinary Chinese currency. This law was brought before the legislature of British Columbia five years ago. For a long time it wasn't passed. This year it was brought before Canada's national parliament. It was passed on April 27. It goes into effect on January 1, 1904. From that time on, the road for our Chinese labourers to come here will be closed. Ah!

With respect to colonies [territories] ruled by white men, other than Malaya in south Asia, and the various islands in the straits of the South China Sea, there is hardly one that doesn't restrict Chinese labourers. There are numerous kinds of restrictive regulations. The ones I know of are as follows:

The United States and its possessions: together with China they have a treaty of exclusion¹¹ and they have severe laws all of which proclaim no labourer will be granted entrance. (I will discuss this exclusion treaty and these laws in detail below.)

The Australian province of New South Wales levies a tax of 100 pounds (1,000 Chinese *yüan*) [on Chinese labourers]. Canada levied a tax of \$100. (That's 200 Chinese *yüan*.) Now it has been increased to \$500. (That's 1,000 Chinese *yüan*.) . . .

White people have only two ways of treating Chinese: (1) granting resident Chinese complete legal equality with other people but putting up restrictions so that we Chinese can't enter the area; or (2) granting us Chinese freedom of entry and exit but setting up special laws to regulate any resident Chinese. The first method is used in areas where whites are in the majority and non-whites in the minority. The second method is used where whites are in the minority and other peoples in the majority, such as the various islands in the South China Sea, Annam [today's Vietnam] and Siam [today's Thailand]. The most important point is that Chinese are denied equality with whites. . . .

It is very hard to find a job in Canada, so why is it that Chinese are continuously coming here? The reason is that from here, they can "steal the border" [cross the border illegally] and enter the United States. Last year, over 5,000 [Chinese] landed at the two ports of Victoria and Van-

¹¹ This is the famous Chinese Exclusion Treaty, originally passed in 1882.

couver. Six or seven out of every ten of these entered the United States. Other years are about the same.

Here, there are certain Chinese businessmen who specialize in taking people to "steal the border." They demand of each person a bribe of more than \$200 (U.S.). With respect to bribe money, the American officials who collect taxes at the border and the United States consul stationed at Vancouver also get a share, it is said. For this reason, at the present a Chinese labourer who wants to go through here to the United States must have 700-800 *yüan* before he can succeed. This includes the 200 *yüan* to enter Canada.¹² Some 400-500 *yüan* in bribe money is needed to cross the border [into the United States]. As for the rest, the steamer fare and train fare doesn't exceed 100 *yüan*. Here you have our native land with many tens of thousands of *li* [thousands of square miles] of rich and fertile land, yet our countrymen don't have enough to eat and are forced to risk huge sums of money to make a living abroad where they are treated like cattle, horses and slaves by other races. Who can imagine anything worse!

Entry #5:

In Vancouver I read a Western newspaper. I saw that President [Theodore] Roosevelt is touring the Pacific coast. At each stop he gives speeches; they are courageous and forthright. His words pour forth like a river. What he says should be deeply disturbing to my fellow-countrymen. Today I have recorded a speech he made in "Ch'ü-ch'en-wei-er" [———ville??], as follows:

[Roosevelt's speech urged his fellow Americans to seek to dominate the Pacific and exert more influence over the weaker nations in that area. This, Roosevelt felt, would make the United States the paramount Pacific power. In his journal, Liang rails against Roosevelt's views and decries the then current sentiment in the United States favouring imperialism. Liang also describes the European powers' adverse reactions to Roosevelt's speeches.]

The great world powers daily concentrate more and more on the Pacific . . . because . . . [they] concentrate more and more on China. Even one who has only the slightest knowledge of current affairs will have understood this. Since this is the case, he who can use this Pacific Ocean

¹² This represents the old rate, valid until 1 January 1904, at which time it would increase to 1,000 *yüan* (\$500 U.S.).

in order to dominate the world will be in a good position to treat China as he pleases. China cannot herself dominate the Pacific; if a man is weak he leans on his hands and lets others act. How can I calmly talk about a "Pacific"¹³ Ocean? Even if I cannot calmly discuss it, how can I make it "pacific"?

Entry #6:

April 30. Setting out from Vancouver, I boarded the train for New York. This was on the CPR railroad. This railroad crosses the whole continent of North America. It is more than 3,000 miles long, which really is 10,000 Chinese *li*. Before the completion of Russia's Trans-Siberian Express, this was the world's longest railroad. (Although in the United States there are several railroad lines which cross the whole continent, none was entirely constructed by only one railway company.) When there was first talk of constructing this railroad [the CPR], most capitalists scoffed at the idea. Very few people were willing to invest. It is said that for this reason, it was difficult to complete the construction. Now the profits are several times tenfold. Canada's federated government [its central government] only started to become strong once this railroad was completed. The relationship between the railroad and the country's unified national government is indeed very close!

We crossed over the great mountain of "Lo-chi"¹⁴ and continued east. The peaks of the mountain are covered with snow that is more than a thousand *li* deep. The highest point that the railroad reaches is more than 3,000 feet above sea level. It took three engines to pull us up to the top. The train progressed by spiralling tortuously around the mountain. You could see three levels of track at a time. When they were parallel, it was an incredible sight. Being on that train took my breath away.

May was my time to touch the snow. A bright, clear world entered the two pupils of my eyes. [Only] the spirit of the mountain knows whose life is as bitter as is this old man's, this white-haired old man.¹⁵

After travelling for five days we arrived at Ottawa. Ottawa is Canada's capital. The national government is there. The structure of the Canadian government is about the same as is Australia's. Although in name it is part of Great Britain, it is actually an independent country. Each of the

¹³ In Chinese as in English, the term for "Pacific Ocean" means literally "ocean of peace," or "peaceful ocean."

¹⁴ "Lo-chi" is a transliteration. I am unable to identify the mountain.

¹⁵ Liang refers to himself when he writes "old man," although he was not old.

seven provinces has its own government. Each has its own parliament. They are all joined together in a federation. There is a central, federal government. There is a central, federal parliament. In nature it is very much like the United States [Congress].

Canada and the United States have a common border some 10,000 *li* long. Although on the map there is a line dividing them, their historical development is about the same. Their governments function in about the same fashion. An outsider wonders why it [Canada] hasn't joined the United States within these past hundred years. This really is a puzzling question. If you examine the relevant history, [you see that] at the time of the revolutionary war, the American army invaded Canada numerous times. However, the war was fought by America's thirteen colonies and they only sought freedom and independence for the thirteen colonies. In addition, they did not have the strength [to secure Canada's independence]. Furthermore, of the colonists of Canada's east coast (at that time, the west coast had not been opened up; this was true of both Canada and the United States), Frenchmen held most of the power. (This is still true today). The Americans who called for independence were all descendants of the earlier Puritans. Their beliefs and customs, and those of Canada's eastern colonists, were not at all the same. This is why at that time they couldn't join together. This is the first reason [why Canada and the United States haven't joined together].

In 1812, when Great Britain and the United States began a naval war [the War of 1812], Americans began having the first hints of the ambition to swallow up Canada. However, the war ended shortly after it had begun. Furthermore, the United States national strength was not sufficient; its strength was still not great enough to enable it to compete in its foreign policy and obtain [Canada] for itself. Then in 1823, Monroe was President. He proclaimed the [new] relationship between the Americas and Europe. This is the "Monroe Doctrine" that even today the people of the United States feel is as valuable as gold and jade. In the proclamation it says, "With respect to territories and colonies that the various European countries already have in the Americas, the United States has decided not to concern itself with them. In addition, in the future it will also not concern itself with them,"¹⁶ etc., etc. This "Monroeism" today

¹⁶ Ironically, Liang seems to have missed the most important point of the Monroe Doctrine, which was to proclaim that apart from territories and colonies already belonging to Europe, Europe was not to interfere in any way in American (especially Latin American) affairs. The emphasis was on keeping European nations out of the Americas as much as possible.

has become even more influential and for the past ten years has been followed down to the last letter. This is the reason that unless Canada has of itself planned to break away from Britain, the United States has not been in a position to force it to; this is the second reason [that Canada and the United States have not joined together].

The British government, ever since the United States became independent, has changed its policy with respect to its colonies. It has discarded its doctrine of interference and adopted a policy of inattention. Canada, then, whether it belongs to Great Britain or joins the United States, will enjoy freedom of government and the like. Why, then, should she take action? This is the third reason.

Then, after the Civil War, all of the people of the United States were mad for war and vigorously advocated the annexation of Canada. For a while, there was considerable unrest. However, older, more experienced politicians saw that handling the Southern states had already caused great difficulties. Investigating deeply, they saw that the unity or disunity of the various parts of a country develop naturally out of its historical tradition. It cannot be forced. For this reason, the more sober-minded argument won, and in the final analysis, the argument for annexation was not a match for it. This is the fourth reason.

From that time on, the feeling between the two countries of Great Britain and the United States became closer and friendlier every day. They were both of the same race and had a common language,¹⁷ and felt as if they should befriend and help one another. This sentiment penetrated deeply into the minds of the citizens of the two countries. It would not be possible to effect annexation without declaring the intention to use armed force, but the peoples of the two countries would be unwilling to do this. This is the fifth reason.

Ever since the CPR's transcontinental railroad has been completed, the strength of the Canadian federal [national] government has daily become increasingly consolidated. In addition, the trade route across the Atlantic has become more flourishing day by day. For this reason, its [Canada's] relationship with the mother country grows closer day by day. As for today, although the United States ardently wants to pursue an imperialistic policy, Canada's strength is too great to let it be humiliated. This is the sixth reason. After my investigation of this matter, I wanted to present these six explanations. These have not exhausted the question.

¹⁷ Instead of "language," an equally valid translation would be "literary tradition."

However, it is not for me, a traveller with only a superficial view, to be able to go any further into the matter.

On the northern border of the United States sits Canada. On its southern border sit the numerous countries of Central and South America. According to their names, Canada is the possession of a monarchy. The countries of Central and South America are independent, republican democracies. In actuality, the people of Canada have freedom and enjoy prosperity. Looking at the countries of Central and South America, what do we see? If it was not that Canada had at the core of its government men of the resolute and sober Nordic race, but instead was ruled by the flighty, frivolous, inexperienced people of the Latin race¹⁸ (half of the population of eastern Canada is composed of Nordic peoples and the other half by Latins) who, in my opinion, do nothing but carry out ill-conceived plans of revolution and independence, then its [Canada's] present situation would be like that of Peru or Brazil, as might well be imagined. It is often the case on this earth that the reality does not follow the name.

The building which houses the Parliament [Parliament Hill] in Ottawa is supposed to be the most beautiful in the world. When I arrived, the head of the Conservative Party, [Robert] Borden, took me on a tour of it. We wandered all around it. It is in fact an impressive sight. The entire edifice is constructed of matching blocks of red and white marble. The central hall is the largest. That is for the upper and lower houses of Parliament. The two wings to the left and the right are in size a little smaller and less impressive. These hold all of the various offices of the administration. From this it is easy to see that the English value making laws more than they value administering them.

In the central hall, in addition to the meeting room of the upper and lower houses of Parliament, there are also committee meeting rooms, a library, offices for secretaries, the offices of the parliamentarians, lounges for the parliamentarians, and so forth. All of these are exceedingly stately and beautiful. There is a high tower [dome] over the central hall. There are some 1,500 steps before you reach the very top. There, the whole city is spread out before your eyes. The library is most impressive looking. Its section is circular in shape, and has six storeys. It contains 310,000 volumes. From the bottom of the central hall looking upwards, you can see the entire library.

¹⁸ In his terminology and characterization of race, Liang here is following the Spencian social evolutionary theories that at that time were popular in the Western world.

On May 27 I arrived in Montreal. Montreal is Canada's largest city. Its population is more than 400,000. Industry and trade are very flourishing. In comparison with the other cities of the east coast, it is by far the largest. At least half of its inhabitants are settlers from France. Within the city, other than in the most prosperous district, most of the people don't understand English. I have not yet gone to France. Seeing this [Montreal] is like seeing one part of French society.

From Canada I went to New York.