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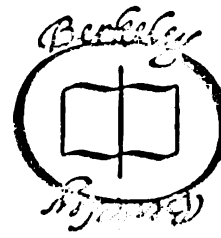
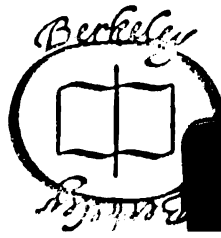
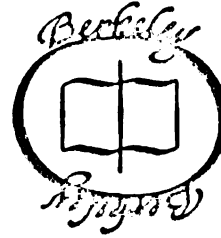
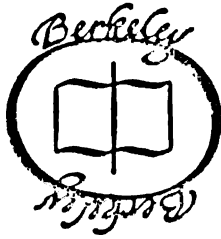
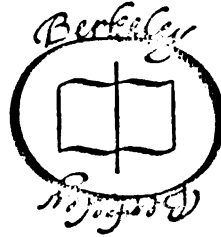
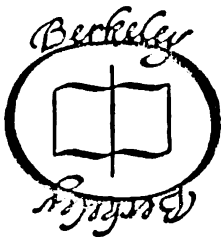
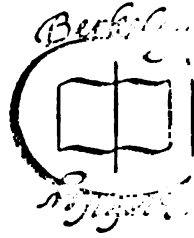
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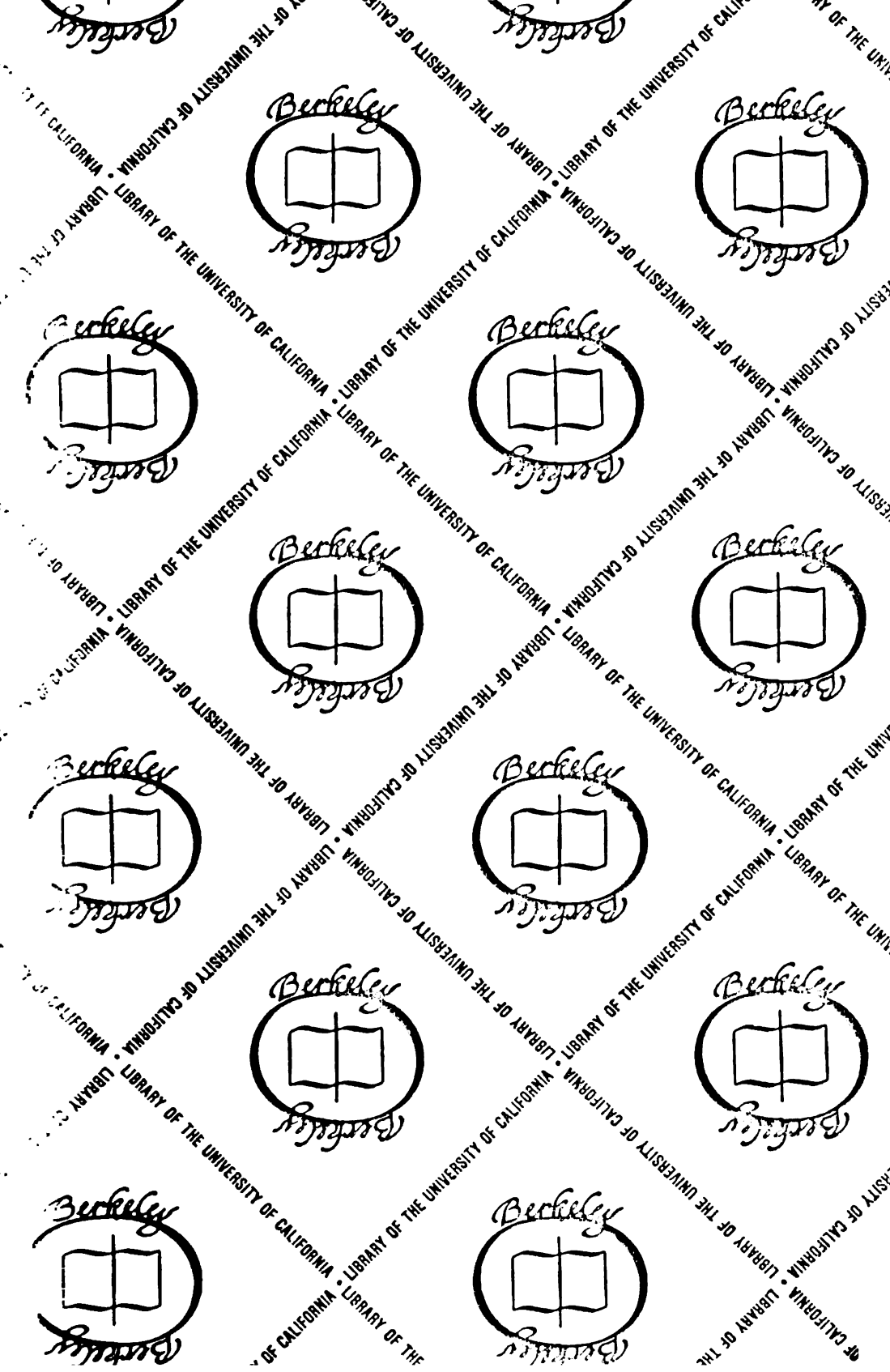
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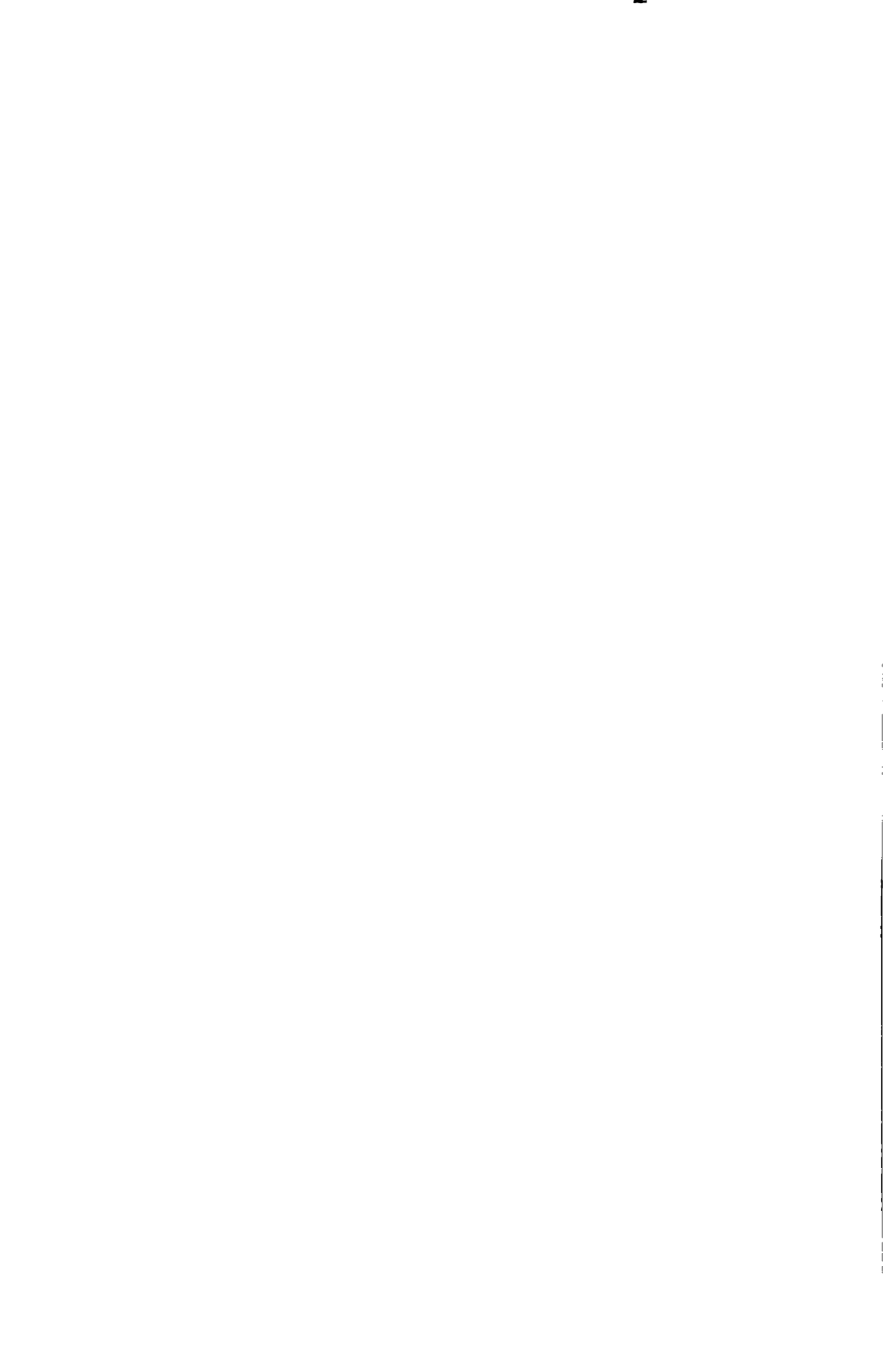
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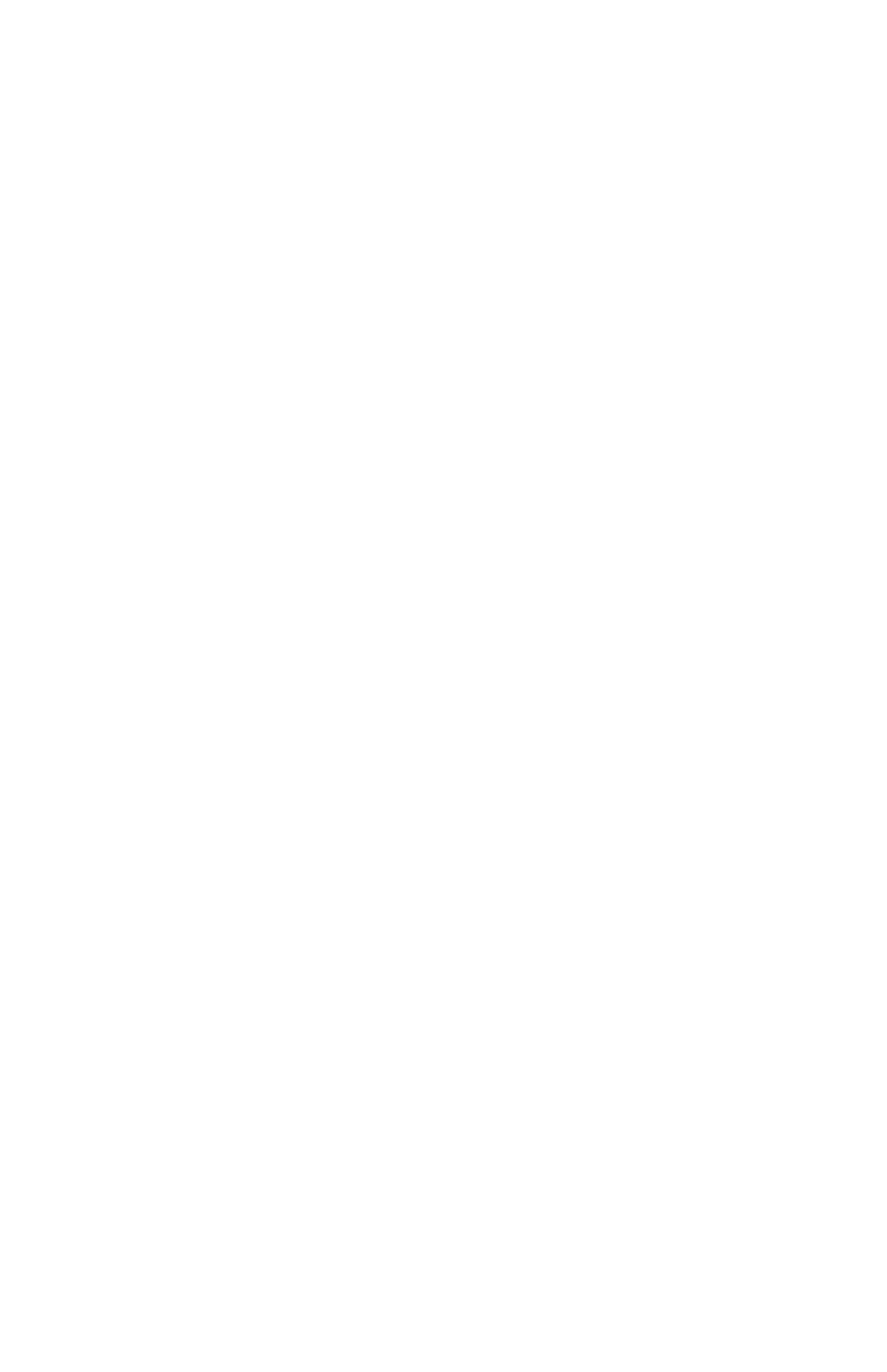
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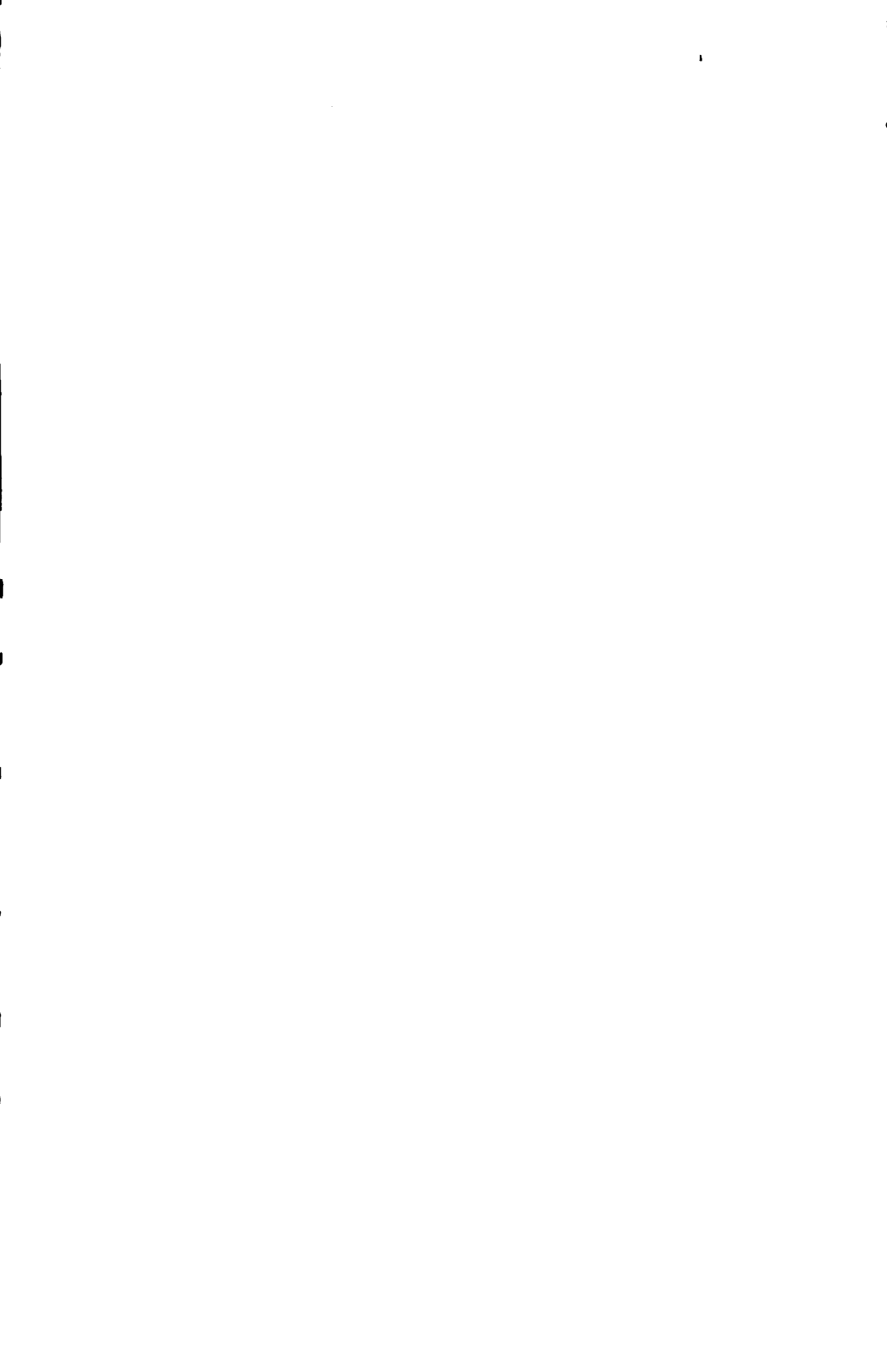
ROBERT S. STURGIS
THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.

FROM MAY 1834, TO APRIL 1835.

CANTON:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR.
.....
1835.



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THE
ROBERT S. STURGIS
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—MAY, 1834.—No. 1.

ART. I. *The Chinese language; its antiquity, extensive use, and dialects; its character, and value; attention paid to it by Europeans; and the aids and inducements to study it at the present time.*

ORIGINALITY is a striking characteristic of the Chinese language. Its origin, like that of the people who speak it, is lost in the earliest periods of postdiluvian history. In its form and structure, as presented to us in modern times, it stands peerless, an object of wonder, having no consort or relationship with the other languages of the earth. The Hebrew lives only in the oracles of the Most High; it long since ceased to be a spoken language. The Greek and Roman languages are found in great purity and perfection in books; yet wherever they are spoken among the descendants of those ancient nations, they, at the present time, differ widely from their original. The Sanskrit and Pali, if ever spoken by whole nations, have shared the same fate. And the Arabic never rose into importance, until the conquests of Mohammed carried it beyond the confines of Arabia. Among all these ancient languages, in point of antiquity, if we except perhaps the Hebrew, the Chinese is unrivaled. It seems to have sprung up soon after the confusion of tongues, and has always formed a broad line of demarcation between this and all the other branches of the human race. Ages have elapsed; the face of the globe has been changed; new tribes have appeared; and new languages have been formed: yet amidst all these changes, the Chinese language has undergone few alterations; and since the commencement of our era, its written idioms have mostly remained unchanged, and the style of standard works which were published at that period differs very little from the common language now used in books throughout all the provinces of the empire.

It will enable us to form more correct ideas of the nature and importance of this language, if we pause here for a moment to view the extent to which it is now used. The language at the present time is

not only spoken throughout the whole of the dominions of an empire embracing three hundred and sixty millions of human beings, but is also extensively used in adjacent kingdoms and colonies, where it has become the standard language. In Lewchew many of the people speak and read Chinese fluently. In Corea, the Chinese classics are studied by multitudes, and exert no inconsiderable influence on the character of a nation which is proud of imitating in manners, customs and laws, the inhabitants of the celestial empire. In their state papers, their books, and in all the correspondence between persons of the higher classes, the Japanese also use the Chinese language. On the south, in Tungking and CochinChina, it is still more extensively employed, and a knowledge of it is deemed indispensable for all persons of rank or influence in society; it seems to be indeed the only language used in some parts of the latter country. In Camboja, Siam, among the Laos, and in various islands of the Indian archipelago, there are many thousands of inhabitants, chiefly emigrants from China, who speak the same language. Including then in our survey all the people of these several countries, who employ this one language, the number may be safely estimated at four hundred millions, scattered over an extent of country which is more than equal to the whole of Europe.

It is very natural to suppose that in passing down through such a long series of ages and being used over such a wide extent of territory, the language must have undergone many changes and be found at the present time to differ widely in different places: such to a certain extent is the fact. It will be seen in another article, when we come to speak of the progress of the language and exhibit specimens of its ancient and modern forms, that it underwent various modifications in its infancy and youth. In particular the pronunciation of the language has varied greatly in different periods and places. Though the same standard works are used from one extremity of the empire to the other, yet there are a great number of dialects, more or less different, now spoken by the Chinese within their own dominions. These dialects, however, in common use among the people, are usually confined to very narrow limits and have scarcely any influence on the body of the language. These two facts—the diversity of dialects, and the permanency of the main body of the language—are easily accounted for by a reference to the history of China and the system of education which is established throughout the land: in the first instance, during the early part of her history, China was often divided into small states, which being hostile to each other, free intercourse between the remote parts of the nation was prevented; in this way local phrases and sounds originated and became established; hence the *diversity* of dialects. In the second instance, every individual who aspires to office must become familiar with the ancient classics, and acquire some knowledge of the style and the pronunciation which prevail at court and in all the public provincial offices throughout the empire; hence the *permanency* of the national language. There is another fact which has had no inconsiderable influence in multiplying

the number of dialects and in increasing their dissimilarity:—the language being destitute of an alphabet, there are no means, by the mere inspection of the characters on any page, of ascertaining the sounds which ought to be given to those characters. That method, introduced by foreigners, probably the Budhists, of employing two known characters in order to exhibit the sound of a third, is rarely employed by the Chinese; and every boy and almost all of those too who have made considerable progress in the knowledge of the language, learn from the lips of a teacher the sound of every new character they find.

Among the dialects of which we speak there is not the same difference as there is among the languages of Hindostan. In some instances they differ very much from the common language of the empire; but often the difference is very slight. It should be observed here that in considering the dialects of this country, we must keep in mind the differences in pronunciation as well as those which result from the choice of characters and the structure of sentences; indeed in many instances the chief peculiarities of a dialect are found to consist in the pronunciation. In the northern provinces of the empire, the pure Chinese, commonly called the mandarin dialect, prevails extensively. It is not to be understood, however, that there are no local words and phrases even in those places. On the north of China, in districts bordering on Tartary, a modification of the language occasioned by the domination of the Mantchous is apparent. And doubtless something of the same kind of influence may be exerted, along all the frontiers of the empire. In Chêkeäng and Keänguan the difference between the pure Chinese, (which is there spoken by a very considerable part of the people,) and the local dialects is very striking. In Fühkeän and the eastern part of this province the difference is still more remarkable: to an individual who was only acquainted with the standard language, the dialect of Fühkeän, as it is usually spoken, would be utterly unintelligible. In the southwestern provinces of the empire there is less deviation from the pure Chinese. The dialect that prevails in this city bears considerable resemblance to that which prevails in the public courts; and a person who has a knowledge of the one with a little attention to the subject will soon be able to understand much of the other. Beyond the frontiers of the empire, in Cochinchina, Corea, Japan, &c., where the Chinese language is used, the local dialects differ from the standard even more than in Fühkeän.

The simple fact that the language is used by so great a number of human beings, inhabiting so large a portion of the earth, is in itself a motive which must arrest the attention of enterprising men. Hitherto foreigners have neglected this language far too much, even for their own interests in a commercial point of view; they have generally regarded it as either too difficult to be acquired, or as not possessing sufficient value to be made an object of their thought and study. It has however been far otherwise with the Chinese; like the ancient Greeks and Romans—and some of the moderns too—they re-

guard their own language as vastly superior to all others, not less for its intrinsic beauty and excellence than for the stores of knowledge and wisdom which it contains. A thorough acquaintance with it constitutes with them the highway to honors, emoluments, and power. Hence they study it with unwearied diligence. In comparison with it the language of foreigners (of which they know almost absolutely nothing,) is a mere unintelligible jargon, unworthy of their notice. The rules of propriety and the true principles of governing and tranquilizing the world are found only in their language; in it the renovating doctrines of the sages have come down from the remote ages of antiquity; and in it they must be transmitted to future generations; and all who refuse to study and admire it, must forever be regarded as unlearned, uncivilized, cruel, and barbarous! We may smile at this national vanity; but at the same time we are constrained to admit that on account of its antiquity and extensive use, the language has a strong claim to our attention. And it is not without value when viewed merely as the repository of ancient historical facts. Moreover, when contemplated as a curious medium of communicating thought, and as opening a wide untrodden field for philosophical research, it cannot be regarded as unworthy of our notice, or as holding out no promise of reward, to those who study it and make it as familiar as their own. In attempting to give our readers an account of the Chinese language, we would not be so charmed with its peculiarities, however novel or striking they may be, as to overlook its defects; nor yet so unmindful of its real merits as to depreciate in the slightest degree its just and lawful claims.

We have already named the grand characteristic of the Chinese language, which distinguishes it from all the other tongues and dialects of the earth; we alluded to the formation of the characters, which are not framed from the materials of an alphabet, but consist of simple lines which are not the representatives of sounds. A person accustomed only to the alphabetic systems of the west can scarcely conceive of the possibility of employing in writing a separate character for every idea, or imagine how ingenuity could ever devise such a system, and construct for every new object and idea a corresponding character or symbol. In its present form, the language is very far from being a system of hieroglyphics; and in vain do we undertake to compare it with the Egyptian or Mexican systems; for hitherto there have not been found in these systems such marks of resemblance as will enable us to conclude that they are formed on the same principles.

The Chinese reduce the number of lines which form their characters to as few as seven or eight. The number of characters under which, as heads of classes, they arrange all others, is only two hundred and fourteen; and of these 214 elementary characters not a few are confessedly compounded of other primary characters. This arrangement into classes is not strictly philosophical; but having been once adopted by the Chinese in their national dictionaries, it remains still in use. The whole number of characters in the language is very

great, amounting to several tens of thousands, and probably is not less than sixty or eighty thousand; but those in common use scarcely exceed six or eight thousand; while those which are to be found in any work of moderate size often amount to no more than two or three thousand. That part of the Chinese penal code, which has been translated into English, was found by its translator to contain less than two thousand characters in variety. We have been assured on good authority; that in ten volumes of the famous San kwō chie, the number of different characters amounts to only 3342; and that in the version of the Bible by Morrison and Milne, consisting of twenty-one volumes, the number is only about 3600. If each of the characters in Chinese expressed only one idea, and was always confined to that one, the difficulty of acquiring a thorough knowledge of them would be comparatively small; but now most of them by being placed in new positions are made to convey different shades of meaning, and sometimes an entirely new idea. Occasionally two or even three characters are synonymous, and are used for the sake of perspicuity; in other cases the characters lose their original meaning and express a meaning entirely new. If to all this we add the fact, that the characters are often differently written, it will not appear surprising if the language is affirmed to be difficult, and that years are necessary to enable one to acquire such a knowledge of it as to be able to read, write, and speak it with ease and correctness.

In the spoken language of China, consisting of only about four hundred and fifty of what have usually been considered monesyllables, there are less than two thousand sounds, and the greatest part of these can be distinguished only by tones or inflections of the voice. This topic, which requires a very full illustration in order to be distinctly understood, must also be reserved for a subsequent article; it is however obvious, and to our purpose to remark here, that this characteristic of the language increases very much the difficulty of acquiring a thorough knowledge of it, and shows it to be very defective. When there exists so small a number of words, (if we may so denominate the syllables and marks which foreigners have adopted to express the sounds of the Chinese language,) and these are distinguished by nice and very slight intonations, mistakes in understanding the language when spoken will frequently occur. The great number of homophonous characters, which, though differing wholly from each other in their meaning and form, require to be expressed by precisely the same English orthography, is a serious impediment in speaking the language. This difficulty is in part removed by joining together two words, which have the same meaning but different sounds, to express a single idea or object. Yet notwithstanding this expedient, the language still remains an imperfect colloquial medium. In acquiring a knowledge of the pronunciation, foreigners are greatly embarrassed; for without a considerable experience they find it difficult to catch with the ear the nice distinctions in the sounds, and on the other hand to enunciate so accurately as to be readily understood by the native.

The grammatical structure of this language is very simple. It is not trammelled with the forms and accidents of etymology; and the number, case, mood, tense, &c. are expressed by particles without any change in the noun or verb. And recourse is not had even to this method in many cases where the genius of western languages requires it, but the grammatical distinctions or relations are indicated solely by the position of the several parts of the sentence or paragraph. This sometimes renders the meaning of a passage or phrase vague and obscure. To a native who is accustomed to express his thoughts in this and in no other way, few difficulties occur from this method: to a foreigner, however, it is otherwise; and unless he has made considerable proficiency in his knowledge of the language; or has a learned native at hand to aid him in his investigations, he is liable frequently to mistake the meaning of his author. The syntax of the language is very peculiar, and unlike that of the alphabetic languages of the west. The facility with which a character may be changed in its meaning from a noun to a verb, or to an adverb, &c., often occasions the foreigner much difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of the text. The Chinese writing, being thus destitute of these prominent features which in other cases have given rise to systems of rules for the agreement and government of words, has occasioned some writers to designate it an asyntactic language.

In almost all Chinese composition measured periods, not unlike blank verse, abound, and are esteemed by the Chinese as a capital beauty of their language. No author can lay claim to excellence in writing who cannot produce these periods, fill his pages with antitheses, and so round his sentences that they shall correspond with each other in the number of characters of which they are composed. Books which are written in the conversational style have usually fewer of these ornaments than those of a higher order, such as government proclamations and those essays which are produced at the literary examinations. Still, more or less of this characteristic is retained in every kind of composition, and constitutes an essential feature of the Chinese language. It is very evident that where so much attention is paid to the form in which ideas are expressed, the free flow of thought must be greatly checked. Often indeed, ideas form the secondary object of consideration, while the mode in which they are to be expressed claims the first attention in Chinese composition.

There is yet another distinguishing mark of this language, which is rarely to be met with in that of any other nation. Set phrases, not unlike our law terms; which are often repeated and always in the same sense, abound in the writings of the Chinese. In fact, their books are filled with apothegms, which are wrought into composition according to the pleasure of the writer. Thought is stereotyped, and all the ideas which the Chinese wish to cherish or inculcate are contained in those records which have come down to them from the venerable sages of antiquity. Excellence in composition therefore consists in arranging anew those orthodox phrases which are to be found only in their ancient classics. This is true of all kinds of their liter-

ature. Even poetry, which delights in freedom and glories in invention, is bound down by these iron rules. Wo to the poet, or the writer of any description, who should dare to deviate from the beaten track which is pointed out to him by the worthies of antiquity! Such an one would be looked on as a heretic, and would be denounced as an unfilial and rebellious subject!

Having now adverted to the principal defects of the Chinese language, we ought in justice to speak also of its prominent excellences. Though less full and sonorous than most of the Indochinese languages, yet when its measured periods and its tones are carefully observed, it is grateful to the ear. There is sometimes, on account of the choice and position of the characters which form a sentence, a degree of power and beauty in the style of the language which defies translation; and very often there is a pith and terseness in the expressions which are rarely equalled in any language. We ought not perhaps to expect to find in the writings of this singular people, the same beauties of style as those which have been produced by the most eminent scholars of Greece and Rome or modern Europe; nevertheless, the Chinese have their own claim to excellence, a claim which should not and by the impartial judge, will not be rejected. Chinese books abound in ingenious expressions, striking illustrations, curious comparisons, and bold metaphors.

The literature of this nation is exceedingly multifarious, and in some departments it is rich. Few of the old Greek and Roman writers have produced such copious and extensive works as the Chinese. The number and variety of authors which have appeared since the days of Confucius are very great. But in the present degenerate age, new productions are rare, and those which are put forth are light and trivial, calculated to afford very little instruction or real entertainment. The Chinese need a *new* literature, rich in thought, correct in sentiment, and pure and elegant in style. But it is a difficult task so to imitate their idiom as to make new thoughts and sentiments interesting and instructive to readers who have always been accustomed to the formalities of this language. Much study and a thorough knowledge of their standard works will be necessary, therefore, to enable the foreigner to write in such a style as to please and benefit the Chinese. It should be always kept in mind, that before a stranger can exercise any control over their taste and sentiments, he must be able to couch his thoughts in such language as may not only be clearly and easily understood, but as shall gain for him a patient and an attentive hearing. This will appear very difficult, especially when we consider their national pride, and their contempt of foreigners. We may rest assured, however, that treatises which do not conform to their idioms will find very few readers. But if new and interesting thoughts, pure and elevated sentiments, and above all the sublime truths of divine revelation are rightly exhibited in a native costume, then they may have a charm and a power which will rouse the mind, sway the passions, correct the judgment, and eventually work a mental and moral revolution throughout the empire.

The Chinese need strong excitements to induce them to read the works of foreigners; and great care will be requisite in order to adapt new treatises to their capacities and wants. Their language differs so widely from all others, that mere translations, except of the sacred Scriptures, cannot be recommended. But this language is rich in the variety of its characters and phrases, and capable of conveying to the minds of men a great diversity of ideas and facts on subjects of every description.

These considerations, which are the result of long observation and that not of a single individual, will serve to show the value which we ought to place on a knowledge of the Chinese language. Without this knowledge, the wall which has so long separated this people and their country from the other nations of the earth, cannot be effectually removed. Such a knowledge will be indispensable to foreigners, and one of their best auxiliaries, in maintaining an extensive intercourse with this nation. True, this language, if well understood, will be deemed valuable to the historian and philosopher on account of the facts which it brings to their notice concerning the history of a large portion of our race; but it is only when we view it as a medium of communication, by which an honorable intercourse can be maintained, and facilities thereby afforded for a wide diffusion of useful knowledge, that it appears in its proper importance. It is not in morals alone that the Chinese are evidently in a lower state now, than they were in former times; they have gone backward also in arts and sciences; and there is perhaps even less enterprise in the nation than there was a thousand years ago. Nor is it strange, considering the policy of the government, that such should be the fact; for it has not only not presented motives to excite and stimulate inventive genius, but even those which have arisen from natural and incidental causes it has sedulously counteracted. With all due deference we would render honor to whom honor is due, nor on any account detract from the just merits of any one; but we are constrained to believe that it is the crooked and unnatural policy of government which has caused so wide a difference between this people and the nations of the west. Once the Chinese had a far more extensive foreign commerce than at present, and that commerce might have increased up to the present period. Their manufactures, which were once so far in advance of those of most if not all other nations, are utterly unable to compete with those which are now produced in such abundance by the giant power of steam. And so it is in most other respects. The inhabitants of this land will never be effectually waked up from their long, deep slumbers, until a new æra is formed in their literature, and they are excited to think for themselves, and to exchange their galling tyranny and their abominable idolatry for just notions of individual and national rights and the holy religion of the living God.

We see no prospect, and indeed have no expectation, that China will ever occupy that rank which it ought to hold in the scale of nations, until it feels the influence of some foreign agency. What agency shall that be? Had that master spirit which a few years ago

threw all Europe into consternation, held on a little longer in his career of conquest, the exclusive system which is now so frequently and justly complained of, might long since have been swept away. Another such reformer we would never see. We deprecate the idea of foreign invasion. What agency then shall be employed to rescue this nation from its thralldom? Just such an agency as roused Europe from the slumbers of the dark ages. The circumstances of the two cases are not very dissimilar: an 'emperor' and a 'pope'; 'bands of monks' and 'hosts of mandarins' are different in name, but alike in their power and influence. A great majority of the Chinese are by no means aware of their real condition; for being almost wholly ignorant of all that is most valuable in other parts of the world, they are incapable of making a comparison between themselves and others, and hence incompetent to judge of their relative rank, to estimate their own wants, or to see the occasion there is for improvement. Kanghe, the most enlightened and the most liberal of all the monarchs of the reigning dynasty, received very much of his knowledge from the foreigners who were about his court; and had it not been for the rival interests and overreaching of the Europeans who were allowed to reside and travel in every part of the empire, the advances then made in establishing a free intercourse most surely would have been maintained and improved: but had those men succeeded in their main point, an emperor's authority there is reason to suppose would have been exchanged for that of the pope; and other corresponding changes would have followed in the train; and a despotism more cruel than had ever before existed in China would have been the final result. We argue thus from what we have seen of papal authority in various other parts of the world as well as here. Many of the persons who engaged in those scenes, and who had influence with the monarch and his ministers, were well versed in the language of this country; but there were very few of those men who were active in the diffusion of useful knowledge. They attracted the gaze of the multitude by the splendor of their ceremonials, but did not touch the heart and the conscience by the force of divine truth; hence when reverses came and they were driven from the country, there was left behind them no seed of the word, no germ of the tree of life. In a moment, the whole structure they had raised, was brought down to the dust; and there is reason to believe that the condition of this people is now worse, and the difficulties of gaining access to the country greater, than would have been had the Jesuits never entered China.

But be this as it may, if we mistake not the signs of the times, a crisis is rapidly approaching in the affairs of this nation; a revolution, though it may be long delayed, seems inevitable; and it must be effected by a military force or by means of the press. A military power would not improve the condition of society; though it might indeed by its desolating course open a way for the introduction of improvements; on the other hand, a diffusion of knowledge, which shall effectually reach the morals and the religion of the nation; and

purify the sources of authority, check the outbreakings of rebellion, and prevent the infliction of unlawful punishments, would save an empire from destruction, and place it in its proper rank among the nations. This diffusion of knowledge must be effected by a foreign agency and at no inconsiderable expense. A military conquest would cause the destruction of thousands of human lives and millions of property; but a conquest of principles, the triumph of right reason, the victory of truth, will cost a far less expenditure of men and means, will be glorious into its results, and carry the blessings of peace, and the bright hopes of immortality to the multitudes of this nation.

The fact that but little has been achieved affords no occasion for discouragement; for hitherto very little has been attempted. The study of the language, the very first step to be taken in the great enterprise, has hitherto engaged the attention of very few individuals in Christendom. It will enable us to see more distinctly what is required in this respect, if we notice what has been done, and some of the helps that have been prepared, to aid in the study of the Chinese language.

The French have taken the lead. Many of the early Romish missionaries to China were from France; several of them, under the patronage of Louis XIV, 'the true founder of Chinese literature in Europe,' became distinguished for their knowledge of the Chinese language. The disputes which arose between the Jesuits and the Dominicans concerning certain words, phrases, and ceremonies, drew into this study a number of able men, among whom were Bouvet, Gerbillon, Couplet, Gaubil, and Prémare. The successors of Louis have been liberal in their benefactions in aid of Chinese literature; witness the *Grammatica Sinica*, *l' Histoire des Huns*, *l' Histoire de la Chine*, *les Mémoires sur les Chinois*, *les Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, &c. &c. De Guignes, the last of Fourmont's disciples, died near the close of the 18th century, and left behind him no successor. And notwithstanding all that had been done, the Chinese and their language and literature sunk fast in the esteem of the French; for the intercourse between the two nations was interrupted and almost entirely neglected. Thus the tide of public opinion was setting strong against the study of Chinese literature, when in 1815 the accomplished M. Abel Rémusat entered on his course as royal professor in the French college at Paris. Others have followed, and joined in the labors of that eminent and lamented sinologue. M. Stanislas Julien has been appointed his successor as royal professor. In 1815, the Chinese library at Paris contained more than 5000 volumes: additions have doubtless been made to it since that time.

Spain, notwithstanding her possessions in Luçonia has done very little and is doing nothing towards cultivating this language and literature. At present Spain participates but slightly in the concerns of the celestial empire. The Portuguese, on account of their situation in Macao, have done much more than the Spaniards. From their first approach to China, more than three centuries ago, they have had excellent

advantages for acquiring a knowledge of the language and literature of this nation. The study of the Chinese is now chiefly confined to those who reside at Macao, where the labors of J. A. Gonçalves, in the college of St. Joseph, are worthy of notice. The Dutch, though for a long time masters of a portion of territory which is now inhabited and governed by the Chinese, have never distinguished themselves as students of their language. Russia for the last one hundred years has enjoyed peculiar facilities for learning Chinese, but surely has failed to improve them as she ought, either for herself or for the rest of the world. The school at Naples does nothing for the promotion of the study among Europeans: a few Chinese students, cloistered and trained up in ignorance of every thing except the dogmas of the Romanists, form the whole establishment. At Berlin, and at some other places on the continent of Europe, where Chinese libraries have been collected, a few solitary individuals have engaged in the study of this language.

Considering her enterprise, her literary character, and her extensive and long continued intercourse with China, it seems remarkable that England should so long have neglected the language of this people. Previous to the embassy of Macartney, not more than one individual of that nation; so far as we know, ever undertook to acquire a knowledge of this language. No considerations had been sufficient to direct her attention to the study; and that embassy was obliged to seek in foreign states those aids which were necessary to maintain an intelligible intercourse in the mission to the court of Peking. The younger Staunton, then 'of years too tender not to have still occasion for a tutor,' was the only European of the embassy who had made any proficiency in a knowledge of the language. On that occasion, the emperor Keenlung, in the interview which he gave the ambassador, did not fail to notice the great inconvenience which each of the parties suffered by being ignorant of the language of the other. The translation of the penal code of China appeared in London in 1810. At that time, and chiefly with a view to translate the sacred Scriptures, two individuals, Morrison in China and Marshman in Bengal, were successfully engaged in studying the language: both of those men still live, and with others of their countrymen, not to mention Milne and Collie who rest from their labors, are doing very much to promote and extend a knowledge of the Chinese language and literature, and are far in advance even of the French. There are two or three Chinese libraries in England—which however are left quite neglected—and a choice collection of Chinese books in the library of the Anglochinese college at Malacca.

Perhaps we ought not to pass over America in silence. For half a century past she has driven a thrifty commerce with this people; we should say rather that her citizens have done this, and without her protection, for not even the erection of a flag-staff has been done at her charge. We would not see her wage war against the Chinese, nor carry tribute to the son of heaven; but that she has nothing to do in opening a freer, more honorable, and better regulated intercourse with

this nation; we cannot admit. In sending abroad ministers and-consuls it is usual and necessary that those functionaries (or others who accompany them,) should have a knowledge of the language of the people among whom they are appointed to reside. But in the case in question, persons possessing such prerequisites could not, we think, be obtained. There is not, so far as we know, more than one individual in the United States, who even pretends to have any considerable knowledge of this language, or has ever undertaken the study of it. A few Chinese volumes may have found their way thither, and lexicographers and philologists have doubtless obtained the principal grammars and dictionaries which have been put forth by European scholars. A few Americans now in the east are engaged in the study of the language; but they have entered on the work at the eleventh hour; what will be their success remains to be seen.

We shall not undertake in this place to characterize the several works which have been prepared and published with a view to aid in the study of the Chinese language; an enumeration of the principal grammars, dictionaries, &c., is all that we shall attempt. These works are not numerous; and several of them have been written and sent into the world under not a few disadvantages, arising chiefly from the peculiar difficulties of the language. Enough however has been done in this department to encourage those who have engaged in the work to persevere, and to invite and warrant others to enter a field where so much remains to be accomplished. As a curious work, we notice first a Chinese grammar in Spanish by Francisco Varo, which was printed at Canton in 1703, on native paper with wooden blocks, and without the Chinese characters. Bayer's *Museum Sini-cum* appeared in 1730. Breitkopf's *Exemplum typographiæ Sinicæ, figuris characterum e typis mobilibus compositum*, was published at Leipsic in 1789. The Chinese dictionary of Basile, edited by De Guignes, by order of Napoleon, appeared in Paris in 1813. Marshman's Chinese grammar was printed in Serampore in 1814. The next year, Morrison's grammar was issued from the same press; and his dictionary, in six volumes, came from the honorable E. I. company's press at Macao, between 1815 and 1822. Rémusat's grammar was published at Paris, in 1822. In 1831, *Prémare's Notitia Lingue Sinicæ* came from the press of the Anglochinese college, Malacca. A dictionary by Gonçalves was printed at the college of St. Joseph's Macao, 1833. Two new works are now in the press; one of them is a dictionary of the Fühkeön dialect, by Mr. Medhurst, and is being printed at the honorable company's press at Macao; the other is an English-Chinese dictionary, edited by Mr. Gutzlaff, and is in the press at Serampore.

The inducements to undertake the study of the Chinese language at the present time, are numerous and such as cannot escape the notice, nor fail to interest the attention of discerning men. It is in vain for us now to fold our arms and look back to the time when the whole world was of one speech, and sigh over the folly of those who caused the Almighty to come down in displeasure and confound

their language and scatter them abroad upon the face of the whole earth. All the tribes of our race in their long separation from one another have often been in perplexities and distresses, and as if the natural ills which flesh is heir to were not enough, they have fiend-like, or rather *manlike*, set upon each other, and the great and powerful ones of the earth have often employed their energies in human butchery and gloried in their success. But God has made of one blood all the nations of men. And surely as the knowledge of him is to fill the whole earth and peace become universal, so surely will China be brought into the family of nations, to associate, to sympathise and to act with them. So great a change however cannot be effected without efforts, and these must be put forth by the men of Christendom. The advantages which will result from such a change will be numerous; and hence the strong inducements to learn the language of this people. Whether we regard the subject in a commercial, political, literary, or religious point of view, there is, we think, no foreign language, which holds out to the people of the west so many considerations for studying it as the Chinese.

Every one who is at all acquainted with China knows that the commercial relations between this country and the rest of the world stand on a very bad footing. We do not deny that the trade under all its embarrassments is highly lucrative: but it might be made vastly more productive. Let the whole of Europe be placed under the sway of one man, and all the foreign commerce be restricted to Cadiz; then the people of the west would be able to judge of the policy of the Chinese empire. And the trade is not only restricted to an extreme port of the country, but is chiefly in the hands of a few individuals and subject to regulations that cannot endure the light. We will not undertake to enumerate the many petty annoyances and illegal impositions to which it is exposed. Now in order to remove these evils and to place a most important branch of commerce on a good foundation, at once permanent and secure, access must be had to the sources of authority. Except Russia, none of the nations of the earth have any fixed relations with China. But why on that account do they stand at such an awful distance from her? Why may not the ships of Europe and America visit the Chinese waters, sail along the coast and enter the ports and rivers of this wide empire? Are not such waters the highway of the nations? Have the nations sold or forfeited their birthright? On what principle then, or for what reason, are their ships when they approach these shores, except at a given point, to be instantly driven away? The means hitherto employed to negotiate with the monarch of this land have utterly failed, and recourse must now be had to others. And what shall they be? Not swords; nor bayonets; nor yet navies, unless they are prepared with means by which they can make known fully their wishes and their purposes. Witness, for example, the means—consisting of men and books—with which the Lord Amherst was furnished in her visits to Amoy, Fitchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Let the press be made to speak, until the Chinese shall understand the character,

the wishes, the rights, the purposes, and the strength of foreigners; then they may condescend, nay, be glad to negotiate.

What is requisite, therefore, in order to establish proper commercial and political relations with the Chinese, is made to depend in no small degree on a knowledge of their language. Hence arise the strong inducements to learn the language and study the literature and the laws of this nation. But there are other still weightier considerations which urge us to seek for an acquaintance with the Chinese language, that thereby we may gain a knowledge of their manners and customs, and their moral and religious systems. Let a decree go forth and let it be executed through the whole of Europe or America, or both, that every temple of the Most High shall be thrown down, that every copy of the holy Scriptures shall be destroyed, and all the ordinances of our holy religion annulled and forgotten; let superstitions come and every species and accompaniment of idolatry; and let the whole multitude of the people and the rulers bow down and worship wood and stone: then the lands of Christendom would become like pagan China; and England, Scotland, France, Germany, and America would be enveloped in thicker darkness than they were fifteen hundred years ago. And how have those lands, now so highly favored of heaven, been brought to their present enlightened and elevated state? By what instrumentality are they at the present time urged on with such amazing velocity in the march of improvement? By a variety of causes no doubt; but letters have formed the grand media by which science and divine truth have been made to shine on those nations. And the same instrumentality must be employed here. Viewed in this light, a knowledge of the Chinese language rises into an importance and gathers around it an interest which no pen can ever describe.

ART. II. *The Chinese written language: origin of Chinese writing; six classes of symbols or characters; various modes of writing; names of characters in the national language, and the orthography best adapted for representing the sounds in English; modern divisions of the characters into tribes; list of the heads of tribes, commonly called radicals or keys.*

In the preceding article we have spoken of the antiquity of the Chinese language, and the wide extent of country throughout which it is employed. Its present extensive use is confined, however, to the written medium of which we have now to speak. As a colloquial medium, its idioms and pronunciation have at all times been subject to change; and the variations in both these respects are now very considerable in different provinces and kingdoms where it is spoken. It is the peculiar structure of the Chinese written language, its notation, if we may so say, of ideas, that has for so long a period pre-

served it almost inviolate from the hand of time and the ravages of frequent anarchy. The best idea of its nature will be derived from a comparison suggested by the expression we have just used. The primary characters of the Chinese language, though they originated in hieroglyphic writing; are now mere symbols; the nature of which is nearly the same as that of the Arabic numeral figures, in almost universal use for the purpose of arithmetical notation; and like these they may be adopted into the language of any nation. Thus the symbolical character 人, which denotes a man, possessing in itself none of the representatives of sound, of which the words in alphabetic languages are compounded, may, with equal propriety, be pronounced by the Chinese *jin*, by the Japanese *nin*, by the Roman *homo*, or by the Greek *ανθρωπος*. Like these numerals, also, the symbolic characters of the Chinese language admit of the combination of two or more primary characters to represent a single idea. There are many compound characters in Chinese which resemble in their nature such combined forms of notation as 32, 55, 304, and so forth. Both these—their elements however arbitrary being understood—present to the eye a definite idea. Thus in Chinese, 不 signifies *not*, and 正 denotes *straight*. Arbitrary as these symbols appear, yet when known, the combination of them in one character 歪, immediately suggests the idea of crookedness.

But when we come to examine further the characters of the Chinese language, we find that in one important point they differ from the numeral figures of the west. These latter, in whatever way combined, can never indicate sound, while of the Chinese characters a large proportion are in part, of a syllabic nature. They are formed from the union of idea and sound. This is attributed by Chinese philologists to the imperfection of the symbolical system; to which, they say, there are limits, but to the syllabic system there are no limits. Hence, when it was found impossible to represent words by symbols, unless such as should be of an altogether arbitrary nature, the plan was suggested of combining existing symbols in such a way as to indicate sounds. These combined symbols were rarely more than two in number, the one a representative of sound, the other usually of a generic character, expressing some quality or property of the thing to be denoted. The sound indicated by one of the combined symbols was the same as, or similar to, the pronunciation in the colloquial language, of the word for which a written symbol was to be found. Thus, in the colloquial language *kwei* signified the cassia tree. To form a hieroglyphic symbol for this tree was impossible; as without accurate representation its symbol could not be distinguished from that of any other tree. Recourse was therefore had to the syllabic system. The combination of the generic symbol for tree, with an existing symbol which had the sound of *kwei*, produced a character sufficiently definite, and which expressed in a single word 'the *kwei* tree.' In this way a great majority of the Chinese characters have originated. The sound is however in many cases only similar; and moreover characters may appear to be formed of sylla-

bic symbols, which in point of fact are not so. While therefore a great degree of probability as to the sounds of characters may be obtained by mere inspection, there is not, we believe, a single instance in which the sound can in this way be determined with certainty.

There are a few instances of a near approach to—in fact almost an inadvertent arrival at—an alphabetic system. For example, there is a character *me*, (No. 7566 of Morrison's dictionary, syllabic part,) which is compounded of the characters *mo* and *fe*. If the consonant which commences the first, be joined to the vowel terminating the last, of these words, we find the sound of *me* produced from their union. And this can hardly be considered a fortuitous circumstance, as the two component characters bear no relation to the primary signification of the compound. Indeed this system of indicating the sounds has in modern times been introduced into the Chinese dictionaries, as we have reason to suppose, from the Sanskrit, to which also we may perhaps be indebted for the characters of which we have just given an example. But supposing them to be the invention of a Chinese, the circumstance is easily accounted for; by the fact that characters of a syllabic nature have been introduced at various times and in various places; it would not be surprising, therefore, if a person should advance to a knowledge of an alphabetic system, and form a few characters on its principles, and yet, having no reason to hope that he should be able to bring it into use, refrain from communicating to others the knowledge which he had attained.

The syllabic division of the language, which is by far the largest, is the only one now open for the introduction of new characters. To it we are indebted for the characters, usually called *vulgar*, which have been adopted in various provinces to express words peculiar to their own dialects.

These remarks serve to show, what we have now further to elucidate, that the majority of characters of the Chinese language are not in their origin at least, arbitrary. They plainly originated in a sort of *picture writing*, a rude attempt to sketch the resemblance of material objects or to depict some peculiar property of them. They were hieroglyphics; but, gradually modified for greater convenience of writing, or for purposes of ornament, they have become mere symbols. On this point we are told, by an able writer in the *Tungche*, a Chinese cyclopædia, that "writing and drawing have the same origin; but drawing regards the complete forms of objects, while writing attends only to their general resemblances; drawing consists in many strokes, but writing only in a few. Both resemblances and complete forms can be drawn; but without the art of drawing, there can be no writing."

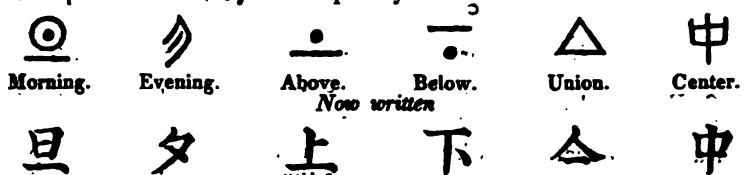
We have no reason to suppose that any specific system for the formation of hieroglyphics was adopted by *Tsaunghe*, who is the reputed inventor of Chinese writing. He is said to have derived the first ideas which led to this important invention from careful observation of the varied forms in nature; or, as the Chinese somewhat childishly express it, from remarking the diversified shades on the back

of a tortoise, the fortuitous traces left in the impression of a horse's hoof, the transformations of clouds, and the varied positions of the stars. Considering the early period in which he lived, nearly at the commencement of the settlement of China by the ancestors of its present inhabitants, if not anterior to that time, it is not probable that Tsanghëë proceeded much beyond the first step in hieroglyphic writing—that of forming rude pictures of natural objects. The philologists of later times have, however, divided the characters of the language into six classes. And at a still later date these have been further subdivided to a very considerable extent. The following are the six classes commonly called *luk shoo*, 'the six writings.'

1. Figures bearing a resemblance to the forms of material objects, expressed by the words *seang hing*. This class needs no further elucidation than is given by the following examples.









2. Figures pointing out some property or relative circumstance—expressed by the words *che sze*. Thus, the sun just above the horizon denotes morning; and the moon but half appearing signifies evening, when the sun has but just set. The rest of the following examples strike the eye more plainly.






3. Combinations of ideas—*hwuy e*, consisting of two, and in a few cases three, figures or symbols, united to represent a single idea. Thus the union of the sun and moon expresses brightness; a tree or piece of wood in a door-way denotes obstruction; two trees stand for a forest; the junction of eye and man points out the idea of seeing; two men seated on the ground exhibits the act of sitting; and the combination of *self* and *ruling* shows forth the imperial power of heaven, as well as of heaven's earthly vicegerent, the emperor.







4. Inverted significations—chuen choo—represented by inverted delineations of symbols, either in whole or in part. When the signification of the symbols is altered by the subtraction or addition of strokes, such symbols are also considered as pertaining to this class. In the following examples the inversion of form and of idea is complete. In the last, however, the original signification is now lost.

					
Right hand.	Left hand.	Sundered (threads.)	Continuous.	Body.	Turned (body.)
<i>Now written</i>					
右	左	斷	繼	身	身

5. Symbols uniting sound—keä shing—that is, compound characters, in which symbols representing the colloquial sounds by which objects are named are combined with other symbols expressing some general property of the same objects. This has been more particularly explained above. We subjoin but two examples. The first is compounded of a symbol pronounced *ngo* and another signifying a bird; hence, the ngo bird or goose. The second is compounded of the symbol for water and the sound *ko*, from which we derive the similar sound *hp*, a river.

	or		
N ^o g ^o , a goose.			Ho, a river.
<i>Now written</i>			
	or		

6. Borrowed uses—keä tseay. This class includes both accommodation and metaphor; of the first we have an instance in the symbol for a written character, which is that of a child nurtured under a covering; characters being considered as the well nurtured offspring of hieroglyphics. Of metaphoric uses of words we have an example in the symbol for mind, the original use of which, to signify the material heart, is now almost forgotten.

	
A written character or symbol.	The heart, the mind.
<i>Now written</i>	
	

Metaphors being common to all languages, and not having any peculiar property in Chinese, no further elucidation of them is here necessary. But of the borrowed or accommodated use of words one or two more examples may be useful. The word *ts'oo* or *ch'oo* (Morrison's Dict. No. 1241) denotes the beginning. It is formed from a combination of characters which indicate the cutting out of garments;

its original signification was, therefore, the commencement of the tailor's work. In course of time, however, this signification has been merged in the more general meaning which it has received by accommodation. Again, *nao* was the doleful cry of a species of bird; by accommodation it received the general signification of trouble or sorrow; and by further accommodation it is now more commonly used to indicate one of the chief causes of sorrow, namely difficulties. Such appropriations are numerous in Chinese—much more so probably than in any of the languages of Europe.

We give the following statement of the number of symbols belonging to each of the six classes, according to the calculations of Ching-tseau in the *Tungche*, which work we have chiefly followed in the remarks we have made on this subject. The opinions of Chinese philologists are, however, very various.

1. Imitative symbols, <i>seäng hing</i> ,	- - - -	608
2. Indicative symbols, <i>che sze</i> ,	- - - -	107
3. Symbols combining ideas, <i>hwuy e</i> ,	- - - -	740
4. Inverted symbols, <i>chuen choo</i> ,	- - - -	372
5. Syllabic symbols, <i>keä shing</i> ,	- - - -	21,810
6. Metaphoric symbols, <i>keä tseay</i> .	- - - -	598

Of the fifth class, Ching-tseau says, that the symbols, were too numerous to reckon, and that the number he has given was far from including them all. We may be assured, however, that the number given, considerably exceeds the number of really useful characters.

Under one or other of the above classes all the characters of the Chinese language are to be found. The first two, in the opinion of Chinese philologists, comprise hieroglyphics, or characters which depict objects either in whole or in part; the next three comprise mere symbols, which, though not altogether arbitrary, yet do not indicate their meanings by any external resemblances to the objects denoted; and the last is regarded as perfecting all the rest. This classification, we have said, is an invention of comparatively modern date. Like the grammatical rules of languages, it was introduced to arrange what already existed, but had no influence upon the original formation of words. Some Chinese have, however, contended that all the ancient characters of their language were formed according to fixed rules; but the more sensible among them deny this, and show the incorrectness of this opinion, by adducing multiplied instances of various modes of forming the characters, current not only in different ages, and among distant states, but even in the same region and within a single generation; from which they infer the absence of fixed rules.

The introduction of printing and the compilation of dictionaries have given to the modern characters a greater degree of certainty. Yet there are still many for which various modes of writing exist; arising from accidental circumstances, or from confusion occasioned by resemblance in the forms of characters. In some cases such slight variations in form are not without reference to signification, different modes of writing the same character being used to represent different shades of meaning. Of these variations, some have arisen from

necessity or rather convenience, and have been made for the purpose of simplifying the forms of very complicated characters; others have originated in different tastes of learned men, by whom it has been sometimes thought that the meaning of a character could be better represented by a new combination of symbols, different from what was generally in use; others again have arisen from caprice; some have been introduced for the purpose of abbreviation; and some from ignorance. All these differences in form are by European sinologues called *variants*. They may be arranged under the following classes: 1. correct forms; 2. ancient forms, sometimes adopted by pedantic writers; 3. synonymes in which, the juxtaposition of the component parts is changed, or even a wholly different form is adopted, while all the significations remain the same; 4. similar words agreeing only in some particular significations; 5. vulgar forms; and 6. abridged forms. For example, instead of the correct form of 去, the ancient form 去 is sometimes used; 发 and 収, differing only in the position of the parts, are synonymous; so also are 稱 and 秤, in which one of the component parts is varied, but here the two characters are commonly used as distinct; they both have two significations, to measure, and to speak; for the first the latter form is now almost exclusively employed; again 竝 and 并, though totally different in form are but different modes of writing the same character. Of the 4th class are 陪 and 培, which agree only in the signification of heaping up earth. Vulgar forms are common; thus for 凡 the vulgar form 𠃉 is often written. Abbreviations are also numerous in books of light literature, and especially in common ballads, as well as in quick writing. Such is 𠃉 for 馬, a line being drawn to supply the place of four dots. All these varieties of writing are more or less admitted into the dictionaries; so that the difficulties which they are calculated to present to unassisted students are in a great degree overcome. This is not, however, the case with many corrupt and erroneous forms of writing, which are wholly unsanctioned.

In the study of these *variants*, care should be taken not to confound characters which differ only in one or two strokes; these are often entirely different in signification. In observing characters slightly modified in their component parts, they should never be considered variants, unless the parts which give meaning be nearly synonymous. For instance, the symbols for wood, herb, and bamboo are often used indiscriminately in the composition of variants; but the symbols for earth and water can enter into the combination only of characters that have no similarity of meaning.

In addition to variations in the forms of particular characters, different styles of writing, affecting the appearance of all characters, have been at various times introduced, which resemble in their nature our distinctions of black letter, roman, italic, script, &c. The changes in these have been in part occasioned by changes in the implements of writing. In the time of Confucius they used pieces of bamboo pared thin and smooth, and also leaves and reeds, such as are still in use in Ceylon, Malabar, and among the priests of Budha in Bur-

mah, Siam, and other countries. On these, characters were drawn by means of a sharp pointed stick or iron style, and sometimes with varnish. Silk and cloth were afterwards employed, and to write on them, pencils made of various kinds of hair were introduced, about 300 years before our era. In the first century of our era, paper was invented. It has been made of various materials; the best and most common kinds now in use are made from the thin bark of bamboo. The ink known by the name of India ink, which is now universally employed in China and the Indochinese nations was first brought into use in the seventh century of the Christian era.

The various styles of writing now known are six. From this enumeration we exclude the fanciful ancient form called *k'o tow*, or 'tadpole-headed,' in which all the strokes were made to terminate in a form similar to what is described by its name. Of this form few examples now exist. Of the six styles, specimens are given on the opposite page. Their names are the following:

1. The *Chuen shoo*. This, from its present most common use, has been called by Europeans the seal character. Next to the original hieroglyphics, it is the most ancient style of writing, and includes many varieties, either fanciful inventions, or modifications of various ages; its chief distinctions however are two, the greater and the inferior *chuen*. The former belongs more exclusively to seals or stamps, and an example of it as so used is given at the end of the opposite plate. Of the latter, which is frequently used for ornamental inscriptions and prefaces to books, as well as for seals, a specimen is given in the first column of the plate.

2. The *Le shoo*, style of official attendants. This was introduced in the Tain dynasty, near the commencement of the Christian era. It was formed for the use of writers in the public offices, and has derived its name from this circumstance. It is now chiefly used for inscriptions and prefaces of works: See a specimen in the second column.

3. The *Keaë shoo*, pattern style. This has been formed by the gradual improvements of good writing; and from it all the modern forms have originated. A Chinese can have no claim to literary merit among his countrymen who cannot write neatly as well as correctly in this style.

4. The *Hing shoo*. This may be literally translated the running hand, and to a certain extent it is so; but it does not admit of perfect freedom. The pencil may be carried from stroke to stroke, without being raised from the paper; but no forms of abbreviation unauthorized by the dictionaries may be introduced, nor may any of the component strokes of a character be thrown out. It is the common hand of a neat writer; and is frequently used in prefaces of books.

5. The *Tsaou tsze*. This name is given to a freer description of running hand than the preceding. It is full of abbreviations, which render it very difficult even to a well-educated native. Not only are abbreviated forms adopted, but even from them many lines are thrown out, and the pencil may be carried from character to character almost

ad libitum. This style is partially employed in the ordinary writing of the man of business; but to understand it fully, requires a particular study of it. Its chief use is therefore in inscriptions, and sometimes also in prefaces, particularly those of aged writers.

6. The *Sung te*, style of the Sung dynasty. This was introduced as a more elegant form of printing than any of the others, under the dynasty whose name it bears. Printing in China, by means of carved wooden plates was invented in the early part of the tenth century. The Sung family obtained the supremacy about 40 years after; and this style of writing was gradually formed, during the period that it retained the throne. Since that period we believe no material alterations have taken place in it.

The almost exclusive use of several of these styles for ornamental inscriptions and prefaces, is a point which requires some explanation. The Chinese hold writing in great esteem, and regard their own written characters as highly elegant. Owing to the long period during which printing has been known among them, and the peculiar literary institutions of the government, they are also a reading people. Hence, the multiplicity of inscriptions (not always unaccompanied by landscapes and historical sketches,) which are hung up in their houses, occupying the place that pictures do among us. And these are so common, that they are rarely wanting even in the boats, which form the habitations of so large a population in Canton and some other maritime ports. The same esteem for writing induces a peculiar fondness for autographs of learned men, a fondness which is easily gratified, in consequence of the facility which their mode of printing affords for taking off facsimiles, in which indeed it is no way inferior to lithography. Hence originated the custom among learned authors of writing their prefaces in antique and curious styles, to exhibit the elegance of their penmanship; and this custom is still preserved, although in most instances, such writing is now performed by transcribers for the press, who study handwriting as a profession.

In the mutual relation of the written and oral languages there is a striking characteristic, which is we believe peculiar to the Chinese and a few cognate tongues. The assertion is common that they are altogether distinct languages and that the characters are not pictures of spoken words, nor the words the vocal utterance of written characters—"le premier [le caractère] n'est pas le peintre du second [le mot], ni le second l'expression du premier."* If by this it be meant that the words written and spoken do not bear precisely the same relation to each other as they do in alphabetic languages, the statement must be admitted. But if it be meant that sound has no place in the formation of the Chinese characters, we must refer those who would adopt the opinion to the 4th class of symbols, of which we have spoken above. These, which are partly of a syllabic and partly of an ideographic nature, are far more numerous than the characters of any other class. If they be deprived of the power of representing

* Grammaire-Chinoise, par Abel Rémusat, p. 23.

sound, in such partial degree, they become little better than mere arbitrary symbols, for their ideographic power is almost invariably of a general character. Under such circumstances, to attain a knowledge of any very considerable number would require an extraordinary exertion of memory.

But this, we would say from experience, is not the case; and the degree in which they represent sound is of great assistance to the scholar, especially to the Chinese who has the words of the oral language already in his memory. From this we infer that pronunciation does bear a conspicuous part in the Chinese written language. That such is the case appears more evidently from the fact, that variations in meaning are attached to the same character according to the tone of voice with which its name is pronounced.

It is not therefore total absence of the representatives of sound in the written language which constitutes the characteristic difference between it and the oral language; for such representatives are wanting only in the primary characters, or those of which the component parts are wholly ideographic. But the difference arises from the almost monosyllabic nature of the spoken words, and the combined ideographic and syllabic nature of the symbols. The first, owing to the paucity of monosyllabic sounds, renders it necessary to join two or more synonymous words to express one idea, in speaking; while in writing, the ideographic portion of symbols affords means of distinguishing them, so that only one such term is usually sufficient to express the same thought.

But this will be rendered plainer by an example. Under the syllable *chin* in the second part of Morrison's dictionary we find 87 characters having fundamentally the same pronunciation, though slightly varied by the use of different tones of voice. Such intonations, it is evident, can produce but a few intelligible distinctions, and many characters must still be pronounced precisely the same. The combination of such words with other synonymous words becomes therefore necessary in the oral language. But this proves nothing as to the use of sounds also in the written language. This point can easily be placed in an equally clear light. The first in order of the 87 characters arranged under the syllable *chin* is one signifying bushy hair; it is followed by twenty others, into the composition of each of which it enters. If its use in them be not altogether arbitrary, then it must be employed either as an ideographic or a syllabic symbol. We will give the significations of its compounds, and leave the reader to judge in what way it is employed. Of the character itself the only signification is that already given—bushy black hair, which by the Chinese is considered ornamental. Slightly modified in form, the character denotes newly fledged; joined with the symbol for hand, it signifies to grasp; with that for a gem, or for gold, it means precious; with the symbol for a field, it represents a raised pathway around a field; in conjunction with the symbol of the sun, it signifies brightness; with that of disease or of flesh, it denotes a species of cutaneous eruption; with that of stone or rock, ruggedness;

with that of the eye, visual dullness; with that of the ear, auricular perception; joined with the symbol of silk, it represents a twisted cord; with the symbol of raiment, it signifies thin garments; with that of words, it denotes examination; with that of walking, rapid approach; with that for wheeled carriage, it denotes a portion of a cart; with that of head, partial baldness, &c.; with that of horse, an overburdened steed; with that of hair, long hair; and with the symbol black, darkness.

We need not pursue this subject any further. Our object in the above remarks has been to show that a knowledge of the sounds is in some degree necessary in the study of the written language, and consequently that in treating of our present subject, some attention should be paid to the names of the characters in Chinese, and to the orthography adapted to express in English, the sounds of the national language. The different provincial variations must be reserved to another time.

The words of the Chinese language are for the most part monosyllabic. A considerable number, however, from the coalition of two or more distinct vowel sounds are rather of a polysyllabic nature. In the national language the sounds rarely commence with a perfect vowel, in theory they never do so; their terminations are in all cases either vowels, diphthongs, or nasals. There are several sounds in Chinese which cannot be correctly represented by the letters of any European alphabet. These sounds must be described, and as near a representation given as possible.

The following are the vowels and other final sounds, in the English order of the alphabet.

ā and *ǎ*; the first has nearly the same sound as the *a* in calm; the short *ǎ* when terminating a syllable is like a very rapid pronunciation of the interjection ah; joined to a nasal, it occupies a middle place between the sounds of hang and hung, inclining sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other.

ay is the same as in the words may, day, &c.

ē is the same as in me, he, or as the *ee* in see; when preceding another vowel, as *eēn*, its sound is that of *y* in yell.

e or *ĕ* is like the sound of *e* in pet, met, &c.

ēih is a sound resembling the short *i* in pit, fit; this orthography has been adopted in Morrison's dictionary, but has not been employed uniformly throughout that work.

eu is a difficult sound; it resembles a protracted French *u*, and by French sinologues has been represented by the letters *iu*.

ew has the same sound as in the words few, hew.

ih is a peculiar sound; it is nearly the same as that of *i* in fir, sir; or that of *e* in servant. In Morrison's dictionary it has been confounded with the sound of *ēih*, by an occasional inadvertent use of the letters *ih* to express that sound.

o has the open sound of *o* in go, so, &c.; it sometimes approaches to the sound of the German *ö*.

ō has the short sound of *o* in cot, spot,

oo has the lengthened sound that is found in the words *pool*, *cool*, &c. *ow* is a closer sound than that represented by the same letters in English; it appears to be compounded of the shortest sound of *ü*, quickly gliding into that of *oo*.

u, standing alone as a final, has the French sound of that letter; combined with nasals, its sound is nearly that of *u* in *bull*.

uě represents a sound resembling that of *u* in *cut*, but more protracted.

uh represents the short sound of *u* in *put*.

uy is a peculiar sound, resembling the sound of *ui* in *fluid*, and in the French *pluie*.

The above are mostly simple articulations. In conjunction with the nasals *n* and *ng*, the vowels produce—

ăn, *ân*, *ang*, and *âng*, which are pronounced according to the sounds of their respective vowels already explained.

en, sounded as in *pen*, *mien*, or sometimes nearly as *an* in *ant*.

in and *ing*, sounded as in *sit* and *sing*.

ün and *üng*, pronounced agreeably to the sound of the letter *u* in *bull*. The sound of *un* is often confounded with that of *ăn*.

From the union of two or more vowels in the final, the following additional sounds are produced, generally pronounced as two or three short syllables, gliding quickly into each other, as in *fluid*. *ăc*, like the Greek *ai* in *αι*.

ăo, or *ăou*, requires a quick but distinct enunciation of each vowel.

ăü, like the sound of *ya*, never that of the diphthong *ea* in English.

eač *eäng* *eaou* *eay* *ěč* or *yě* *ečn*

ěi is a difficult sound, approaching to that of *uy* given above.

ěö, *cuě*, *cuen*, *cüh*, *cun*, *cung*, *wă* or *ooă*, *wă*, *wăč*, *wăn*,

wăn, *wäng*, *wăng*, *wěi*, *wö*, *wöč*, *woö*, *wüh*.

The various syllables (as the significant sounds of the Chinese language have been called, on the supposition that it is a true monosyllabic language,) are formed by prefixing to the above finals, the following initial sounds.

čh soft, as in the words *chat*, *chaste*,

čh, a hard and aspirated modification of the preceding sound.

f, the same sound as in English.

h, before *a*, *ě*, *o*, *oo*, and their compounds, is a strong guttural aspirate; it has no sound exactly corresponding to it in English, but resembles the Hebrew ח הֶחֱחֵחַ.

h, before *e*, has a hissing sound, as if followed by a *y*; thus *he* is pronounced like *ye* preceded by a spiritus asper, 'ye.

j or *sh*, is like the French *j* in *jamais*; it is liable to be confounded with *y* as in Dutch.

k is the same as in *kick*, *kid*, or as *c* hard in *cat*, *cauf*.

kă is a guttural and aspirated sound, similar to the Hebrew ק and Greek χ.

l, *m* and *n* are the same as in English.

ng is a nasal, having the same sound as at the end of words in

English; as an initial, its sound may be obtained by dropping the two first letters in pronouncing the word hanging. Its proper sound is often changed into *y*; or becomes altogether silent like the nasals in Sanskrit. It is then called an anhelation, and resembles the Greek spiritus levis and the Arabic ع ain.

ny is like the liquid *n* in Spanish, or like *gn* in the French word maligne.

p has a soft sound approaching to that of *b*, as well as a somewhat harder sound, which is the same as *p* in English.

pʰ is a strong aspirated sound of *p*; it must not be assimilated with the English *ph*, which is the same as *f*.

s and *ss* are nearly the same as in the English sit, hissing, &c.; they cannot be clearly distinguished.

sh is the same as in English, or as *ch* in French.

sz is a difficult sound to represent; it does not differ much from the sound of *ss*, by which the French have represented it; it is combined only with a peculiar vowel sound, which can be learned only from the living voice.

t has a soft sound, sometimes approaching to that of *d*.

tʰ is an aspirated modification of the preceding sound.

ts and *tʰs*, the one soft and the other aspirated, are analogous to the Hebrew צ tsādih.

tsz is formed by prefixing the sound of *t* to that of *sz* described above. *w* should perhaps be considered a vowel sound; it is analogous to *w* in English, being pronounced sometimes as in who, at other times as in war, won, &c.

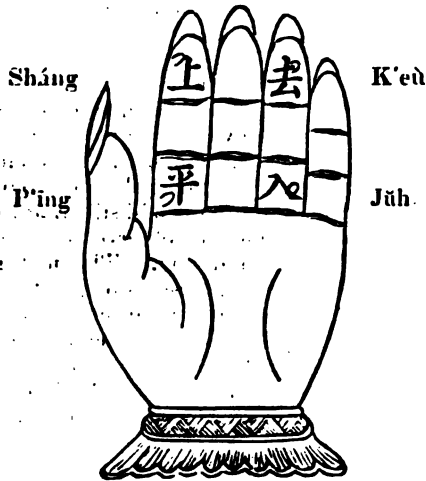
y a sound usually analogous to that of *y* in yard, yoke; but it sometimes becomes quiescent, resembling the silent or anhelative nasal *ng*.

r, *rk*, *ʳ* or *cul* is a very peculiar sound, at once initial and final; it appears to be formed from an attempted enunciation of *r*, prevented by the imperfection of the vocal organs. The Chinese dictionaries find it impossible to represent the sound, giving it the names *je*, *ye*, *nye*, and *'e*; and so it is pronounced in different provincial dialects. In the national language, the sound seems to resemble that of the almost unpronounceable Sanskrit letter र् (Ṛ) which the learned of Bengal soften into a peculiar *l*.

Chinese writers in endeavoring to follow out as far as possible the Sanskrit distinctions of sounds, have reckoned several other minute modifications, which are, however, hardly perceptible. Instead of increasing the number of the above initials, we may rather diminish them, by regarding the soft and aspirated letters, *ch*, *chh*, *p*, *ph*, &c., as essentially the same sounds, modified by the intervention of the spiritus asper. We do so accordingly in the table of the significant sounds of the Chinese language, which will be found below.

Distinctions are made in the finals, as they have been given above, by the use of four tones, which, if they could be applied equally to every original sound would multiply the tonic modifications of the language fourfold. But this is not the case. Some sounds admit but three, and some not more than one or two different intonations.

The four tones are these: 1. p'ing shing, an even or monotone; 2. shang shing, or rising tone, uttered with force of voice; 3. k'eu shing, or departing tone, a prolonged falling tone; 4. jüh shing, or entering tone, which is short and abrupt as if suddenly recalled while yet but half uttered. These four tones are marked by the Chinese on a hand accompanied by the following explanation in rhyme, for the purpose of assisting the memory, thus:



P'ing shing, p'ing t'òu m'ò t'ê ngàng;
 Sháng shing, k'āou h'òu m'ǎ'ng le'è k'e'àng;
 K'èu shing, fún m'ing ngāe yu'ên t'òu;
 Jüh shing, twán t'süh keih sh'ow t'sāng.

The even tone—its even path is neither high nor low;

The rising tone—it loudly calls, 'tis vehement, ardent, strong;

The declining tone—is clear, distinct, its dull, low path is long;

The entering tone—short, snatched, abrupt, is quickly treasured up.

The first European sinologues, the Romish missionaries, in adopting marks to represent the Chinese tones, employed the grave accent to denote the shang shing, and the acute to point out the k'eu shing. Some modern writers have reversed this order, adopting the system which is common in European books. The following are the marks we shall employ whenever it is necessary to represent the four tones, viz.

1. — for the p'ing shing, as in pān;
2. / for the sháng shing, as in pān;
3. \ for the k'èu shing, as in pān;
4. U for the jüh shing, as in pā.

Many opinions exist among the Chinese as to the precise number of tones belonging to their language. In their written language, however, only these four exist, or at least are employed to any considerable extent; we shall therefore defer any further consideration of this point until we come to speak of the oral language. Though a knowledge of these tones is requisite in speaking, yet in writing, the Chinese do not mark them, except where a variation of tone occasions a difference of meaning too slight to be ascertained by the context; and it is, therefore, thought unnecessary to introduce them, generally, into our orthography of the Chinese words.

In explaining the initial and final sounds of which Chinese words are compounded, it was necessary, in order to be perspicuous, to make considerable use of accents. But an examination of the orthography will show, that the powers of the vowels employed are pointed out by their location, except in a few instances. It is therefore needless to continue the use of accents, except over the final sounds *ä*, *än*, *äng*, *ë*, *ö*, where they are required as marks of distinction from *a*, *an*, *ang*, *e*, and *o*. Here a difference must be observed between the use of *ä* alone and that of the *ä* in *än* and *äng*. The first marks the *jüh* shing, and is considered by the Chinese as only a tonic modification of an *or* *ang*. The other points out a particular sound, and has no effect on the length of the syllable, which is capable of receiving any of the tones; thus—*hä'n*, *hä'u*, *hä'n*, *hīh*, more uniformly represented in French orthography by *hèn*, *hén*, *hèn*, *hē*. The sound of the *ä*, *ih*, and *e*, is here nearly the same as that of *o* in money, or of the French *e* in *de*, *que*, &c.

The following table is mainly the same as that given in Morrison's dictionary. In cases where an alteration of the orthography has appeared necessary, that of the dictionary has been added in italic letters. Where alterations have appeared merely recommendable, but not necessary; the orthography of the dictionary has been retained in the first place, and the alteration added, in roman letters. All the abrupt sounds belonging to the *jüh* shing are considered by the Chinese merely as tonic modifications of their sounds; but in English they require a different orthography; though inserted therefore they are distinguished by an *a*. The spiritus levis prefixed to the vowel sounds, is intended to mark them as anhelative—having an inherent nasal or liquid sound, which is generally required by the present usage to remain silent. Thus, 'e is a sound formed sometimes from *nge* or *nye*, and sometimes from *ye*, sounds which it still occasionally retains, though good usage requires it to be pronounced simply as an English *e*. 'Wei or 'ouei, and 'oo are syllables which still more frequently retain the nasal sound of *ng*. The number of syllables in Morrison's dictionary is 411; in the following table β more have been added, but they are not numbered,

Table of the Chinese significant sounds, exclusive of the variations formed by the modulation of tones and aspirates.

'A	1	Gö, Ngö	48	Jow	102	Laou	158	Nan	212
'Ae, Gae		Gow,		Juen	103	Le	159	Nang	213
'An	2	Ngow	49	'Juh	104	Leäng	160	Näng	214
'An, Gän		Hae	50	Jun	105	Leaou	161	Naou	215
'Aou	3	Han	51	Jung	106	Leé	162	Ne	216
Cha	4	Hän	52	Juy	107	Leén	163	Neäng	217
Chä	5	Hang	53	Kae	108	Leih	164	Neaou	218
Chae	6	Häng	54	Kan	109	Leó	165	Neé	219
Chan	7	Haou	55	Kän	110	Leu	166	Neén	220
Chang	8	He	56	Kang	111	Leuè	167	Neih	221
Chaou	9	Heä	57	Käng	112	Leuen	168	Neó	222
Chay	10	Heä	58	Kaou	113	Leuh	169	Neu	223
Che	11	Heae	59	Ke	114	Lew	170	New	224
Chè	12	Heäng	60	Keä	115	Lih	171	Nin	225
Chen	13	Heaou	61	Keä	116	Lin	172	Ning	226
Chieh,	14	Heé	62	Keae	117	Ling	173	No	227
Chih,		Heén	63	Keäng	118	Lo	174	Nó	228
Chin	15	Heih	64	Keaou	119	Ló	175	Noo	229
Ching	16	Heó	65	Keay	120	Loo	176	Now	230
Chó	17	Heu	66	Keé	121	Low	177	Nuh	231
Choo	18	Heuè	67	Keén	122	Luh	178	Nun	232
Chow	19	Heuen	68	Keih	123	Lun	179	Nung	233
Chue	20	Heuh	69	Keó	124	Lung	180	Nuy	234
Chuen	21	Heun	70	Keu	125	Luy	181	Nwan	235
Chuh	22	Heung	71	Keué	126	Lwan	182	'O	236
Chun	23	Hew	72	Keuen	127	Ma	183	'O'	237
Chung	24	Hih	73	Keuh	128	Mä	184	Pa	238
Chu, Choo		Hin	74	Keua	129	Maé	185	Pä	239
Chuy	25	Hing	75	Keung	130	Man	186	Pae	240
Chwa	26	Ho	76	Kew	131	Mäng	187	Pan	241
Chwae	27	Hó	77	Kih	132	Mäng	188	Pang	242
Chwang	28	Hoo	78	Kin	133	Maou	189	Päng	243
		How	79	King	134	May,	190	Paoa	244
'E	29	Hung	80	Ko	135	Meay		Pe	245
		Hwa	81	Kó	136	Me	191	Peaou	246
Fä	30	Hwä	82	Koo	137	Meaou	192	Peé	247
Fan	31	Hwae	83	Kow	138	Meé	193	Peén	248
Fang	32	Hwan	84	Kuh	139	Meén	194	Pei	249
Fe or Fei	33	Hwán	85	Kung	140	Mei	195	Peih	250
Foo	34	Hwang	86	Kwa	141	Meih	196	Pew	251
Fö	35	Hwäng	87	Kwä	142	Mew	197	Pih	252
Fow	36	Hwö	88	Kwae	143	Mih	198	Pin	253
Fuh	37	Hwuh	89	Kwan	144	Min	199	Ping	254
Fün, Fän	38	Hwüy	90	Kwän	145	Ming	200	Po	255
Fung	39	'ih, Gih		Kwang	146	Mo	201	Pó	256
Gae, Ngae	40	Jang	91	Kwäng	147	Mó	202	Poo	257
Gau, Ngau	41	Jaou	92	Kwei	148	Moo	203	Pow	258
Gän, Ngän	42	Jay	93	Kwo	149	Mow	204	Puh	259
Gang,	43	Jä	94	Kwö	150	Muh	205	Pun, Pän	260
Ngang		Jeué	95	Kwuh	151	Mun,	206	Pung	261
Gäng,	44	Jeih, Jiä	96	La	152	Män		Pwan	262
Ngäng		Jen	97	Lä	153	Mung	207	Sä	263
Gaou,	45	Jin	98	Lae	154	Mwan	208	Sae	264
Ngaou		Jing	99	Lan	155	Na	209	Sau	265
Gih, Ngh	46	Jö	100	Lang	156	Na	210	Sän	266
Go, Ngo	47	Joo, Jeu	101	Läng	157	Nae	211	Sang	267

Säng	268	Shoo	298	Täng	326	Tseuen	357	Wan	384
Saou	269	Show	299	Taou	327	Tseun	358	Wän	385
Se	270	Shu		Te	328	Tsew	359	Wang	386
Seäng	271	Shuh	300	Tsaou	329	a Tsih	360	We	387
Seau	272	Shun	301	Teay	330	Tsin	361	Wei	388
Seay	273	Shwa	302	a Tee	331	Tsing	362	Wo	389
a Seä	274	Shwä	303	Teen	332	Tso	363	a Wö	390
Seän	275	Shwae	304	Teih	333	a Tsö	364	Woo	391
a Seih	276	Shwäng	305	Tew	334	Tsoo	365	Woo	
a Seö	277	Shwö	306	a Tih	335	Tsow	366	Wuh	392
Seu	278	Shwuy	307	Ting	336	Tsuh	367	Ya	393
a Seue	279	Sih	308	To	337	Tsun	368	a Yä	394
Seuen	280	Sin	309	a Tö	338	Tsung	269	Yae	395
a Seuh	281	Sing	310	Too	339	Tsuy	370	Yang	396
Seun	282	So	311	Tow	340	Tswan,		Yaou	397
Sew	283	Sö	312	a Tsä	341	Tsoan	371	Yay	398
Sha	284	Soo	313	Tsue	342	Tsze	372	Ye	399
Shä	285	Sow	314	Tsan	343	Tsz'h		Yen	400
Shae	286	Suh	315	Tsang	344	Tuh	373	Yew,	
Shan	287	Sun	316	Tsäng	345	Tun	374	Yoo	401
Shang	288	Sung	317	Tsnou	346	Tung	375	Yeih,	402
Shaou	289	Suy	318	Tse	347	Tuy	376	Yä	
Shay	290	Swan		Tseing	348	Twan,		Yin	403
She	291	Soan	319	Tseabu	349	Toan	377	Ying	404
a She	292	Sze	320	Tseny	350	a U'h	378	a Yö	405
Shen	293	Sz'h		a Tsee	351	Wuh		Yn, 'U	406
a Sheih,		Ta	321	Tseän	352	Ung	379	Yüé	407
Shih	294	a T'a	322	a Tseih	353	Urh	380	Yuen	408
Shin	295	Tae	323	a Tseö	354	Wa	381	Yuh	409
Shing	296	Tan	324	Tseu	355	a Wä	382	Yun	410
a Shö	297	Tang	325	a Tseue	356	Wae	383	Yung	411

The want of an alphabetic system (which wherever it is possessed has been found so convenient for arrangement,) renders the classification of the Chinese characters difficult. The first method of arrangement adopted was suitable only for the use of those who already knew the names of characters, and wished to discover their significations. The characters were all arranged according to the final sounds, in the manner of a rhyming dictionary; but it was not enough to form many classes according to the different essential sounds;—a further subdivision of the same sounds according to the tones was thought necessary,—thereby enhancing the difficulty of finding a character without a previous knowledge of its sound. This imperfect plan appears still to be preferred by those for whom it would seem most inconvenient—the illiterate. The next plan, though a little superior, was equally unfitted for those who were not previously acquainted with the sounds of characters. It was adopted after the introduction into China of the Sanskrit arrangement of sounds; and differed from the former system of finals in the addition of a system of initials. Thus, instead of having to search through the whole class of s-eän, in order to find keü, leü, or any other word having the same final, as was before the case, dictionaries on the new plan had a system and order of initials, so that a person acquainted with their use could in a short time refer to the initial column k-ä, l-ew, representing k, l, &c., and there find the word

wanted. This system is now in general use in Fuhkeên, as the former is in Canton. They are both so plainly unfitted for finding the *sounds* of characters, that their only object must be to point out the written forms of words already known, and the different senses of the same character.

After these two, a system of classification according to the component parts of characters gradually came into use. The most conspicuous portions of characters were adopted as 'heads of tribes,' which in Europe have been called keys and radicals; and all characters in which the same 'head' appeared conspicuously, were classed together as one 'tribe.' No uniform system having been adopted, lexicographers have differed very much in the number of tribes; some having upwards of five hundred, others three hundred; but the best modern dictionaries, including the standard one of the emperor Kanghe, have only 214; and these are capable of being considerably diminished, as has been shown by Gonçalves of Macao, in his "Arte China," and "Diccionario China-Portuguez," in the last of which he reduces them to 127.

The radicals (so we continue to call the 'heads of tribes') rarely have any relation to the sounds of the characters of which they form component parts. Sometimes they are mere unmeaning strokes, or combinations of strokes, or, though themselves possessing meaning, yet do not at all affect the sense of the compound characters. At other times, on the contrary, portions the least conspicuous to the eye have been selected as radicals, because connected in sense with the compounds. But in the great majority of cases, the radicals are conspicuous to the eye, and at the same time significant characters, serving to point out the general sense of the compounds. They are in these cases usually combined with syllabic portions, which limit the general sense pointed out by them. This is particularly observable in words belonging to natural history, though instances are numerous also in words relating to other subjects. Radicals of this last kind are readily discovered; but with regard to the others, particularly those that are not conspicuous to the eye, difficulties and irregularities frequently occur. The position of radicals varies; but the most usual position is on the left side of the compound. Some, however, occupy always the right; others have no fixed place. Some occupy the top; others the bottom. A few are divided, part being placed on one side and part on the other, or part at top and part at the bottom. Some form receptacles within which the compound parts are written. Several have composite forms, each having a different locality. In the list of the 214 radicals which is given below, these composite forms are also included. The following examples will serve to illustrate the manner in which the radicals combine with the other portions of characters. The number attached to each character is that of the radical to which it belongs, in the order of the list of radicals which follows.

全 仁 分 刊 邛 隄 孔 孟 季 舜 衍 哀 匝 囧

9 9 18 18 163 170 39 39 39 39 144 145 22 31

LIST OF THE HEADS OF TRIBES OR RADICALS.

The figures placed after the definitions indicate the number of characters classed under each 'head of a tribe,' according to a native dictionary, which contains thirty thousand characters.

OF ONE STROKE.

1	一	Yēh, one, the same, to reduce to one state.	32
2	丨	Kwā'n, to descend perpendicularly, straight.	14
3	丶	Chó, a point, a flame, a lord, a chief.	7
4	丿	P'ēh, drawing to the left, a curve.	22
5	乙	Yēh, curved, to mark with a crooked line.	21
6	丿	K'euē, a barb, to draw as by a hook.	8

OF TWO STROKES.

7	二	U'f, two, second, repetition.	22
8	工	Tōw, an undefined character.	20
9	人	Jin a human being, a man.	741
10	儿	Jin, man, (placed at the bottom).	34
11	入	Jūh, passing in, to enter, entering.	12
12	八	Pū, back to back, to separate, eight.	18
13	冂	Kéung, distant boundary, desert.	29
14	冃	Meih, to cover as with a napkin.	25
15	冫	Ping, water flowing, an icicle.	86
16	几	Ké, a stand, a niche, a seat.	16
17	凵	Kán, a hollow receiver, a cavern.	15
18	刀	Tāow, a knife, a sword, to cut.	326
19	力	Leih, sinews, strength, to use force.	132
20	勹	Pāow, to fold up, to envelope.	51
21	匕	Pé, a spoon, to arrange spoons.	13

22	匚	Fāng, a square receiving vessel.	57
23	匸	Hé, a place to conceal and a cover.	13
24	十	Shēh, ten, perfect, superlative.	31
25	卜	Pūh, to divine by the lines on a tortoise.	19
26	卩	Tszé, ancient seal, a joint.	35
27	厂	Hán, an overhanging hill, a shelter.	96
28	厶	Szē, perverse, a seducer, base.	17
29	又	Y'w, the right hand, more, farther.	60

OF THREE STROKES.

30	口	K'ów, the mouth, an opening	969
31	凵	Kwuy, an enclosure, a boundary.	92
32	土	T'ó, the ground, one of the five elements.	480
33	士	Szē, a scholar, a moral philosopher.	18
34	夕	Ché, to follow.	7
35	夕	Suy, to walk slowly.	19
36	夕	Seih, the setting moon, the evening.	29
37	大	Tá, large, great, to enlarge, much.	110
38	女	Neú, female of the human species, a daughter.	834
39	子	Tszé, a child, a son, term of respect.	67
40	宀	Meēn, a covering, the roof of a house.	199
41	寸	T'sùn, tenth of a Chinese foot.	32
42	小	Séow, little, petty, contracted.	31

- 43 尢 尢 兀 允 *Wāng*, lame. 57
- 44 尸 *Shē*, lying as dead, a corpse. 119
- 45 屮 *Chē*, a plant taking root, a sprout. 17
- 46 山 *Shān*, a hill, mountain, a wild. 574
- 47 川 川 川 *Chuēn*, rivulets. 22
- 48 工 *Kūng*, art, a workman, workmanship. 11
- 49 己 *Ké*, self, selfish, private. 19
- 50 巾 *Kīn*, a napkin, bonnet, cap. 248
- 51 干 *Kān*, to oppose, a shield. 15
- 52 么 *Yāou*, slender, small, young. 15
- 53 广 *Yén*, the covering of a piazza, a shed. 226
- 54 又 *Yín*, continued walking. 10
- 55 升 *Kūng*, the two hands united. 33
- 56 弋 *Yēk*, to cast a dart, an arrowhead. 14
- 57 弓 *Kūng*, a bow to shoot with. 142
- 58 彘 彘 彘 *Kè*, a hog's head, a genus. 17
- 59 彡 *Sān*, feathers of birds, long hair. 40
- 60 彳 *Chéik*, a short step, to walk. 177
-
- OF FOUR STROKES.
- 61 心 小 小 *Sīa*, human heart. 972
- 62 戈 *Kō*, a spear, military weapons. 87
- 63 户 *Hod*, one leaved door, to stop. 38
- 64 手 扌 *Shōw*, the hand, the forearm. 1030
- 65 支 *Chē*, branches, to diverge. 21
- 66 支 攴 *Pūh*, a slight striking, to touch. 242
- 67 文 *Wān*, to draw lines, literature. 19
- 68 斗 *Tōw*, a measure of capacity, used for grain. 27
- 69 斤 *Kīn*, a weight of 1½ lb. avoirdupois, a catty. 45
- 70 方 *Fāng*, two boats joined, square, place. 68
- 71 无 无 *Wōd*, destitute of, not. 9
- 72 日 *Jeih*, the sun, the day, a day. 388
- 73 曰 *Yuē*, to speak, to say, to call. 23
- 74 月 *Yuē*, the moon, a lunar month. 59
- 75 木 *Mūh*, a tree, wood, one of the five elements. 1242
- 76 欠 *Kedn*, dispirited, to be indebted. 193
- 77 止 *Ché*, to desist, to be still, to impede. 49
- 78 歹 歹 *Tāé*, perverse, bad, vicious. 190
- 79 殳 *Shōo*, the handle of a spear, to kill. 58
- 80 毋 毋 *Wōd*, not, a prohibitory particle. 10
- 81 比 比 *Pé*, to compare, classify, contiguous. 14
- 82 毛 毛 *Māou*, the hair of the body, of brutes, &c. 156
- 83 氏 氏 *Shè*, the surname of females. 7
- 84 气 气 *Kè*, vapor, air, breath, spirit. 9
- 85 水 习 水 *Shwūy*, water. 1354
- 86 火 火 *Hó*, flame ascending, fire. 548
- 87 爪 爪 *Cháu*, talons, claws, nails, to scratch. 23
- 88 父 父 *Fod*, head of a family, a father. 10
- 89 交 交 *Heāou*, to blend, to imitate. 12

90	片	<i>Chwāng</i> , a splinter, a kind of seat. 38
91	牙	<i>P'èdn</i> , a fragment, petal of a flower. 75
92	牙	<i>Yā</i> , a tooth, the lower teeth. 9
93	牛	<i>Nēw</i> , horned cattle, a cow. 214
94	犬	<i>K'euén</i> , a dog, canine species. 421

113	示	<i>Kē</i> , a sign from heaven, to instruct. 180
114	肉	<i>Jów</i> , the print of a beast's foot. 12
115	禾	<i>Hō</i> , grain, growing corn, paddy. 355
116	穴	<i>Heuē</i> , a cave, a den, a hole. 144
117	立	<i>Leih</i> , erect, to erect, to establish. 73

OF FIVE STROKES.

95	玄	<i>Kuēn</i> , sky color, sombre, dark, deep. 6
96	玉	<i>Yūh</i> , gem, precious stones, precious. 420
97	瓜	<i>Kwā</i> , a melon, cucumber. 50
98	瓦	<i>Wá</i> , tiles, brick, burnt earthen vessels. 161
99	甘	<i>Kān</i> , sweet, pleasant, delight. 19
100	生	<i>Sāng</i> , to produce, live, life, unripe. 17
101	用	<i>Yung</i> , to use, use, useful. 10
102	田	<i>T'ēn</i> , cultivated ground, to cultivate. 151
103	足	<i>Seū</i> , <i>Shoō</i> , and <i>P'èih</i> , the foot, a measure. 12
104	疒	<i>Nēih</i> , debility, sickness. 472
195	𠂔	<i>Pō</i> , to drive aside with the feet. 12
106	白	<i>P'ih</i> , white, pure, clear, freely. 88
107	皮	<i>P'ē</i> , the skin, the bark, a wrapper. 76
108	皿	<i>Ming</i> , vessels for eating and drinking. 104
109	目	<i>Mūh</i> , the eye, direction, index of a book. 519
110	矛	<i>Mōw</i> , a long barbed weapon. 48
111	矢	<i>Shé</i> , an arrow, swift, true to the mark. 55
112	石	<i>Skēih</i> , a stone, rocks, hard, firm. 540

OF SIX STROKES.

118	竹	<i>Chūh</i> , a reed, bamboo. 675
119	米	<i>Mē</i> , grain cleansed from the husk, rice. 207
120	糸	<i>Meih</i> , and <i>Szē</i> , silk, silk threads. 628
121	缶	<i>Fōw</i> , crockery, earthenware. 62
122	网	<i>Wáng</i> , a net. 121
123	羊	<i>Yāng</i> , a goat or sheep, the antelope, &c. 108
124	羽	<i>Yú</i> , the long feathers of the wing. 157
125	老	<i>Lāow</i> , aged venerable, a term of respect. 14
126	而	<i>U'rh</i> , whiskers, and, but, yet. 17
127	耒	<i>Lù</i> , a ploughshare, a plough-handle. 77
128	耳	<i>U'rh</i> , the ear, the ear of a vase. 138
129	聿	<i>Yūh</i> , a style, pencil, or brush. 15
130	肉	<i>Jūh</i> , or <i>Jow</i> , flesh, fat. 578
131	臣	<i>Chin</i> , a servant, a statesman. 12
132	自	<i>T'szè</i> , from, self, myself, himself, &c. 21
133	至	<i>Chè</i> , to arrive at, to, very. 17
134	臼	<i>Kéw</i> , a mortar, to pound grain. 40
135	舌	<i>Shè</i> , the tongue, taste. 34

- 136 舛 *Chúcn*, uncertainty, error, wandering. 8
- 137 舟 *Chōw*, a boat, to transport, to carry. 166
- 138 艮 *Kàn*, a limit, opposition, fixed. 5
- 139 色 *Sih*, color of the countenance, quality. 20
- 140 艸 *Ts'au*, herbage, plants. 1431
- 141 虎 *Hóo*, a tiger, variegated. 73
- 142 虫 *Hwúy*, and *C'hūng*, insects, reptiles. 810
- 143 血 *Hwé*, blood, the blood of victims. 40
- 144 行 *Hing*, *Hāng*, to walk, to do, a column. 35
- 145 衣 *E'*, upper garments, a cover. 473
- 146 兩 *Yá*, to overshadow, to invert. 20
- 159 車 *Chāy*, and *Keū*, a wheel carriage. 342
- 160 辛 *Sin*, distressing, bitter, pungent. 32
- 161 辰 *Shin*, to excite motion, time from 7 to 9 A.M. 14
- 162 走 *Ch'ò*, going on swiftly. 327
- 163 邑 *Yéih*, a city, an enclosure. 345
- 164 酉 *Yéu*, new wine, time from 5 to 7 o'clock P. M. 251
- 165 采 *Peén*, to separate, distinguish. 10
- 166 里 *Lé*, a Chinese mile. 7

OF EIGHT STROKES.

- 147 見 *Keén*, to see, to notice, to appear. 135
- 148 角 *Keó*, a horn, a sharp corner. 137
- 149 言 *Yén*, words, discourse, to speak. 750
- 150 谷 *Kúh*, a valley, an aqueduct. 48
- 151 豆 *T'òw*, leguminous plants. 49
- 152 豕 *Ch'é*, or *Shé*, a pig, a hog, swine. 121
- 153 豸 *Ché*, reptiles, animals destitute of feet. 114
- 154 貝 *Pei*, a shell, a pearl, precious. 218
- 155 赤 *Cheih*, naked body, red, totally. 29
- 156 走 *Ts'ów*, to go swiftly, to run. 243
- 157 足 *Ts'úh*, the human foot, full. 507
- 158 身 *Shin*, the body, trunk of a tree, one's own person. 67
- 167 金 *Kin*, metal, gold, one of the elements. 723
- 168 長 *Ch'āng*, long, aged, remote. 49
- 169 門 *Mún*, a door, an entrance, a class. 213
- 170 阜 *F'ow*, a mound of earth, large. 282
- 171 隸 *Tad*, to reach to, until. 11
- 172 隹 *Ch'üy*, birds with short tails. 206
- 173 雨 *Yú*, rain, to rain. 237
- 174 青 *T'sing*, azure, natural color. 17
- 175 非 *Féi*, wrong, vicious, false, not. 17

OF NINE STROKES.

- 176 面 *Meén*, the human face, the surface, fronting. 64
- 177 革 *Kih*, untanned skin without the hair. 290
- 178 韋 *Weé*, dressed leather, thongs. 94
- 179 韭 *Kéw*, leeks. 16
- 180 音 *Yin*, sound, news, musical tone. 34

- 181 頁 *Hè*, human head, a page of a book, 324
 182 風 *Fung*, the wind, air, manner, temper. 161
 183 飛 *Fē*, or *Fēi*, to fly as a bird. 10
 184 食 *Shèih*, or *Chèih*, to eat, to drink, to feed. 345
 185 首 *Shóu*, the head, first, to go foremost. 17
 186 香 *Héang*, fragrance, incense. 32

OF TEN STROKES.

- 187 馬 *Má*, a horse, anger, rage. 412
 188 骨 *Küh*, or *Kwüh*, bones. 164
 189 高 *Kāou*, high, loud, eminent, noble. 27
 190 髡 *Peāou*, long disheveled hair. 226
 191 鬥 *Tòu*, single combat, to fight. 20
 192 鬯 *Ch'ang*, fragrant wine for sacrifice. 7
 193 鬲 *Kih*, a tripod, an earthen vase. 55
 194 鬼 *Kwoé*, ghost, demons, devil. 121

OF ELEVEN STROKES.

- 195 魚 *Yü*, fish of any kind. 498
 196 烏 *Nedou*, a bird, the feathered tribe. 622
 197 鹵 *Loó*, unrefined salt. 39
 198 鹿 *Lüh*, a deer, a stag. 85
 199 麥 *Mih*, bearded grain, wheat, &c. 117

- 200 麻 *Mā*, hemp, flax. 30

OF TWELVE STROKES.

- 201 黃 *Hwáng*, color of clay, yellow. 35
 202 黍 *Shó*, species of millet. 44
 204 黑 *Hih*, black, dark, obscure. 146
 205 褙 *Ché*, embroidered work. 9

OF THIRTEEN STROKES.

- 205 黽 *Mǔng*, *Mǔn*, and *Meñ*, frogs, toads. 35
 206 鼎 *Ting*, a tripod, steady, firm. 13
 207 鼓 *Kó*, a drum, to beat the drum. 41
 208 鼠 *Shó*, the mus genus, rats, mice &c. 82

OF FOURTEEN STROKES.

- 209 鼻 *Pè*, the nose, the origin of. 47
 210 齊 *T'sè*, even, to smooth. 16

OF FIFTEEN STROKES.

- 211 齒 *Ch'é*, upper foreteeth, age. 148

OF SIXTEEN STROKES.

- 212 龍 *Lung*, the dragon, the latter genus. 19
 213 龜 *Kwoé*, the tortoise. 21

OF SEVENTEEN STROKES.

- 214 箏 *Yó*, musical instrument made of reeds. 17

The radicals are arranged in the best dictionaries according to the number of written strokes of which they are formed; and to make reference easy the same method is adopted in the arrangement of the compounds, all the characters being classed under each radical, ac-

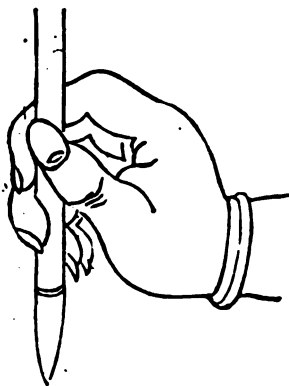
ording to the number of strokes in addition to the radical. Some knowledge of their mode of writing is requisite therefore, for the purpose of referring to their dictionaries. It is said by some that the elements of all the strokes are included in the subjoined character *yung*, eternal.



By others, one or two more strokes are added. This is, however, sufficient to exemplify the mode of writing. Horizontal strokes are drawn before perpendicular ones; central strokes before those on each side; and those on the left before those on the right; a single stroke often takes one, and sometimes two curves, as on the left side of the above character, which is formed of six strokes, in the following order.



The subjoined figure represents the Chinese mode of holding the pencil.



Note. In the foregoing list of radicals, the figures showing the number of characters classed under each 'head,' have been taken from the grammar of Rémusat, who has followed the Tsze wei.

ART. III. *Homicides in China: cases in which foreigners and natives are concerned, difficult to be adjusted; luk shü, or the six distinctions of homicide; exceptions occasioned by the rank and situation of natives; the usual exceptions not allowed to foreigners.*

The intercourse of Europeans and Chinese is rendered difficult on account of the principles of their education being dissimilar, and from their laws to punish violations of social order being different in the degrees of severity. These circumstances being really and truly various, require on both sides, an amicable consideration and accommodation. But there is another and a more difficult obstacle to a kindly intercourse, arising from reciprocal pride and prejudice. In cases of homicide, this remark is strongly exemplified. We will explain it on one side, and leave our western readers, who are interested, to explain it on the other. The Chinese have a prejudice against all foreigners who approach them as equals, and their pride urges them to require the life of a foreigner, whenever the death of a native has been caused (no matter how,) by his agency or instrumentality. The law of reason, of nature, and of nations does not admit of this. But still, the law of all civilized nations is tender of human life. From an ancient law, derived from the highest authority in the universe, it is manifest, that man's blood, in which is his life, should not be wantonly spilt. The Chinese consider homicide as a *debt*; and a debt which can only be paid in *kind*, by the creditor. "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." He who kills another must forfeit his own life. This is the general rule; and in Chinese law the *exceptions* are few.

In Chinese law, as in all human laws, there is as those who live by chicanery say, "a glorious uncertainty." Without entering into laws of property where the uncertainty is productive of profit to the lawyer, even in homicidal cases there is—inglorious uncertainty. Manslaying is seldom a simple and unmixed crime. When it is deliberate, and preconcerted by "malice prepense," the case is clear. In what we call "wilful murder," there is no hesitation about the mode, awful as it is, of punishing the offender. But the crime of causing death to a fellow creature, is not, perhaps in one case in ten, and it may be, for aught we know to the contrary, not one in a hundred, that of preconcerted murder. Momentary pride, passion, lust, intoxication, anger, avarice, frolic, &c., have been the incipient causes which occasioned the fearful result of a fellow creature's death. When the affray or the frolic began, there was no intention to slay. The deathblow came by "chance-medley." English law allows for this, and spares the offender's life; Chinese law does not. 'There, there's the rub.' Most of the homicides committed by foreigners in China, are of this class, a class in which the law of Europe excuses the crimes in some degree, so as to continue the life of the offender; but in which the Chinese law will only grant a milder death.

Having said so much we will give the Chinese legal distinctions of

homicide. They are called the *luh shā*, the six modes of killing man: 1. *Mow shā*, by previous design, whether an individual plots with his own heart, or with companions. 2. *Koo shā*, by instant design; wilful at the moment, though unpremeditated. This is Chinese "wilful murder," but English "manslaughter." 3. *Gow shā*, by fighting in an affray; chance-medley. 4. *He shā*, by dangerous sports; such as boxing, cudgeling, &c. Dueling would of course be included, as a rather dangerous "gentlemanly" play. 5. *Woo shā*, by mishap, hitting and killing the wrong person; one with whom you had no quarrel, and to whom you intended no hurt. The persons found guilty of any of these crimes, are by law, punished with "death;" some immediate; others after imprisonment; a respite which raises hopes, often not fulfilled. 6. *Kwoshih shā*, killing by misadventure, by pure accident: as a hatchet flying off from its haft. This is censured as carelessness, but not considered a capital crime.

But Chinese law even in homicides depends much on the station or rank of the two parties. A master killing his slave, and a slave killing his master are very differently punished. Even in the few cases of "*se defendendo*," making a justifiable homicide, much depends on the rank of the parties. For the Chinese jurists, mix and blend the decisions of the code, in complicated crimes, in a manner that is truly puzzling. As for example: in ordinary cases, if a woman kills a man who attempts to violate her person, it is justifiable homicide: but if the assailant were her husband's father, a person to whom she owes great respect and submission, if she cause his death, she shall lose her own life. We have read recently of such a case; in which the innocent woman was murdered by the law. If killed in resisting the police, it is justifiable homicide. An injured husband taking immediate revenge on the spot and killing both the adulterer and his own wife, is justifiable. Killing a man who enters clandestinely a house at night without cause; is justifiable.

The law says that foreigners in China killing each other, may be punished according to foreign law; but it does not willingly concede this to a foreigner killing a Chinese. There are some cases which occurred many years ago in Macao, quoted in the *Leuhle*, wherein the emperor Keenlung declared that in order to intimidate foreigners, the local government of Canton should require *life for life*, without quoting the extenuating circumstances which the Chinese laws admitted when natives only were concerned. From this view of the law and public feeling, homicides in China, will long be a subject of difficult arrangement, between foreign and native authorities. Governor Loo, it is true, has recently declared, in reference to a case which is still pending, that assuredly there will be no forfeiture of life, because the affair emanated from no intention of the heart. We think it not unlikely that his excellency will contrive to render justice to the man and release him; but if that man is a 'foreigner' and 'has in an affray caused the death of a native,' according to the laws of the land he has forfeited his life. The law is life for life.

ART. IV. Religious intelligence. 1. Mission in Ceylon reinforced; remarks concerning the principles and feelings with which Christian missions ought to be conducted.

2. Schools for the education of Chinese girls, greatly needed, but hitherto neglected.

1. We are informed by a late arrival from Calcutta, that the American mission in Ceylon has been strengthened by the accession of five laborers, four ordained missionaries and a physician, with their wives. This reinforcement was welcomed with peculiar gratitude and joy by the former members of the mission, who had received no addition to their number for thirteen years. The recruits above named, arrived in Oct. 1833; and since then two other missionaries and their wives have joined them. From returns which were made out for government in Nov. last, it appears that the mission has under its care 73 native free schools, in which there are 2700 boys, and 400 girls; four central schools of a higher order than the former, containing 95 boys; and one central boarding school for girls, with 52 scholars. The seminary, of which some account was given in the Repository of December last, contains 133 students and 10 native teachers. The native church has 201 members in communion. The five native congregations on the Sabbath, number 1750 attendants, about three fourths of whom are children from the native free schools.

Some parts of the letter which has furnished us with these items of intelligence, contain so good an exhibition of the principles and feelings on which every mission should be conducted, that we are unwilling to withhold them from our readers.

"To secure the best results," says our correspondent, "in the great work to which we have been called, we shall find it necessary to cultivate with singleness of resolution and untiring patience, all the fruits of the Spirit; and that, not in their common measure, but as exhibited in the life of our Savior. We must love as he loved, be long-suffering as he was, gentle, good, meek, and temperate in the exhibition of every feeling, as he was, remembering that as the Father sent him into the world, so he hath sent us. In order thus to put on Christ, we shall find great advantage in looking at each of these traits in the character of our Savior until our soul is suffused with admiration and desire, and then labor to transfer those graces individually into our own soul, as natural and spontaneous growths. Let us meditate by day and by night on the character of a Christian as brought to view in the following passages of Scripture. [John 3: 6. Rom. 8: 6, 9. 1st Cor. 3: 16, 17; and 6: 19, 20. Eph. 4: 24. Gal. 3: 28; and 6: 15. Mat. 22: 30. 1st Cor. 15: 47, 49.] Looking at each of these graces until our souls are filled with desires to make them our own, let us clothe ourselves with them all "as an ornament and bind them on as a bride doeth." Even private Christians would reap great advantages from the careful cultivation of this

spirit, but in the case of a missionary I conceive that nothing short of this can prepare him for the thousand unforeseen and very perplexing difficulties into which he will be daily thrown, either in relation to his work among the heathen, to his duties as a pastor of a little flock gathering and gathered from among them, to his associate brethren and sisters, or to his fellow helpers of other societies and denominations.

"In reference to the heathen, my experience leads me to be careful not to infringe upon any of their sacred privileges by going unadvisedly into their temples, or by crowding myself upon their notice when they are displeased with my company. I avoid dispute and controversy and preach repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the only hope of salvation.

"In connection with associates whether sent out from America or from England, Scotland, or Germany—whether Baptists or Methodists, dissenters or churchmen, let the motto be, *union is strength*, and the *STRENGTH OF UNION IS LOVE*. Let it be that love spoken of in the 13th of 1st Cor., that perfect love which casteth out fear, that love which constrains each and all to have but one heart, one hand, one joy, one grief; which recognizes neither Paul, nor Apollos, nor Cephas, and will know nothing but Christ and him crucified. To secure this, all in the same field should meet at least once a month for united prayer and reciprocal edification and encouragement. In all general things act in union and with counsel. Be familiar and talk heartily with each and all. If near each other, meet once a week or fortnight for an evening prayer meeting, and as much as possible unite in labors also. Should a spirit of disunion, 'ultraism' or 'nullification' ever spring up, or should any one or more appear restive, *keep firm hold of your motto*. Let general principles govern; bear and forbear until the seventieth time seventh trial of patience has had its perfect work. But if after all any one will depart, let him depart; because it is better that it be so, rather than sacrifice broad and general principles for the accommodation of individuals. In all this trial of your faith and patience take firm hold of the following resolutions. 1. I will never be offended. 2. I will never have my own way. 3. Wherein I see that I am wrong, (and I will try to understand my errors,) I will without delay triumph over myself and enjoy the luxury of frankly and fully acknowledging my error. 4. I will never reply;—if any individual says an unadvised thing in ill humor by way of finding fault, I will pass it over for the time at least, if necessary take another opportunity to speak with him. 5. I will never write notes in reply to unkind notes, and never expose beyond the little circle who may be concerned *in loco*, any notes or letters written in an unkind, criminating spirit. If an explanation is advisable, better spend days to gain the advantages of a *personal interview* than write a single line. Writing in reply is one of the thousand cases in which we are strongly tempted to do good in a bad way, and to make things right in the wrong way. Missionaries must learn to '*hold still*' until light is made to bear upon all sides of the

subject before them, and until time and patience have matured their judgment. A little haste may ruin themselves, and throw such barriers in the way of the cause as may not be removed for many years.

"Our experience and observation lead us to be very jealous lest teaching, preaching, or writing in English, should draw our attention from the natives or hinder us from giving our whole time and strength to the acquisition of the language, and preaching Christ in the markets and from house to house, as well as in our chapels. The great Head of the church has, we conceive, sent us to the *heathen*, and to them we have consecrated our *all*, not wishing to leave our work until we leave the world."

2. *Schools for the education of Chinese girls.* The following communication is from the pen of a Christian lady, who for a few years back has been engaged in educating Chinese girls. Brief as the paper is, it will not fail to direct attention to a subject, which hitherto has been almost entirely neglected. The character and condition of this part of our race in China are very imperfectly known to the people of Christendom. Could the females of Europe and America witness the universal degradation of their sex in 'the celestial empire,' proudly and impiously so styled, ways and means would speedily be devised to shed light on these benighted minds. We heartily recommend the following paragraphs to their perusal.

"It is desirable that the attention of Christian ladies should be directed in a greater degree to the females of China; to pray more earnestly to the Lord for them, and in every possible way to endeavor to teach them the knowledge of salvation by Jesus Christ. It is melancholy to view so large an empire given to idolatry. In attempts to turn it to Christ, female instruction should not be undervalued; females have a great influence both upon the morals and the politics of a nation. Youth are generally under the superintendance of the female sex. But how ill qualified is the Chinese woman for this or any moral duty! She is acquainted with no revelation from her Maker, as the standard of duty, and by which she can form her principles. She does not know the Redeemer who came to deliver from sin and from condemnation. A kind, heavenly Father is not the object of her faith and worship, but dumb idols which cannot help. She is under the influence of debasing fears and superstitions, and emphatically 'without God and without hope in the world.' I have witnessed companies of Chinese women collected together; but seldom for wise or benevolent purposes. I have visited sick-beds and death beds; but those women were not acquainted with the consoling word and promises of God, to render the former more easy, or to enlighten the latter with a ray of hope for the future. Contrasted with them what comforts and consolation do Christian females possess!

"It is an important question, what can be done for the improvement of the circumstances of Chinese females in the present state of China Proper? There are systems of exclusion and seclusion there, which prevent at present much being actually attempted for their

improvement. Moreover the sex is generally and greatly despised. Very few females in China can either read or write.

“In a missionary station without China Proper, it has been pleasing to witness for some years the gradual decline of prejudice against female education. The first attempts to obtain girls for instruction were unsuccessful. At present there are several schools in which children are reading Christian books exclusively. The books taught are Dr. Milne’s tract, a dialogue between two friends, one a convert to Christianity, and the other a heathen; and tracts by Mr. Collie and Mr. Medhurst, containing chiefly statements of Christian doctrines. The chief result of these schools at present is a decline of prejudice in the minds of children and people. As yet no converting influence has been perceived; but the Lord will bless his word and instruction given out of it in due season.

“It is consoling and cheering, to the hearts of all who now labor for their good, resting on the sure word of promise, to anticipate the time when idolatry and the kingdom of Satan will be overthrown in China; when the system of seclusion will be done away, and when the Chinese female will bear her part in society, and be ready to devote her enlightened mind and her sanctified talents, to the glory of the Savior who has redeemed her.

“May God pour down upon his people a spirit of prayer on their behalf, and send laborers into this field, influenced by the love of Christ and wholly given up to his cause, not counting their lives dear unto them that they may advance it, and may Christian female instruction keep pace with all the other improvements of the age.”

ART. V. *Literary intelligence. Foreign presses in China; poetry of the Chinese, &c.; contribution to an historical sketch of the Romanists at Macao; and the Anglochinese kalendar for 1834.*

1. *European presses in China.* With respect to the foreign presses in China, but few changes worthy of notice have taken place during the last twelve months. The honorable company’s press continues in operation at Macao, being chiefly employed, we believe, with Mr. Medhurst’s dictionary of the Fuhkeên dialect. The Albion press, which was interdicted last June by Portuguese authority in Macao, has been removed to Canton, and is at present employed on a commercial guide. The oldest press in Canton, which has sent forth six volumes of the ‘Register,’ has not only maintained its own ground, but has united with itself that of the late ‘Courier.’ This latter paper was discontinued early last summer; and the ‘Register,’ since the commencement of the current year, has appeared every week, instead of semi-monthly as formerly. Our own establishment continues in *statu quo*, except some small additions to the fonts of types, which in Chinese words will enable us to mark the

intonations, &c. Thus in the course of the year five printing establishments have been reduced to four, one of which is in Macao, and three in Canton. There are also two lithographic presses in Canton; at Macao, and connected with the college of St. Joseph, there is also a Portuguese press, which is furnished with a font of Chinese movable types. From these presses several small publications have been issued during the year.

2. *On the poetry of the Chinese, (from the royal Asiatic transactions,) to which are added, translations and detached pieces.* By John Francis Davis, F. R. S. &c., president for the East India company in China. Macao, 1834. pp. 199, octavo.

In a prefatory note to this little volume, Mr. Davis says: "Several applications for the treatise on poetry, which could not be supplied in this country, led to the reprint (without publication,) of a limited number of copies: and the unusual facilities afforded by the possession of a font of Chinese types, occasioned some additions being made at the close of the original work." These consist of extracts from an unpublished journal of the embassy to Peking in 1816; extracts from the historical romance of the *San kwö* or three states; notes on homicides; and stanzas on the cave of Camoens.

3. *Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman catholic church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao.* By A. L., Knt. Canton; 1834. pp. 53, duodecimo.

Both this and the work of Mr. Davis, we hope soon to bring more fully before the readers of the Repository. We regret that in both these cases only a 'limited' number of copies have been printed.

4. *The Anglochinese Kalendar for the year of the Christian era, 1834: corresponding to the year of the Chinese cycle era 4471, or the 31st year of the 75th cycle of sixty; being the 14th year of the reign of Tnoukwang.* Printed at the Albion press, Canton, pp. 36.

This work, the first of the kind ever printed in China, has appeared regularly for three successive years: the edition for 1832 was accompanied by a Companion; but the number of copies being small they were all soon disposed of, and none can now be obtained. To supply this deficiency the compiler has undertaken a 'Commercial Guide,' which will be published in the course of the summer and before the business of the ensuing season will commence.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. Visit of governor Loo and others to the foreign factories; the hoppo's lady; new fooyuen; military reviews; the tall soldier; death of prisoners; remains of chancellor Le. Peking; recall of governor Le; death of a Burman ambassador.*

May 1st. In continuing this part of our work, we propose to arrange the local occurrences, which come under our notice, in chronological order, and then

add the latest and most interesting items which appear in the gazettes, subjoining any other facts which come to our knowledge and are worthy of notice concerning China and the adjacent countries. Could such a record of events be made tolerably complete, it would aid our readers very much in their endeavors to acquire a correct knowledge of the present condition of the Chinese empire, and the neighboring countries.—The month has commenced with a quiet state of public affairs, and the season promising fair for the husbandman, than which nothing is more agreeable to the Chinese community. In some parts of the city there is much sickness, especially among the poor; and we hear that there have been a few cases of small-pox in neighboring villages. Vaccination at the hong merchants' public hall is continued as usual by Hequa. A report has been current to-day that governor Loo will visit the factory of the honorable company to-morrow.

Saturday, May 2d. Visit of the Governor, &c. Foreigners residing at Canton rarely have an opportunity of seeing the high provincial officers, and are the more desirous therefore of improving any such opportunity, when it does occur. The rulers of this land stand aloof, far above the common people, who seldom see their 'political fathers' except in state, and are then wont to look up to them with great awe and veneration. There has been only now and then a governor, or any other officer of high rank, who has deigned to visit the foreign factories. For several years no such visit has been paid, except that of Choo, the late fooyuen, who three years ago came to wreak his vengeance on the hong merchants and linguists, because they had allowed a few feet of earth to be added to the company's garden, without the express permission of the emperor.

Nine o'clock was the hour (according to rumor,) for the governor to make his appearance. Long before that time, the gate of the factory was thrown open, and a narrow strip of scarlet cloth hung over it, and two lieutors stationed near to guard the entrance. All the members of the factory, except an individual or two, being absent from Canton, the hong merchants and linguists had made preparation for the reception of his excellency, and had fitted up the principal hall with chairs in the Chinese style, and in an adjoining room had spread a table in the European manner. All things being thus in readiness, a few vaporing runners from the hoppo's office, whether by order or instigation of others we cannot tell, undertook to make themselves masters of the rooms of the factory, and rudely closed one door after another, asserting that no foreigner could be permitted to see the 'great men.' But they had already carried themselves too high, and the gentlemen of the factory with a better grace than humor, (which however was most pardonable and well befitting such an occasion,) soon directed them to their proper stations down stairs. All was now quiet till past 1 o'clock, when the sound of the gong and the cry of heralds, (not unlike the howling of dogs,) announced the approach of an officer. This was the tseangkeun, or general commandant of the city of Canton, a Tartar officer of high rank. He was borne by four men in a sedan, and was accompanied by a small retinue, consisting of servants, soldiers, and petty officers. These were all Tartars, and most of them were from the north of China. A son of Mars with a heavy gong (for no drum and sife are found here among the military,) led the van; next came two men with large bamboos, followed by four others bearing chains in their hands, and these by others with whips; then came two officers riding on ponies, and behind them was a kind of standard bearer carrying in his hands a *loosa*, in shape resembling a parasol, but very high and broad; then followed other officers and soldiers, and close after them Halingah, the general. Most of the company were unarmed; a few carried spears, and some had swords, most of which were wooden! As soon as the general reached the factory, he stepped from his sedan, and ascended to the hall. Being acquainted with one of the senior hong merchants, he called him upstairs and entered with him into brisk conversation, while waiting for the governor and the other officers.

At length a lieutenant-general arrived, and the hong merchant retired. Next came the hoppo, and shortly after another lieutenant-general. These three officers were also Tartars, as were most of their attendants. While waiting for the governor, they took their seats in the verandah, and sat opposite to each other, two against two, leaving the highest seat on the left vacant. No one sat in their presence, or spoke with them; they noticed no one, or any object except a camera obscura which stood near them. It was now near three o'clock, when the go-

vernor's approach was announced. Like all the others, he was borne in a sedan, carried by eight men, which wastwice the number allowed to either of the others; and his whole train was nearly in the same proportion. When his excellency came in front of the factories, the soldiers which had preceded him opened to the right and left in two lines and knelt as he passed. From his sedan, he was carried in an open chair to the head of the stairs, where the hoppo stood waiting to receive him. This ceremony was performed on the part of the latter officer, by bending the knee and raising and extending both hands nearly in the attitude of supplication, while the governor but slightly bent the knee and extended both his hands to support and raise him up. Then, the governor leaning on the arm of a friend, they moved through the hall into the verandah, when the three military officers advanced, and each in his turn saluted his excellency much in the same way that the hoppo had done. The next point was to determine who should move first to the seats. They finally moved nearly all together; but when there, a more difficult question was to determine who should sit first and in the highest place. The governor insisted that the general, as all the others had declined, should occupy the left hand seat, the place of honor, and he himself be considered as the host. To this the Tartar yielded.

When finally seated, which was no very easy or speedy matter as each was careful not to incline faster than the others, they appeared unreserved, familiar, and talkative. The governor was rather tall and stout, but there was nothing to distinguish his face from that of any other Chinese. In the appearance of the general there was nothing Chinese; his face was narrow and thin, his nose aquiline, and his person tall and spare. The two lieutenants were fine portly looking men. But in the dimensions of his beard, and the appearance of having been well fed, no one present equaled the 'grand hoppo.' They were all aged, and the governor and general not less than sixty. They were rather plainly and very similarly dressed, in a dark flowered silk robe, worn over another which was longer and of a lighter blue. On the breast and back, was a brilliant piece of embroidery which was wrought into tigers and other national emblems indicative of dignity. Their caps were surmounted with buttons; those of the governor and general were of a bright red stone, the badge of the highest rank in China. Some of their caps were ornamented with a peacock's feather. The first thing that followed their being seated was a refreshment of birdanests' soup, presented by one of the hong merchants. Then was exhibited a curious scene of washing faces. Tea and pipes followed; the governor all the time making free use of his snuff-box. The party now rose and walked to the side of the verandah which faces the river, and the hoppo in right good humor pointed out to the others the breach which had been made in the garden by his worthy colleague Choo, in 1831. From the garden they turned their attention to the dining hall and took their seats around the table, much to the amusement of themselves and others. Their use of knives and forks, instead of 'chopsticks,' was not the most graceful; one took a slice of cake upon his fork, and not comprehending the advantages of a knife, held it up and nibbled it in true Knickerbocker style; another mistook his saucer for a plate and went on accordingly. But the repast was soon finished. They then walked to the large hall and took a look at the portraits of George the fourth and of lord Amherst, and forthwith descended the stairs, entered their sedans, and the visit ended.

Such were the chief particulars of the visit of these 'great men' to the foreign factories. All that we witnessed on the occasion did not serve in the least to heighten our ideas of the intelligence, enterprise, or energy of these high functionaries. There was nothing business like in their appearance or deportment, and the impression was left strong on the mind of many of the spectators that the official duties of these men must devolve chiefly on their servants. Enterprise and activity are qualities lightly esteemed in a Chinese officer, whose path of duty is so perfectly marked out before him that no scope is left for any high minded, public spirited, enterprising men; each and all of them, whatever may be their inclination or genius, must be contented to become mere imitators. It is sad indeed to think that twenty-six millions of human beings are under the authority of a man like him who now governs the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse; for though a mild and well disposed person, yet what hope is there that he can or will reform the multifarious abuses in the lower offices throughout these provinces?

What hope is there that any attempts to enlighten the public mind, diffuse useful knowledge, or introduce any of the improvements of the age will meet the approbation and support of such a man? His opinion of foreigners was fully expressed last summer in a public document, wherein he declared that the "foreigners are naturally crafty and deceitful." That proclamation, like many others even more disgraceful, was sent forth to the people, to be read in their streets and their market places, thus sanctioning by the highest authority of the land save that at Peking, the scorn, the contempt, and the distrust which too many of the natives of Canton have long cherished towards foreigners.

Monday, 4th. The hoppo's lady. It has been rumored to-day that the hoppo's lady came yesterday incognito to see the foreign factories. At what hour or from what point her ladyship took her view we do not know. Probably she did not enter the factories, for such a step would at once have given notoriety to the visit, and attracted crowds of the populace. Such visits are few and far between. We know one instance, in which a lady of some distinction, two or three years ago, paid a visit to the factories: she was from the north on a visit to Canton: accompanied by a female friend, and two or three female servants, she set out in her sedan, reached the door of the factory, ascended the stairs, entered the sitting room, examined its furniture, (particularly its mirrors, tables, and sideboard,) and then after seating herself for a few moments on one of the sofas, descended the stairs and retired in the same manner that she came. She had small feet, (so says our informant,) was well habited, and appeared easy and genteel in her manners.

Friday, 9th. Ke, the new fooyuen. Late last evening it was reported here that Kekung, the new fooyuen had arrived in the vicinity of the Fah te (Hwa te) and would make his entrance into the provincial city to-day. His boat passed the factories about noon, and at 2 o'clock 'he ascended the shore' under a salute of three guns, and was received by the governor, the general commandant, and other officers, with the usual honors due to his rank. For four years, Ke has held the office of fooyuen in the province of Kwangse, and has come hither with a good reputation for probity and firmness; he is about sixty years of age; has long been employed in the service of the government; and at one time held the office of censor in Peking. He is a native of the province of Shanse.

Monday, 12th. On receiving the seals of his office, three days ago, Kekung the fooyuen entered immediately upon the duties of his new station. Yesterday, he received the congratulations of the inferior local officers and of the principal native merchants of Canton, and went in person to pay his respects to the gods of his country. His idolatry is set forth in very plain terms in the Canton court circular of yesterday. We give a short extract that our readers may judge of it for themselves. "The fooyuen went out early in the morning and repaired to the holy temple of Confucius; to the temple of the military god, Kwanfootsze; to the temple of the divine moralist Wanchang; to the temple of the dragon king, the god of the sea; to the temple of te'n how, 'heaven's queen'; to the temple of the god of the city, chinghwang; to the temple of the god of the wind; to the temple of the god of fire; on the altars of each of which he burned incense." Such is the announcement in the court circular.

From having thus visited eight temples in one morning, and propitiated the gods of peace and war; of the land and the sea; of the wind and the fire, he wishes, it would appear, to be considered a religious man. He worshiped his deceased fellow creatures, men and women; but, in Canton, no! not in all China, could he find an altar to the God that made him; the Creator of the universe. Yet the Chinese are a sagacious, wise people enough, in this world's affairs; and he of whom we now speak is not one of the ignorant vulgar, but a Chinese philosopher and magistrate of the land. This is "natural religion." But is this so rational and excellent as to make "revealed religion" unnecessary? Say, ye deists, who rob the Bible, and falsely call the knowledge thence derived your-own.

Monday, 19th. Military reviews. Governor Loo set out this evening on a tour for the purpose of inspecting the imperial troops in the northern departments of this province near the Meiling; from hence he expects to go to Shaouking. The fooyuen and other officers came and took leave of him at Te'ntsee Matow, the landing place, where his excellency embarked a little before sunset. The boat prepared for his reception was plain, but neatly fitted up and ornamented.

with various insignia of his rank and office. The number of officers, which composed his retinue, was small, being no more than six, exclusive of those who belonged to his domestic establishment. It is expected that he will be absent several weeks and visit Macao before his return to Canton.

In the Chinese government there is a great deal of visiting officially. Officers frequently assemble and proceed from place to place in state, which keeps them perpetually before the people. This morning his excellency rose at an early hour as usual, and in order to be in readiness for his tour, proceeded immediately to the fooyuen's; joined in the trial of five men for robbery; sentenced them to immediate death; requested the death warrant, received it, and out off the men's heads before breakfast. Of these five human beings, whose lives were thus destroyed by the law, no more notice is taken in the court circular than if they had been dogs.

The tall soldier. A military officer from one of the most eastern departments of this province recently arrived in this city, and brought with him a soldier seven chih (or cubits) high. The chih is 14½ English inches. Governor Loo having heard of *Woo Keantse*, (this is the name of the soldier,) ordered him yesterday to come to his palace; he did so; and his excellency gave him a button for his cap, two pieces of cloth, and ten dollars in money: he gave the same sum likewise to the patsung, or sublieutenant, who brought the soldier to the city.—This item of intelligence is taken from one of the slips of red paper which are circulated with the Canton court circular, or yuenpaou. The following fact is also from the same source, and was received at the same time with the preceding.

Death of prisoners. It is reported that of five hundred banditti in the prisons in Nanshaou, three hundred have recently sickened and died. *Nanshaou* includes the departments of Nanheung and Shaouchow in the northern part of this province.

Thursday 22d. *The remains of chancellor Le.* The ling kew or remains of the late literary chancellor of Canton, who hanged himself a few months ago, were carried out of the city and sent on their way to his native district in the province of Kweichow. They were attended by the fooyuen, who accompanied them beyond the eastern gate, to do them honor. It is strange that the materialists of China employ the words *ling kew*, an encoffined soul or spirit, to denote the mortal remains of a human being.

PEKING.—The death of a Burman envoy at the court of Taoukwang; the recall of the late governor Le and his associate Lew Yungking from banishment; and the death of the late third minister Footsean, who died aged 86, are the most interesting items of news which we have to notice in the gazettes. It is conjectured by some Chinese in Canton that Le will be again placed in authority.

Death of the Burman envoy. It is a law of China, that official people shall always quote the law according to which they act; in pursuance of which the lepoo or board of rites and propriety say, it is their duty to report the event and solicit the imperial compassion. It devolves on the board of public works to provide a coffin. The board of revenue must give a piece of red satin and two pieces of white cloth, five cubits long. The nuykò or privy council must determine on the form of sacrificial prayer. The sacrificial utensils must be provided from the Kwangluh temple. The incense and candles, and paper offerings must be supplied from the Taeching temple. And from the Hungloo temple one officer must be deputed to read the sacrificial prayer, and another be sent to the envoy's dwelling to offer sacrifice. This is the law or rule when a waekwò kungsze, 'foreign nation's tributary envoy,' dies at Peking.

The name of the deceased was *Nénewoykungayats*. Into how many parts this long name should be divided; or whether divided at all, the Chinese characters do not indicate. He was third commissioner. His two seniors do not wish to carry his remains back to Burmah and therefore the board ask the emperor whether he may be interred in a piece of ground belonging to the Mohammedan post house outside the Cheouyang gate, and whether they may give to the funeral 300 taels of silver, as the late emperor Keäking did to that of a Cochinchinese ambassador, who died at Peking; and a Siamese envoy who died at Canton. The principal Burman envoy's name is Meimayatsakrosing.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III. — JUNE, 1834. — No. 2.

ART. I. *The state religion of China; objects of the governmental worship; the ministers or priests, and the preparation required for their service; sacrifices, offerings and ceremonies; and penalties for informality.*

The Chinese have no generic term for religion. The word *keau*, which means to teach, or the things taught, doctrine or instruction, is indeed applied by them to the religious sects of Taou and Budha, as well as to the ethical sect of Confucius. And they apply this same word also to Mohammedans and Christians. But they do not apply it to the *state religion*; for that does not consist of doctrines which are to be taught, learned and believed; but of rites and ceremonies. It is entirely a 'bodily service,' which however tacitly implies the belief of some opinions; though to have correct opinions, according to some prescribed rule or articles of faith, forms no part of the system. The state religion, as practiced by the court at Peking and by the provincial governments, is contained in the code of laws, called *Ta tsing hwuyteën*, and in the *Ta tsing leuhle*, under the head *le*, rules of propriety and decorum or rites and ceremonies, and in the subordinate division *tsé tsé*, sacrifices and offerings. From these two works we shall briefly specify; 1. the persons or things to whom these sacrifices are presented, or the objects of governmental worship; 2. the ministers or priests, who offer these sacrifices, and the preparation required of them for the performance of this religious service; 3. the sacrifices and offerings, the times of presenting them and the ceremonies accompanying them; and, 4. the penalties for informality, or defective performance of the state religion.

First, we are to speak concerning the objects of worship, of things to which sacrifices are offered. These are chiefly things, although persons are also included. The state sacrifices are divided into three classes; first, the *ta sze*, or great sacrifices; second, the *chuffg sze*, or medium sacrifices; and third, the *seou sze*, or little sacrifices. These last are also denominated *keun sze*, the crowd or herd of sacrifices; the word *keun*, 'a flock of sheep,' being used as a noun of multitude.

In the following list, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th are the objects or classes of objects to which the great sacrifices are offered; from the 5th to the 13th are those to which the medium sacrifices are offered; those of the 14th and onward, have right only to the little sacrifices.

1. Teën, the heavens or sky. This object of worship is otherwise called the azure heavens; and hwang kung yu, 'the imperial concave expanse.'

2. Te, the earth. This, like the heavens, is dignified with the epithet imperial.

3. Tse meaoü 'the great temple' of ancestors. This title is used to include all the tablets contained therein dedicated to the manes, or shades of the deceased emperors of the present dynasty. This triad of titles, teën, te, tse meaoü, always placed together on a level in respect of dignity at the grand sacrifices, are also worshiped apart. The lines or columns of Chinese characters being read from top to bottom, dignity is always denoted by the height of the title; which corresponds in some degree to our use of capital letters. Inferiority of rank or dignity is marked by the title being placed one or more characters lower. Heaven, earth, and ancestors, as objects of worship and of equal rank and dignity, are placed on a level, and one or more characters higher than other objects, as the sun, moon, stars, &c. An idea of this may be conveyed to the reader, by the position of the words in lines, thus:

Heaven, Earth, Ancestors,

Sun, Moon, Stars, &c.

4. Shay tseih, the gods of the land and grain; these are the special patrons of each existing dynasty, and are generally located in the fourth place.

5. Jeih, the sun, called also ta ming, the 'great light.'

6. Yuë, the moon, called also yay ming, the 'night light.'

7. Tseën tse te wang, the manes of the emperors and kings of former ages.

8. Seën sze Kungtsze, the ancient master, Confucius.

9. Seën nang, the ancient patron of agriculture.

10. Seën tsan, the ancient patron of the manufacture of silk.

11. Teën shin, the gods of heaven.

12. Te, ke, the gods of the earth.

13. Tse suy, the god of the passing year.

14. Seën e, the ancient patron of the healing art; together with choo jin kwei che tse, the innumerable ghosts of deceased philanthropists, faithful statesmen, eminent scholars, martyrs to virtue, &c.

15. Sing shin, the stars, are sometimes placed next after the sun and moon.

16. Yun, the clouds.

17. Yu, the rain.

18. Fung, the wind.

19. Luy, the thunder.

20. Woo yô, the five great mountains of China.

21. Sze hæ, the four seas; i. e. all the waters of the ocean.

} These atmospheric divinities are usually placed in one column.

22. Sze tuh, the four rivers.
23. Ming shan, famous hills.
24. Ta chuen, great streams of water.
25. Ke tuh, military flags and banners.
26. Taou loo che shin, the god of the road where an army must pass.
27. Ho paou che shin, the god of cannon.
28. Muu shin, gods of the gate.
29. How too che shin, the queen goddess of the ground.
30. Pih keih, the north pole, &c., &c.

From this specimen it is apparent that in the Chinese state religion, the material universe, as a whole, and in detail, is worshiped; and that subordinate thereto, they have gods celestial, and terrestrial, and ghosts infernal; that they worship the work of their own hands, not only as images of persons or things divine, but human workmanship for earthly purposes, as in flags and banners, and destructive cannon. That the *material universe* is the object of worship appears not only from the names of those several parts which have been given above; but also from other circumstances. Thus the imperial high priest, when he worships heaven, wears robes of azure color, in allusion to the sky. When he worships the earth, his robes are yellow to represent the clay of this earthly clod. When the sun is the object, his dress is red, and for the moon, he wears a pale white. The kings, nobles, and centenary of official hierophants wear their court dresses. The altar on which to sacrifice to heaven is round, to represent heaven; this is expressly said. The altar on which the sacrifices to the earth are laid, is square; whether for the same wise reason or not, is not affirmed. The "prayer-boards," chubpan, are of various colors for the same reason as the emperor's robes. In the worship of the heavens, an azure ground with vermilion letters is used; in the worship of earth, a yellow ground is used with black characters; for the worship of ancestors, a white ground is required with black characters; for the sun, a carnation, with vermilion characters; and for the moon, a white ground with black characters.

We proceed now to the second part of our subject, and notice the sacred persons who perform the rites of sacrifice. The priests of the Chinese state religion are the emperor himself, who is the high priest, the 'pontifex maximus;' and subordinate to him, the kings, nobles, statesmen, and pih kwau, (as they phrase it,) the centenary of crowd of civil and military officers. The joo keaou, or sect of philosophers, monopolize both the civil and sacred functions. At the grand state worship of nature, neither priests nor women are admitted; and it is only when the sacrifice to the patroness of silk manufactures takes place by itself, that the empress and the several grades of imperial concubines, princesses, &c., may take a part.

It is required of the Chinese hierophants, that they be free from any recent legal crime, and not in mourning for the dead. For the first

order of sacrifices they are required to prepare themselves by ablutions, a change of garments, a vow, and a fast of three days. During this space of time they must occupy a clean chamber, and abstain; 1. from judging criminals; 2. from being present at a feast; 3. from listening to music; 4. from cohabitation with wives or concubines; 5. from inquiries about the sick; 6. from mourning for the dead; 7. from wine; and 8. from eating onions, leeks or garlic. "For," says the annotator, "sickness and death defile, while banqueting and feasting dissipate the mind, and unfit it for holding communion with the gods."

The victims sacrificed and the things offered, form our third topic. The animal or bloody sacrifices for heaven and earth are divided into the four following classes: 1. A heifer or new tse, 'a cow's child;' 2. a bullock or new foo, 'a cow's father;' 3. oxen generally; 4. sheep or pigs. The things offered are chiefly silks, on which we do not dwell. "The Greeks sacrificed the ox, hog, sheep, kid, cock, and goose. The victims were to be 'sana et integra.' The different deities had the proper victims. Jupiter, an ox five years old. Neptune, a black bull, a hog and a ram. Minerva, a heifer and an ewe. Esculapius, a she-goat and a cock." The Chinese also require that the victims should be whole and sound, and they prefer an azure-black color. For the grand sacrifices the victims are to be purified nine decades or cleansed ninety days; for the medium classes, three decades; and for the herd or flock of sacrifices, one decade, or ten days. We do not perceive any ceremonies connected with killing the victims. There are no wreaths or garlands as there were among the Greeks, nor as among the Jews any sprinkling of blood, particularly mentioned. The victims seem to be simply butchered the day before they are to be offered and dressed, we rather think, ready to be distributed (after being laid on the altar,) among the hungry participators of the tse fuh jow, 'the sacrificial blessed flesh,' which the civil and military priesthood will no doubt relish after a three days' fast. The times of sacrifice are specified as follows. Those to heaven are offered on the day of the winter solstice; those to earth, on the day of the summer solstice; and the others at regularly appointed times, which it is not important to detail in this sketch.

The ceremonies of this grand worship of nature, this 'natural religion,' consist in bowing, kneeling, and knocking the head against the ground, or in Chinese, pae, kwei, kow. In those sacrifices in which the emperor officiates, in propria persona, he never knocks his head against the ground. What he requires of the greatest monarch on earth, he will not give to the greatest, 'supremest' thing that he worships. The three kneelings and nine knockings of the head against the ground he turns into three kneelings and nine bows. The kow or the pae, i. e. the knocking or the bowing seems to make a material or rather a *feeling* difference in the estimation of his majesty.

The last topic upon which we proposed to remark, is the penalty

of informality. The punishment annexed to the neglect of due preparation, imperfect victims, &c., is either forfeiture of salary for a month or longer, or a specified number of blows with the bamboo, which can be avoided by the payment of a very small sum of money. There is not the least allusion to any displeasure of the things or beings worshipped. There is nothing to be feared but man's wrath; nothing but a forfeiture or a fine. The fines in these cases are rated according to the number of blows adjudged to the delinquent. But while such is the easy penalty of these philosophical legislators and hierophants in cases where they themselves offend; the case is far different if any of the common people presume to arrogate the right of worshipping heaven and announcing their affairs thereto, or of lighting lamps to the seven stars of *ursa major*, &c.; they shall be punished, *bona fide*, with 80 blows or strangulation. For the state religion, and the objects of worship proper for monarchs and philosophers are not to be desecrated and dishonored by vulgar adoration. Ye vulgar plebeians, go and worship things suited to your station; arrogate not the right of worshipping the supreme powers!

Thus we have given a sketch of the state religion of China; and though incomplete, yet it is faithful, so far as it goes. And in view of the whole subject we would say one word to the deist, the Romanist, the conformist, and the voluntary christian of the western world. To the deist we say, look at Chinese deism. Say, is it such as you approve? Or does it require some revelation, direct or indirect, to set it right? To the Romanist we say, if you may worship departed saints or worthies, or pray to either with the greater or lesser prayer, why may not the Chinese and pagan do the same? To the conformist we say; look at your state religion and state establishments. Will you advise us to conform in the event of our filling an official station? Shall we obey the majority? Shall we submit to the throne? Or shall we be dissenters in China? To the voluntary Christian we say, rejoice, and be grateful; adore and bless Jehovah, your Maker, your Father, your Savior, and your Friend for the revelation of himself which he has sent and induced you to receive. And since the grant is universal, and the last command of Jesus binding on all his servants, use the means which he gives you, to diffuse the knowledge of the Lord throughout the whole extent of creation.

ART. II. *Character of Chinese historical works; inducements to study them; their mythological accounts; vagueness of their early records; accounts of the middle and latter ages; summary of the principal historians.*

No other nation can boast of so long a succession of historians as the Chinese. From the time of Confucius, who was born about B. C. 550, and first collected the ancient records and formed them into a history, to the present, every age has had its historians. Though

many of them are mere transcribers or commentators, a few are found among them whose writings are remarkable for their originality of thought and purity of diction. We are not to expect from them a minute and connected detail of events, for no Chinese historians ever studied this; but they have supplied us with rich and various materials for composing a history of one of the first nations that existed, and tracing its progress from a very ancient period down to our own times. The dry details, and the embellished translations of Chinese historical works, given us by the Jesuits cannot be very inviting to the general reader; nor can any cursory remarks, be considered as satisfactory in this enterprising age. But a wide field is here opened for the researches of the historian. The author who would furnish a good history of China, must wade through more than a thousand volumes of native works, in selecting from which, no small degree of critical skill and accuracy will be required. This at first thought might seem a Herculean task; but a good Chinese scholar will go over these volumes in a short time and fix with ease upon the leading events in respect to which he will wish, when writing, to consult his authorities. The object is worth a few years of close study. How many scholars have spent their lives in studying the histories of Greece and Rome! How many authorities had the writer of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman empire* to consult! And with what assiduity did Niebuhr apply himself to the composition of his *Roman history*! Both were amply rewarded for their labors, so far as this world could reward them, but it is to be regretted that they were enemies to the saving doctrines of the gospel, and substituted a pagan fate for a divine providence.

As long as we are destitute of a good history of China, we shall be unable to form a correct opinion respecting the people. It is easy to laud them to the skies and to supply the deficiencies which appear in their civil and social institutions by panegyric. This has been the great error of most French writers. On the other hand, it is unjust to cry them down. As they are heathens, ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the sublime impulse to noble actions which is furnished by the love of God, their amiable qualities are of course few compared with those exhibited in more favored countries; but their government, bad as it is, has stood the test of ages, and deserves the attention of every thinking man.

We cannot sympathize with this almost innumerable people, as Christians and philanthropists should do, unless we view them in their true character and condition. In vain shall we endeavor to solve the problem of their long political existence, and to find the secret which has kept them from amalgamating with other nations, if we do not become thoroughly acquainted with their history. The great wall of separation which has been drawn between them and all the other nations of the globe, cannot be sapped to its foundations, till the hidden causes of this national exclusion are discovered. 'The great wall' which she built upon her northern border, proved too weak a barrier against the inroads of her enemies; and her numeri-

cally powerful land and sea forces could never put an effectual stop to foreign invasion; yet China maintains her exclusive system still. Even her Tartar conquerors very soon conformed to her ancient laws, and have been actuated by that spirit of hostility against all friendly intercourse with other nations, which has long characterized the Chinese government. The fondness for foreigners which the people generally exhibit, though in direct opposition to the exclusive system of their rulers, makes it still more surprizing that the government should be able to maintain that system. But we leave the solution of this extraordinary problem to others, and will endeavor to follow for a little while, the thread of Chinese history.

The account given by the Chinese of the mythological era is less extravagant than that given by any other nation, though comprising according to some writers a period of many thousands of years, like the Indian *kulpas*: In assigning a cause of the existence of the world they are greatly at a loss. Ignorant as they are of the true God, they are carried away by their imaginations, and speak of a cause capable of moving inert matter by which the male and female principles, *Yang* and *Yin*, were called into being, while continual revolutions produced heaven and earth. For this they are "without excuse," though they never read that, "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth;" but if, after hearing of his wondrous works, they deny the Author of their being, the Creator of the universe, they will be found still more guilty at his bar. The Roman catholics have repeatedly given them an account of the creation of the world, but they have rejected this reasonable doctrine with disdain, and continue to believe in the absurd pantheism of the yang and yin. In geography and astronomy they have condescended to be instructed by foreigners, but to the science of all sciences, the knowledge of the Divine Being, they, as a nation, have never given their attention.

Hwaenantze, a celebrated Chinese author, discoursing upon cosmogony, says; "Heaven was formless, an utter chaos; and the whole mass was nothing but confusion. Order was first produced in the pure ether; out of the pure ether the universe came forth; the universe produced the air; the air, the milky way. When the pure male principle, yang, had been diluted, it formed the heavens. The heavy and thick parts coagulated and formed the earth. The refined particles united very soon, but the union of those that were thick and heavy went on very slowly; therefore the heavens came into existence first, and the earth afterwards. From the subtle essence of heaven and earth, the dual principles, yang and yin, were formed. The joint operation of yang and yin produced the four seasons; and the four seasons putting forth their generative power, gave birth to all the products of the earth. The warm air of the yang, being condensed, produced fire; and the finest parts of fire formed the sun. The cold air of the yin, being likewise condensed, produced water; and the finest parts of the watery substance formed the moon. By the seminal influence of the sun and moon, the stars were produced. Heaven was adorned with the sun, moon, and stars; the earth has received rain, rivers, and dust."

This is perhaps the most rational theory of cosmogony the sages of China have been able to furnish. The orthodox creed taken from the Yihking, teaches nothing but absurd materialism. "Heaven operates, earth produces, and all things come into existence, &c." Letsze tells us, that "all that has shape, heaven and earth included, was produced by something shapeless, and that the visible world was produced by successive revolutions."

The Woo yun-leih neën ke is still more curious in its theory. "When the primeval vapors and ether germinated, there was a commencement of things; heaven and earth were separated; the male and female principles came into existence; the yang scattered the primeval ether, the yin conceived, and man was produced by their union. The firstborn was Pwankoo. At the approach of death, his body was transformed; his breath was changed into wind and clouds; his voice, into thunder; his left eye, into the sun; and his right, into the moon; his limbs became the four regions (poles); his blood and serum, rivers; his sinews and arteries, the earth's surface; his flesh, fields; his beard, the stars; his skin and hair, herba and trees; his teeth and bones, metals and rocks; his fine marrow, pearls and precious stones; his dropping sweat, rain; and the insects which stuck to his body, became people!"

Our readers will be weary of such nonsense, and we omit various other remarks of the sages respecting Pwankoo. Nor will we trespass upon their patience by giving a detailed account of this mythological era. Philosophers a little more rational divide this period into ten decades which are distinguished by the names of the emperors, who, they say, then ruled the world. Yet they say that China became at a very early period, an empire not unlike what it is at present. Long before the time of Adam, there were academies, and observatories; and the political constitution of the country was so well defined, and so perfect, that very little room remained for improvement!

We cordially agree with Yangtze in his opinion respecting these remote periods, when he says, "who knows the affairs of remote antiquity, since no authentic records have come down to us? He who examines these stories, will find it difficult to believe them, and careful scrutiny will convince him that they are without foundation. In the primeval ages no historical records were kept. Why then, since the ancient books that described those times were burnt by the first emperor of the Tsin dynasty, should we misrepresent those remote ages, and satisfy ourselves with vague fables? But as every thing (heaven and earth excepted) must have a beginning and a cause; it is clear that heaven and earth always existed, and that all sorts of men and beings were produced and endowed with their various qualities (by that cause). But it must have been man, who in the beginning produced all things (on earth); and whom we may therefore view as the lord. It is from him that rulers derive their dignities."

As long as Yangtze endeavors to refute the opinions of others, he is rational, but when he would establish his own theory, he falls into the very same error for which he condemns them. O that we may

learn to prize more highly the revelation of our God, and be the more thankful for this precious gift, when we see the greatest philosophers, while left without this divine light, groping in darkness and able to utter nothing better than absurdities and contradictions.

On examining the writings of various Chinese philosophers who have written respecting this period, we find them by no means inferior to their Grecian contemporaries. But they have less imagination, and therefore do not succeed so well in making the creations of their own fancy pass off as well founded theories. All they aim at in respect to style, is to express their thoughts in quaint, measured language, and the reader often finds no small difficulty in understanding their speculations. Instead of allowing that common mortals had any part in the affairs of the world, they speak only of the emperors who then reigned. They represent them as the sources from which the whole order of things emanated, and other antediluvians as mere puppets who moved at the pleasure of the autocrat. This is truly Chinese. The whole nation is represented by the emperor and absorbed in him. It is considered as the material of which he is the manufacturer, by whose agency it is to be formed for use. If we view Chinese history from this point, and always remember that this is the leading principle which pervades all the writings of Chinese historians, we shall be able to enter more fully into the spirit of their narrations.

There is a great deal of confusion in the history of the times preceding Yaou and Shun (about 2250 B. C.). The great improvements made by Fuhhe, Shinnung, and Hwangte, the first of whom reigned about 2830 B. C., precluded the possibility of any further beneficial changes in the government: nevertheless Yaou was not only a reformer, but the founder of a new order of things! Did the deluge mentioned in the Shooking sweep away the inhabitants of China, so that nothing but jungle covered the ground, and a few new settlers from the west contest the possession of the wilderness with the wild beasts? There was surely nothing left, when Yaou came upon the stage, of the high state of civilization attributed to the nation before the flood. They were half savages, almost entirely ignorant of the arts of civilized life. Yaou does not appear to have known that the people were formerly in so flourishing a state. He has to invent for them the necessary arts and to goad them into the practice of them: Whether he is a fictitious character or not, he is represented as having followed those principles of government which every man of sound judgment must approve. His discourses to his statesmen; which are doubtless the production of Confucius, are short and energetic, but so obscure that they often leave the reader to guess their import. Many passages can be explained in different ways, and a look at the ponderous volumes of commentators will convince any one, that the interpretation depends in a great degree upon the fancy of the reader. Yet from this work Chinese writers generally have copied continually, and they regard it as containing the quintessence of all their wisdom.

The dynasties of Heä, Shang, and Chow, which continued from
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the time of Yaou till the year 255 B. C. are described as having been very similar in their leading features. Their history, except the latter part of the Chow dynasty, was written by the prince of literature, Confucius. He had surely no inventive mind; his thoughts are uniform, and his discourses always aim at the same point. Had he permitted others to think for themselves, Chinese genius naturally vigorous, might have been as varied in its developments, as that of other nations; but Yaou and Shun are his constant theme, and all his philosophical followers seem to know nobody else but Yaou and Shun.

The mass of historical materials relating to this long period is very great. Many of the writers deserve more credit than their great predecessor; they show a better acquaintance with the human heart, and have made their histories more interesting. But who can equal the peerless Confucius? We might as well expect a Tacitus to appear in England, or a Thucydides in Germany. The Chow dynasty occupies the attention of these writers more than any other, on account of its longer continuance, and its having been the age of sages, and its greater proximity to their own time, and the change which succeeded it, in the establishment of despotism on the ruins of feudalism. There is certainly more that is valuable to be found in the Chinese records than in the annals of ancient Egypt, and to obtain it, we are not obliged to waste our time and patience in deciphering hieroglyphics; but may read it in a language which with a few alterations is spoken at the present time. Translations will be sure to fail of expressing the beauty of the original and will disgust the reader. We wish particularly to recommend for examination the *Kwöyu* and the *Yeihshe*, two works of high renown among the Chinese; the former for its classical beauties, and the latter for the extensive information it gives upon every subject relating to Chinese history and literature. The compiler of the *Yeihshe* has shown an excellent taste; his selections from all the most celebrated ancient authors are very appropriate and throw much light upon the literature of China.

Che Hwangte, who is so generally hated by the Chinese historians, was endowed with a vigorous mind, and was far superior to any of his predecessors. But his ruling passion was a love for conquest and glory, to which he sacrificed the welfare of the nation. Had his talents and resolution been guided by better principles he might have renovated China and placed the nation on an equality with Persia, Greece, or Rome. The princes of the Han dynasties were almost continually engaged in feuds. But Chinese genius was not then extinct; it produced works which have been the wonder of all the succeeding ages. There is a surprising number of historical works which narrate the events of those times with more minuteness than the best Grecian historians do the transactions of their country. It would require years to peruse them all; but the most important part of their contents may be found in the works of various compilers who have extracted from, and abridged these original writers.

The succeeding reigns down to the time of the Tang dynasty comprise perhaps the least interesting period of Chinese history. But if we have patience to trace the feuds of Greece and Rome, we cannot well complain of the trouble of examining the annals of China, which are very similar, and furnish information of at least equal value. A very erroneous idea has generally been entertained respecting this nation. We have been led to consider them the most peaceful people in the world, and to suppose that they have enjoyed a state of almost uninterrupted tranquillity for ages. On the contrary they have been as quarrelsome as any other people on earth. Their battles have been as sanguinary as any which history records. But they have excelled rather in butchering without mercy their vanquished enemies, and in plundering and laying waste the districts they have conquered, than in hard fought battles. We find, therefore, few examples of real heroism, but many instances of inhuman cruelty.

The struggle against the Tartar hordes on the north and west became very violent during the Tang and Sung dynasties, and ended in the submission of the whole of China to the Mongols about A. D. 1280. This period is highly interesting. Chinese writers have dwelt much upon the reigns of the emperors who held the throne during these times of commotion, and we find in their works abundant materials for a history of this period. But for composing a history of the Mongol dynasty we ought to have recourse to foreign helps, as the Chinese writers say comparatively little respecting it. They consider the family which then reigned as usurpers sprung from the barbarians who first laid waste the celestial empire, and then trampled 'the flowery nation' under foot. Kublai, however, has his biographers and historians among the Chinese, but none of them equal Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler, in the interest of their narratives.

To make ourselves acquainted with the Ming dynasty, the Chinese can afford us one work of more than 60 volumes; but there are few collateral writers. It is a remarkable fact that during the time the princes of the Tang and Sung dynasties reigned, literature, which was almost extinct in Europe, flourished in China; and that when it revived in Europe in the 15th century, it began to decline in this empire.

The Chinese dare not yet publish their observations upon the present dynasty. But this is a leaden age and little can be expected from the emperor's privileged historians. The Roman catholic missionaries have given us much valuable information, but we have to regret that they are tedious and partial. Augustus himself could never have found better panegyrists, than Kanghe, Yungching and Keenlung, have found in these foreigners. The first of these emperors deserved high encomiums, though not so high as the Jesuits bestowed upon him; but the two latter did little to justify the praises they received. The Chinese work *Tunghwa luh*, which continues a dry narrative of events down to the time of Yungching, has very little to recommend it and only exists in manuscript. No depth of thought, no sagacity of remark adorns its pages; it is a fair specimen of the inferior literature of the present time.

We subjoin a list of some of the most celebrated Chinese historians. Confucius wrote the *Shooking* and the *Chuntsew*. The former is a history of the reigns of Yaou and the succeeding emperors; the latter is an account of his own times, and though written expressly to reform the manners of the age, it is the least interesting of all Chinese history. Szema Tseên, who lived a little before the commencement of the Christian era, holds the next place among the historians of China. He deserves to be called the father of Chinese history; the annals compiled by him embrace the whole period between the time of Hwangte and that of the Tsin dynasty. The first Tsin dynasty obtained supremacy about 221 B. C.; the other Tsin, about A. D. 280.

Koo E completed the history of the Tsin dynasty; while Tung Chungshoo composed a biography of sages, and Lew Heäng a history of celebrated women. Pan Pew composed a history of the western Han dynasty; but having died before its completion, the finishing hand was put to it by his sister Pan Chaou. Fuh Yen wrote another history of the same dynasty. Lew Chin wrote biographies of ministers of state; Ying Shaou wrote upon the customs and usages of his time; and Wän Ying published a work of 132 volumes upon the history of the western Han dynasty. Soo Lin wrote an equally voluminous work upon the same subject. Wei Chaou wrote a history of the Woo state, and Yu Fan composed the *Kwöyu*, a commentary upon history. All these writers lived in the time of the Han dynasties.

In the time of the next dynasty, a history of the San kwö or three states succeeding Han, was ably written by Chin Show, while Hwa Keaou wrote 'the annals of Han.' We have also a particular history of the Wei state, which together with the Woo state mentioned above, arose in the last days of the Han dynasty; and a system of chronology written about the same time by Lew Paou. Kwö Pö, a very celebrated character, furnished his countrymen with a history completed by Szema Seängjoo. Wang Yin wrote a history of the Tsin dynasty in 90 volumes, and Seih Tsöche composed a work of 54 volumes upon the Tsin and Han dynasties. Several others wrote upon the same periods with more or less success. This long list of writers all lived under the Tsin dynasty.

Seay Lingyun wrote a complete history of the last named dynasty, while Shün Yö wrote upon both the Tsin and Sung dynasties, and Lew Chaou undertook a history of the former Han, which had already employed the pen of so many writers, and composed a work of 180 volumes.

The several dynasties which held the throne of China, each for a short period, between the time of the Tsin and Tang dynasties were not very full of able historians. When the Tang dynasty came to the throne, literature again began to revive. Wei Ching, Changsun Woake, Linghoa Tihfun, and Le Yenshow, composed voluminous histories of the period immediately preceding that of the Tang dynasty. Lew Cheke, a very learned man, wrote a general history of his nation in 49 volumes, and Le Tihyu wrote upon the favorite subject, the Han dynasty.

The only historian during the reign of the Woo tae, was Lew Heu, who wrote a complete history of the Tang dynasty. The Woo tae found an able historian in Le Kang. Foo Peih imitated his predecessor Lew Heu in writing an account of the Tang family, and he again was followed by Sun Foo. Ngowyang Sew wrote upon the Han dynasty, and added a history of the Woo tae. Soo Sheih reviewed these works, and published a more correct account of the Tang dynasty; and his brother Soo Che wrote comments upon ancient history. Lew Mei wrote a history of all the preceding dynasties. Fan Tsooyu, with the assistance of a friend composed a general history, and gave a brief account of the Tang dynasty, and that of Sung till his own time; and Lew Chang and two others of the same family endeavored to correct all errors in the existing histories of the preceding ages. Several other writers of inferior note flourished during this period. But taste and talent were on the decline in the latter part of the Sung dynasty, and most historiographers were satisfied with criticising and abridging the productions of their predecessors, upon which they were very profuse in their commentaries. We will not burden the memory of our readers with the names of these inferior men. But honorable mention may be made of Lo Peih, a very learned man, of the patriot general Heung Ho, and of Kin Leutseäng, an imperial historian who retired from office upon the successful invasion of the Tartars, and composed general histories of their nation. During the reign of the Mongols, no great historians appeared.

Sung Leën, who lived in the time of the Ming dynasty, published in conjunction with Wang Wei, a work of 210 volumes upon the Yuen dynasty. A better work concerning the Mongol emperors is a continuation of their history, written by Hoo Tsuychung and Leäng Yin. They had several followers, who wrote upon the same subject with more or less ability. The iron age of the Ming dynasty, when historians ceased to think for themselves abunds, in compilers, who repeated almost verbatim what their predecessors had written. Some, however, compiled general histories. Among these, Chaou Leën and Chin Jinseih deserve much credit for revising the ancient histories, reducing them to a convenient size, and correcting the errors which had crept into them during the lapse of so many ages.

The present period is one of compilation 'by authority' rather than of literary investigation. Of this nature is the history of the Ming dynasty, written with as much impartiality as could be expected from conquerors. One good work, to which we have often occasion to refer, has however been produced under the present dynasty, without the aid of imperial patronage. It is the *Kangkeën e che luh*, or 'history made easy.' Its compilers (for original writing has ceased in China,) were Woo Tsoosae and two brothers of the name of Chow. Its reduced size renders it easy for reference, though frequently uninteresting from too cursory a detail of facts.

ART. III. *Chinese pirates; Ching Chelung; his son Ching Ching-kung; combination of gangs in 1806; narratives of J. Turner, and Mr. Glasspoole; Chinese and Portuguese join their forces against the pirates; divisions among them, and their submission to government.*

The private sea-robber is universally regarded as the common enemy of mankind, his life is detested and his death unlamented. There are forcible and peculiar reasons for this unanimous consent of civilized men, which constitutes the pirate an utter outlaw. For he takes his stand upon the only highway between the continents and nations of the world, there to appropriate to himself the property of peaceable men, at the peril and often at the expense of their lives. Thus, for his own selfish purposes, he makes this only communication between the parts of the human family, which the Father of all designed for mutual friendship and profit, a scene of danger and bloodshed. Nor does an occasional and capricious show of generosity on the part of the freebooter avail to reclaim his name from the general execration. So revolting is the thought of a violent death or robbery on the remote waters of the ocean, that he reasonably becomes the dread of the unarmed merchantman. Nor to him only; for the suspense of those who remain secure at home, and wait in vain for the long delayed return of beloved friends, is so painful, that no wonder the memory of the marauder of the sea is detested. The helpless case of the devoted ship and crew when once in his reach, conspires with the absence of all other human witnesses, to justify summary, signal punishment on the once detected pirate. In the city of Canton last August, twenty-three persons were beheaded in one day for this crime, and such executions are not unfrequent here. From the belief that it will illustrate the condition of the Chinese navy, and the state of the empire, we will attempt a sketch of two or three remarkable periods in the history of Chinese freebooters.

From time immemorial, the southern Chinese coast has been infamous for the robberies on its waters. But beyond and across the China sea, the inhabitants of the Sooloo and other islands in the southeast are the most notorious pirates; and under the name of Sooloos claim the waters of the Philippines as their proper field for plunder. On the southwest, the Malays seem to be the chief, and extend their depredations from Java, Sumatra, and Malacca up as far as Cochin-China. No ship is secure from their attacks at the present day, without carrying and displaying guns; nor even then if she unfortunately gets aground or becalmed. The southern Chinese coast is so well suited to the reception and protection of pirates, that it is not surprising the adjacent seas have never been clear of them. The innumerable islands, and the numerous outlets and inlets, which really make a large portion of land near the sea insular, the intricate passages, hidden harbors, and numerous shoals, altogether make the

extirpation of these pirates a work of no ordinary difficulty for any government. The extreme poverty of the lower classes of people, and their habits of aquatic life favor the increase of such gangs, while the weakness and venality of the imperial navy render easy their escape from deserved punishment.

The first foreign traders came to China in 1517. They anchored their ships at Sanshan, about fifty miles southwest of Macao; but while the commander was engaged in traffic at Canton, his ships at Sanshan were attacked by pirates, and he was obliged to return and defend them. Several years subsequent to this, the Portuguese were allowed to commence their settlement at Macao; and if we may credit their accounts, which some dispute, the occasion of the extraordinary permission was as follows. Under a celebrated leader, the pirates had become unusually annoying to the Chinese, and even threatened the provincial city, while Macao and its vicinity afforded easy shelter to the marauders. The Chinese officers therefore offered the Portuguese the privilege of founding an establishment on the island, upon the condition of their destroying the pirates. This the Portuguese undertook and accomplished, and were accordingly allowed to build upon the island where they had slain the piratical chief.

From this event we pass down to the time of the Mantchou conquest. During that turbulent period, a succession of piratical and naval chiefs arose and gained a temporary importance, which places their names in the history of the empire. Like the Buccaneers of America, these chiefs were partly patriotic and wholly piratical. Ching Chelung has already been mentioned in former pages of the Repository; but his remarkable career deserves a fuller notice. He rose to importance about 1640, and for near ten years acted a distinguished part in the maritime operations of the Chinese during the Tartar conquest. According to Du Halde and others, he was a native of the province of Fuhkeen, born of obscure parents. In early life he was in the service of the Portuguese at Macao, where he was baptized into the Christian religion by the name of Nicholas Gaspard. Subsequently he was employed by the Dutch at Formosa, where he was known to foreigners by the name of Kwan. Thence he repaired to Japan, where he entered the service of a wealthy merchant, as commander of his trading vessels to Cochinehina, &c.; but hearing of his employer's death, he applied to his own use the property in his hands, and purchased armed vessels. "After this," says the historian, "he became a pyrat; but being of quick and nimble wit, he grew from this small and slender fortune to such a height of power, as he was held either superior or equal to the emperor." In alliance with another commander, he plundered all ships which came in his way. The emperor unable to reduce these chiefs by force, attempted it by stratagem. He wrote a letter to each separately, but at the same time, expressing his high sense of the services which each might render to their country, and inviting each to subdue the other, promising him as a recompense the office of commander of the coasts, and high admiral of the seas. Ching Chelung instantly attacked his fellow-

pirate, vanquished and killed him, and took many of his fleet and crews into his own service. Then he went to meet the imperial fleet, which not daring to attack him, were glad to congratulate him on his success. Protected by the emperor's letter which clothed him with the office of admiral of the sea, he commenced his functions indeed, and for once the emperor's stratagem overdid the business. For the pirate, now no longer a *pirate*, had the trade to India in his hand. He dealt with the Portuguese at Macao; with the Spanish at Manila; with the Dutch on Formosa; with the Japanese, and with kings and princes of these eastern countries. He permitted none but himself or his creatures to enter on this lucrative trade. All the trading vessels of the empire he required to obtain a pass from him, for which he exacted enormous sums, and by means of which he stopped the mouths of complainants at Peking. "On one occasion he went ashore at Canton, where the imperial officers had withheld a part of his revenue as admiral; entered their populous city with only 6000 of his men; erected a tribunal, and having summoned those officers into his presence, compelled them to pay instantly the sum required; he then gave them receipts, and retired to his fleet without any obstruction."

The general history of China by P. Mailla varies a little from this account, and is much more full respecting the life of this celebrated chief. According to Mailla, Ching Chelung belonged to the district of Tseuenchow (Chinchew) in Fuhkeën. His father was one of the guards of the royal treasury in Tseuenchow, an employment scarcely affording the necessaries of life for himself and his family. The son, Ching Chelung, (whom for convenience we will call by his surname *Ching*,) was early distinguished for beauty of person, vivacity of manners, and promptness in acting. When Ching was of age to embark in the world, himself and his brother joined the pirate Yen Chin, who then possessed an island, and from thence plundered the passing merchant vessels; with him they passed many years in this hopeful apprenticeship, and during this period, he may have been at Macao and Japan engaged in trade. On the death of Yen Chin, the pirates assembled to choose another chief, and twice the lot fell on Ching. He therefore received the command, and became the terror of the seas. The prizes which he took enabled him to equip a fleet at his own expense, to bid defiance to the imperial ships, and gave him the command of the sea coasts of Kwangtung, Fuhkeën, and Chökeäng.

Tsungching the last emperor of the Ming dynasty sent against him the governor of Fuhkeën. He took the opposite course from his predecessors. He made advances to the pirate chief, and sought his friendship; he permitted supplies to be furnished for his fleet; and Ching in return, with equal generosity, exempted the coast of Fuhkeën from plunder. The governor having thus gained his confidence, and learned his ambition, in a private letter to him, praised his spirit, his valor, and experience, and declared that such talents would entitle him to a place of more renown in the service of his

country. The answer was quite to the point. "He was ready to return to his duty, if the court would assure him of the rank which he thought himself able to obtain, secure to himself and his followers the free enjoyment of their riches, and such employment in the imperial service as would enable them to prove their zeal and valor." The court readily granted his demand.

One of his captains, however, was dissatisfied with this submission, and formed a considerable party of the discontented, who under him as a new leader carried on their old trade. They chiefly distressed the commerce of Tseuenchow, the native place of Ching; he on his part was commissioned, on the true Chinese principle of 'setting a thief to catch a thief,' to destroy the pirate, his old comrade. He faithfully executed the commission. Not long after, however, the pirates again made head under Leaou Yang; and there was no other relief found than the very dubious one of sending Ching and his forces against him. He met the pirate "nothing loath," and the action between them lasted all day, and at sunset remained undecided. Then one of Ching's fleet grappled with the pirate's own ship, resolved to capture or perish. Leaou Yang finding his escape impossible, determined to fire the magazine and destroy the enemy with himself. But his adversary discovered his design just in time to cast off the grapplings and shove off, when a jet of flame shot up from the pirate's vessel, destroying both it and himself. Many of the remaining fleet were captured, Ching returned in triumph, and for a time there was peace upon the seas.

Ching had now reached his highest honors; he possessed immense wealth, and was master of a numerous fleet, commanded by captains entirely devoted to his will. His favor was an object of importance to all the rival and contending parties in China at that time. The prince Fuh, on mounting the imperial throne at Nanking, did not disdain to give in marriage a princess of the blood to the son of Ching. All this tide of favor was too much for the ambition of that fortunate chief. He became disloyal towards the emperor, and supported the rival pretensions of one of the royal princes who declared himself emperor. "His design," says the historian, "doubtless was by espousing the claims of the most unpopular claimant of the empire, to make way for himself to power, when the usurping emperor should be disowned by the Chinese." But we ought to be on our guard against ascribing too much efficacy to such a cause; for it seems to be the tendency of Chinese historians, when they have once found an acknowledged bad character, to ascribe to him all the evils, past, present and future, which occurred at any time near the appearance of such a monster. When the Manchous had made great advances into the country, Ching was emboldened to throw off the mask; he proposed to the usurping emperor to adopt his own son; him who was afterwards the far famed Koxinga. The proposal was haughtily rejected by the usurper, who was therefore abandoned by Ching, and soon slain by the Tartars on their breaking into Fuhkeen.

When they advanced upon Tseuenchow, the chief yielded to the

solicitations of his family and to the promises of the enemy, and made his submission to the Tartar general. The latter, well knowing his importance and his ambition, treated him with the utmost distinction, and put him off his guard. When he was about to go to Peking, and Ching had come ashore unguarded to honor the general at his departure, he began to invite the chief to accompany him to court, where he might be adequately rewarded. Ching said he was unworthy of such honor: the general thought not, and, 'nolens volens,' politely compelled his attendance at Peking. And to Peking they went in 1640. This news spread consternation throughout the fleet; the captains hastily withdrew to sea, yet determined to commit no open hostilities, but wait in hope of the return of their chief from court. Vain hope! He never returned. When Koxinga learned by his spies at Peking, that his father was so guarded that escape was impossible, he vowed himself the implacable enemy of the Manchous. And well did he redeem that early vow. He began again to ravage the coasts; and of all the bloody wars of the conquest, his was the most cruel.—His name was Ching Chingkung; but his more familiar appellation was Kwöshing, which is in Portuguese spelling Koxing, and with a Latin termination, Koxinga. His wars with the Dutch and capture of Formosa were described at large in the sketch of that island in our last volume.

Koxinga continued a destructive system of piracy on the sea, and of marauding on the land till 1650. No force attempted to restrain him to any considerable extent, and he was indeed a free rover, plundering alike the Tartars and his countrymen who had been compelled to submit to them. But in 1650 when the Tartars had arrived in Kwángtung, and were approaching to Canton, the governor requested his aid to defend the provincial city. Here were gathered together the remains of the Chinese armies: says the historian, "the city was so well defended during nearly eight months that the enemy was thrice on the point of abandoning the siege. They were not practiced in naval warfare, and Koxinga made such slaughter among them, that notwithstanding the reinforcements which filled the place of the slain, they could not make themselves masters of the city, till they were led in by treachery through the north gate. Ching Chingkung then withdrew with his fleet from Canton, and resumed his cruising on the seas."

When all the provinces were reduced to obedience and quiet, Koxinga alone withstood the imperial arms, and still maintained himself sole master on the waters. In the year 1653 he made a descent on Amoy with the design of besieging Haeching. The Tartars also hastened to its succor, and the two fleets met before the town. Little did the undisciplined valor of the Tartars avail against the heavy and well directed fire from Koxinga's cannon; who, taking advantage of their disorder pressed briskly on them, slew seven or eight thousand, and put the rest to flight. He then returned and carried the town by a general assault, ordering all who were found with arms in their hands to be cut in pieces, but prohibiting injury to the peaceable inha-

bitants. He repaired the walls and fortified the place for himself with many large cannon. The imperial officers who were charged with the defense of the coast, affrighted at their losses in this battle, retired for safety into the strong fortresses, leaving the exposed and plain country open to his ravages. Meanwhile Koxinga levied his contributions upon the departments of Changchow and Tseuenchow; the small towns and villages he sacked, and transported immense booty to his ships. But while he was delayed in pillaging different places in the vicinity of Tseuenchow, reinforcements from Peking arrived which compelled him to retreat to his ships, and with the loss of his plunder.

Again in 1655, he made a descent upon the departments of Tseuenchow and Hinghwa, which he robbed, and carried the spoils to his fleet. The Tartars chagrined at their inability to restrain a pirate, asked for additional force 'to keep the people in subjection.' It was granted, and the coast so thickly garrisoned, that any descent upon land was both dangerous and unprofitable, while he had crushed the trade too effectually to leave him adequate supplies from his prizes. Koxinga therefore formed the design of making himself master of the province of Keängnan. For this purpose he first fortified the island of Tsungming, and gained some other places with the design of securing to himself the mouth of the great river, Yangtze-keäng. Then he proceeded up the river with a fleet of more than 800 sail, and attempted the siege of the provincial city, Nanking. The governor of the city was prepared for a siege, and met the assailants on land. He commanded a sortie with a few thousand chosen men to be tried against the rebel camp. According to the Tartar mode of warfare, they were going to the charge full tilt with bow and arrow in hand; but espied two squadrons of Koxinga's cavalry coming in their rear to cut off their return to the city. This turned them back at once to assail the Chinese cavalry, where if we may fully credit the account, they were met so vigorously that they entered the gates again indeed, but with the loss of more than half their number. The Tartars attempted no more sorties.

But when the army of Koxinga gave themselves up to dissipation and revelry in celebrating their leader's birthday, the besieged came upon them at night, and found the camp in disorder, and the soldiers lost in wine and sleep. The assault was so sudden and furious that more than 3000 Chinese were killed, and the rest compelled to re-embark with the loss of their tents, arms, and all their booty. This was a ruinous blow to the vanquished. Koxinga now despairing of success, and expecting more troops also from Peking, again took to the sea. Wearied at length with the insults of this single chief, the imperial court resolved, in 1659, to equip a fleet which should effectually silence the dreaded sea-robber. It was prepared accordingly, and Koxinga spared them the trouble of seeking him. He ordered his men to aim their shot between wind and water, by which means he sunk a large part of the imperial fleet, and captured a still larger number. The 4000 prisoners whom he took, he sent ashore after

cutting off their noses and ears. When returned to Peking, these mutilated wretches were still more cruelly treated by the emperor than by the pirate; they were all put to death, because they had suffered themselves to be captured.

Koxinga having now heard the sad end of the last of the Ming family, seeing no prospect that the people would declare in his favor as he had hoped, and finding his own attempts both dangerous and fruitless, turned his eyes from China to seek some other asylum and dominion. The account of his seizure and government of Formosa is already in the hands of our readers. But while engaged in founding his kingdom in that beautiful island, he did not cease to distress the inhabitants on the coast, and to draw thence his supplies. This repeated and insufferable course of robbery and slaughter drew at last from the imperial court a most extraordinary order, in 1662. The four regents during Kanghe's minority were utterly at a loss how to check these depredations. Force had been tried in vain, and the memory of the wretched 4000 was too fresh to hope any thing by new forces. At length they issued the imperial order, that "all the people upon the coasts of the maritime provinces should remove themselves and their effects into the interior to the distance of thirty *le*, (about twelve English miles,) from the shore, on penalty of death; also that the islands be abandoned, and commerce utterly cease." This violent edict was actually carried into effect. All the rich and populous cities upon the coast were deserted, the villages fell to ruins and disappeared. The commissioners who were to see to the execution of this order, would have compelled Macao also to share the same fate, but for the timely intercession of Adam Schaal at Peking, who represented that Macao could defend itself against the pirates. That town alone was saved. Koxinga died in the following year, and his son did not inherit his father's spirit; yet it was seven years before this order was revoked, and the people allowed to return to their deserted abodes upon the shore. In 1683, Formosa was surrendered to the emperor Kanghe by the grandson of Koxinga, and thus ended the name and dominion of the once dreaded and revengeful Ching Chingkung.

The next piratical epoch in China, was about twenty-five years ago, in 1810. It is not meant to intimate by this that during all that interval the seas were quiet, and as the Chinese express it, "free from foam," but only to designate another period, when the free-booters rose above all restraint from government, and became again the terror of the seas. The proximity of this period to the present time permits us to gain more accurate knowledge of the piratical forces, laws, and discipline, than can be learned from the earlier accounts. For we have a Chinese and Portuguese history, besides the narratives of two English officers, who fell into the hands of the pirates.

Ladrones is the Portuguese name given to the fishing, thieving, and piratical Chinese who inhabit the coasts, and the islands in the vicinity of Macao. Their profession varies according to the severity

or the mildness of the season, and according to their success in the piscatory department. But at the period to which we have alluded, there was a great force collected, and a regular system of free-booting had grown up. At first, they had commenced with row-boats, few in number, but manned by 20, 40, and even 60 men. To these were afterwards added captured junks, both merchantmen and of the imperial navy; and their audacity increased with their numbers. But their character and force can best be learned from the written narratives of their unfortunate prisoners; and by comparing these with the Chinese account of "scattering the foam of the sea," we may be able to present the reader one connected story.

Mr. Turner, chief mate of the English country ship *Tay*, was taken by the pirates in Dec. 1806, and detained among them more than five months. It appears that he left the ship a short distance below Macao, designing to go thither in the cutter to obtain a pilot. He took with him six *Lascars* and two muskets, and when more than two-thirds of the distance was passed, they met a junk apparently coming out from Macao. She sent off a boat, which it was supposed might be a comprador's boat, till it was too late to correct their mistake. The pirates boarded the cutter, stabbed a *Lascar*, and struck at Mr. Turner, who avoided the blow by jumping overboard. He was taken up and carried aboard the junk, where he ascertained to his dismay that he was among the *ladrones*. They were immediately plundered of all they had, and carried before the chief of the piratical fleet. The ransom demanded was at first \$3000; then \$10,000, without which they were constantly threatened with death; but after a month, in which he received no answer to his repeated letters to his friends at Macao and Canton, \$30,000 was demanded, which they declared that the Chinese officers, and not the English would pay. A sufficient reason for this silence is the probable fact that the letters were not delivered, and the constant movements of the fleet which carried Mr. Turner with them in all their plundering excursions, prevented for a long time any answer. In forty days after his capture he received from the captain a letter offering \$500 ransom, with threats of vengeance on the *ladrones*, in case of refusal. The only effect was to increase the danger and the ill usage of their captive. A Chinese boat was now taken between Canton and Macao, with twenty-two passengers, "with one of whom named Afoo," says the narrator, "I soon formed a friendship, which afforded me no small consolation during the rest of my captivity. Sometimes we would bewail together our hard fate; at others, encourage each other with hopes of release. I must not omit to mention the kind treatment which Afoo and myself experienced from the purser of the junk in which we were. This man had been taken by the *ladrones* about three years before, and not having money to ransom himself, had accepted the situation which he then held, in hope one day or other to procure his enlargement. He often invited us to come into his cabin, and one evening when we were all three together we swore to each other, that the one who might first get released should use every exertion in his power to

procure the release of the others. Afsoo was the fortunate man, having by the generous assistance of Mr. Beale, completed the sum required for his freedom." Two months afterwards, Afsoo returned to the junk with a pass from the chief, aided in the release of the purser, and in the bargain for Mr. Turner's liberation at a ransom of \$2500. At midnight himself and the remaining Lascars were sent away by agreement to a boat from the hon. company's cruiser Discovery, which paid the ransom and received the joyful captives.

"During this captivity of five and a half months," adds Mr. T. "my fare was the same as that of the common Chinese, and for the most part consisted of coarse red rice with a little salt fish. At night the space allowed me to sleep in, was never more than about eighteen inches wide and four feet long. For the first few days I was used kindly, but afterwards my treatment was very indifferent. Several times have I been struck and kicked by the lowest of the ladrones. Often was I threatened with cruel death, till at last their threats almost failed to intimidate me; though I was well aware that I had nothing to hope either from the justice or mercy of these unprincipled robbers."

From the narrative of Mr. Turner, corroborated by other sources of information, we can obtain a pretty good idea of the force and habits of these rovers. The total number of vessels engaged in piracy on the south coast of China at that time, he estimated at 500 or 600 sail. These were of every size from 15 to 200 tons, but the majority were from 70 to 150, and noways distinguishable in external appearance from merchantmen. The largest carried twelve guns, from six to eighteen pounders; but as their numbers and their captures increased, it was found in 1810, that vessels of twenty or twenty-five guns were in their fleets. Their hand arms were pikes, with bamboo shafts from fourteen to eighteen feet long; these they throw at a distance like javelins; they have also a shorter species with shafts of solid wood, the iron part similar to the blade of a dirk slightly recurved and made sharp on one or both edges; they also use short swords scarcely exceeding eighteen inches in length. Like the guns of the Chinese forts and men of war, those of the ladrones are mounted on carriages without trucks, having neither breechings or tackles; and being all run out right abeam, never pointed fore or aft, they are obliged in making an attack, to wear the vessel in order to bring the guns to bear on the object; a man stands behind with a match, ready to fire as soon as he has a good aim. Having in this way fired their broadside, they haul off to reload. The largest vessels carry one or two hundred men; besides having each a row-boat belonging to them, mounting six or eight small pieces and swivels, and carrying from eighteen to thirty men. The chief use of these is in running close along shore at night, to plunder and destroy villages which do not pay them tribute.

There is no national flag in China, unless the imperial yellow be thus denominated; but so it cannot be, since it is exclusively appropriated to the imperial person and to those who receive authority

from him, whether they are employed in the navy, army, or any other service; the imperial flag cannot be hoisted by any private subject. Hence it is that the flags which fly over the Chinese shipping at Canton on any gala day, are as various as the individual taste or local fashion of the proprietors. The pirates also adopted flags according to the general usage, for mutual recognition and designation. In the time of Turner's captivity, the whole body of ladrone vessels were under the command of five chiefs, independent of each other, whose divisions were distinguished by their several flags. The division by which he was captured, and which at that time was superior to any of the others, had a red triangular flag, with a white scalloped border. The second had a black triangular flag with a white scalloped border. The third, a red square flag without any border. The fourth, a red triangular flag with a plain yellow border; and the fifth had a square flag of blue and white horizontally. But three years after, at the captivity of the second British officer, they were divided into six squadrons, distinguished by the red, yellow, green, blue, black, and white flags. Each division was formed into several squadrons, under inferior chiefs, who were responsible to the chief of division: at times the whole of the squadrons joined their forces, when danger threatened, or any important enterprise engaged their attention.

The nature of their depredations at this time was often witnessed by Turner, and is thus described in his interesting and minute narrative: "All vessels frequenting the coast of China are liable to be attacked by them, excepting such as by paying a tribute to one of the ladrone chiefs, have obtained a pass, which is respected, I believe by all the other divisions. The towns and villages upon the coast, which are not in the neighborhood of any fort, are equally subject to their depredations; and the inhabitants are for the most part glad to compound for their safety by paying a tribute. This tribute is collected from the villages semi-annually, from the boats annually." As a proof how far these passes are respected, it is stated, that the chief of a squadron, having detained and plundered a fishing boat that had a pass, was compelled by his superior chief to restore the boat and pay \$500 damages. When a merchant vessel is captured without resistance, and the crew is not suspected of having secreted any property, she only suffers plunder and detention; but if any resistance has been made, they generally murder some of the crew and cruelly treat the rest; such persons, and other prisoners who cannot or will not ransom themselves, are compelled to unite with the rovers, or suffer the torture which was frequently witnessed by both the English officers: "Being first stripped, the hands are tied behind the back, and a rope from the mast head is then fastened to their joined hands, by which they are raised three or four feet from deck, and several men flog them with a rod made of three twisted rattans, till they are apparently dead; they are then raised to the mast head and left hanging nearly an hour, when they are lowered down, and the punishment repeated till they yield or die." But when any of the imperial boats are taken, all hands are killed at once, except in cases

where they are reserved for more exquisite suffering. "I saw," says our narrator, "one man taken from a mandarin boat, nailed to the deck through his feet with large nails, then beaten with four rattans twisted together till he vomited blood; and after remaining some time in this state, he was taken ashore and cut to pieces." On another occasion, one of their prisoners "was fixed upright, his bowels cut open, and his heart taken out, which they afterwards soaked in spirits and ate. The dead body I saw myself." These atrocities threw such terror over the imperial fleet that they durst not assail these desperadoes, unless with decidedly superior force. All this tended to render the pirates more audacious, till in 1809, it might be almost truly said, the southern sea was their's.

The most distinguished chief of that day was Ching Yih, who had succeeded in combining in himself nearly the sole authority over all the flags. His predecessor in office and piratical dignity, Ching Tseih, once made a figure in the affairs of CochinChina. In the times of the revolution in that country, when three brothers drove the king into China, and were in turn expelled by a younger brother of the king, the assistance of this Ching Tseih, then powerful by sea, had been invited by a son and minister of one of the rebels. He acceded to the request, and uniting with them regained a part of the country. But his pride and cruelty having created him enemies, he was driven from the country and killed. Ching Yih his kinsman then assumed his authority, but was several times beaten, and at length compelled to take entirely to the sea with one of the rebel ministers as subaltern chief under him. Then commenced his successful course of piracy; but his ambition rose with his fortune, "till he aspired," says our Chinese historian, "to no less than royal if not imperial power." But happily in 1807, a typhon buried both himself and his projects in the Chinese sea. Then followed an event unprecedented in freebootery; a woman, the wife of the lost Ching Yih, assumed his authority, appointed her lieutenant, and continued the head of the several divisions. Though the name of the dreaded Chang Paou, her officer, was best known and sounded abroad, "yet," says the historian, "she was the prime mover and director of all." Under her finishing hand the piratical code became a regular system, and some peculiar features in it may doubtless be ascribed to female influence. From the above cited narratives and from the native historian we will recite a few items. No private might go secretly on shore, under the severest penalties. Whenever any property was taken, it was registered and distributed in equal proportion to the ships; none could embezzle on pain of death. Whatever money was found in their prizes was carried to the chief of division, who gave two tenths to the captors, and reserved the remainder for common use. All provisions, stores, and ammunition procured from the country people, were to be honestly paid for on pain of death. The handsomest female captives were reserved for wives and concubines; a few were ransomed, and the most homely returned on shore. Promiscuous intercourse was strictly forbidden.

We cannot here forbear alluding to the translation of our Chinese

historian by the orientalist, Charles Frederic Neumann, to which we are indebted for some of our extracts; in this he makes his author say: "No person shall debauch at his pleasure captive women, taken in the villages and open places, and brought on board a ship; he must first request the ship's putser for permission, and then go aside in the ship's hold." Most delicately said, and ingeniously translated! How much more spirited also, than simply to say with his author: "When captive women are brought on board, no one may debauch them; but their native places shall be ascertained and recorded, and a separate apartment assigned to them in the ship; any person secretly or violently approaching them shall suffer death."

Under this systematic combination, the power and the depredations of the pirates extended so greatly, that orders came from Peiking to the chief local officers to exterminate them—a thing much easier said than done in China. But such orders left the officers no other alternative than to lose their heads, or "in some way or other to brush away this 'foam of the sea,'" so much at least that a report of peace might be dispatched to court. For once it would appear that the government was really bent upon the execution of the command, and the whole prowess of the Chinese navy seems to have been exerted. In the first general engagement with the rovers, twenty-eight imperial junks surrendered in one battle, and the remaining twelve escaped by flight. In two succeeding encounters, the imperial fleet suffered defeat with the loss of twenty-four junks. But victory did not constantly follow the wrong side; for the great admiral Tseut proceeded against them with a hundred sail of all descriptions; from him the pirates escaped, but with a very great loss of vessels and men. But in the admiral's next attack, he lost the battle and his fame together. The pirates assailed him in front and rear. "Then," says the historian, "our squadron was scattered, thrown into disorder, and cut to pieces; there was a tumult which reached the sky; each man fought for his life, and scarcely a hundred remained together. The squadron of the wife of Ching Yih overpowered us by numbers; our lines were broken, and we lost fourteen ships." After another battle with dubious event, at last an admiral was sent against them to conquer or die; but befriended by the numerous fishermen, the rovers surprised him at anchor and defeated him, with the loss of great numbers of his men and twenty-five vessels. The admiral killed himself.

After these repeated disasters the government devised another mode of warfare against the too powerful pirates, viz. to starve them, by cutting off all supplies of provisions. For this purpose all vessels in port were ordered to remain there, and those upon the coast to return immediately. It was in fact, a rigorous embargo. The consequence of this order was the perpetration of atrocious cruelties upon the helpless people on the coast and along the rivers, by the exasperated pirates. For they were now compelled to separate their forces into several squadrons to procure subsistence; the first under command of the female pirate; the second, under her first lieutenant Paeu; another, with Kwō Potae (O-po-tae), &c. It was at this time

that they began to make their appearance in Macao roads, and the river of Canton. The governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse removed and lived at Macao for three months, and according to our Portuguese authority, he resolved to propose a convention with the governor of Macao in order to raise a fleet, which should join the emperor's squadron and exterminate the common enemy. After deep consultation, they fixed upon certain terms of alliance, such as the following: that six Portuguese vessels should be equipped, and unite with the imperial fleet in cruising between Canton and Macao for six months; that the Chinese government contribute 80,000 taels towards defraying the expenses; and last, and never to be forgotten in the hour of Chinese need, that "after the extirpation of the freebooters, the ancient privileges of Macao should be revived." The six ships were accordingly equipped with arms and 730 men.

Such was the posture of affairs, when Mr. Glasspoole, the second British officer to whom we have alluded, unfortunately, fell into the hands of these pirates. He was an officer in the company's ship, Marquis of Ely, and we understand is still living in England. For the extracts from his narrative we are indebted to a recent publication, entitled, 'Lives and Exploits of Robbers, and Banditti.' Mr. G. left his ship about twelve miles from Macao, to proceed thither for a pilot; but the ship meanwhile having weighed anchor, on his return, he could not reach her in consequence of thick and squally weather. "Our boat," says that gentleman, "was very leaky, without a compass, anchor, or provisions, drifting fast on a lee shore, surrounded with dangerous rocks, and inhabited by the most barbarous pirates." After three whole days of suffering, on the fourth morning they fell in with a large fleet of pirates by whom they were captured. "About twenty savage looking rillains," says Mr. Glasspoole, "leaped on board of us; they were armed with a short sword in either hand, one of which they laid upon our necks, and pointed the other to our breasts, keeping their eyes fixed on their officer, waiting his signal to cut or desist. Seeing us incapable of making any resistance, the officer sheathed his sword, and the others immediately followed his example." Mr. Glasspoole was then brought before the chief of the division, who was seated on deck in a large chair, dressed in purple silk, wearing a black turban. On ascertaining that he was an English officer, the chief ordered him to write to his captain, that "if he did not send a hundred thousand dollars for our ransom, in ten days, he would put us all to death." In another interview, the chief, assumed a milder tone and said, "if our captain would lend him \$70,000 till he returned from his cruise up the river, he would repay him, and send us all to Macao." After vain expostulation I accordingly wrote. "They were made captives on September 22, 1809, nearly three years subsequent to the captivity of Mr. Turner.

"At daylight next morning," continues our narrator, "the fleet, amounting to above 500 sail of different sizes, weighed to proceed on their intended cruise up the rivers, to levy contributions on the towns and villages. It is impossible to describe my feelings at this critical

time; having received no answers to my letters, and the fleet being under way to sail hundreds of miles up a country never visited by Europeans, there to remain probably many months, which would render all opportunities of negotiating for our enlargement totally ineffectual; for the only method of communication is by boats that have a pass from the ladrones, and they dare not venture above twenty miles from Macao, being obliged to come and go in the night, to avoid the mandarins; and if they are detected in having any intercourse with the ladrones, they are immediately put to death, and all their relations, though innocent, share in the punishment. Wednesday, the 26th of September, at daylight, we passed in sight of our own ships at anchor under the island of Chuenpe; the chief then called me, pointed to the ships, and told the interpreter to tell us to look at them, for we should never see them again. About noon we entered a river to the westward of the Bogue, (the mouth of the Canton river), three or four miles from the entrance. We passed a large town, situated on the side of a beautiful hill, and which is tributary to the ladrones; the inhabitants saluted them with gongs as they passed."

In this passage up the river, the pirates committed various robberies, levied contributions on towns which submitted to them, or which they could not destroy, and thus proceeded in their destructive work. One instance, as a specimen of many similar atrocities, we quote entire.

"October the 1st, the fleet weighed in the night, dropped by the tide up the river, and anchored very quietly before a town surrounded by a thick wood. Early in the morning the ladrones assembled in row-boats and landed, then gave a shout, and rushed into the town sword in hand. The inhabitants fled to the adjacent hills, in numbers apparently superior to the ladrones. It was a most melancholy sight to see the women in tears, clasping their infants in their arms, and imploring mercy for them from those brutal robbers. The old and the sick who were unable to fly or make resistance, were either made prisoners or most inhumanly butchered; the boats continued passing and re-passing from the junks to the shore in quick succession, laden with booty, and the men besmeared with blood. Two hundred and fifty women and several children were made prisoners and sent on board different vessels. They were unable to escape with the men, owing to the abominable custom of cramping their feet. Twenty of these poor women were put on board the vessel I was in; they were hauled on board by the hair and treated in a most savage manner. When the chief came on board, he questioned them respecting the circumstances of their friends, and demanded ransoms accordingly, from six thousand to six hundred dollars each. He ordered them a berth on deck, at the after part of the vessel, where they had nothing to shelter them from the heat of the day, the cold of night, or the heavy rains. The town being plundered of every thing valuable, it was set on fire, and reduced to ashes by the morning." Here they remained three days, and then and on their return, about one hundred of the women were ransomed; the remainder were offered for sale

among the ladreses at \$40 each. The woman is considered the lawful wife of the purchaser, who would be put to death if he discarded her.

The following incident we quote from our Chinese historian. "Mei-ying the daughter of Yang Kening was very beautiful, and the pirate chieftain wished to possess her; but she railed at him exceedingly. The pirate becoming angry, suspended her to the mast to force her to submission; her railing only increased. He then lowered her down, and having knocked out two of her teeth, so that her mouth was filled with blood, he drew her up again, intending to shoot her. But she feigning consent to his wishes, he lowered her again and unbound her. Ying now spit the blood upon the pirate, then threw herself into the sea and died. **** The following year, after the pirates had been pacified, I passed by the village, Pwanpeenyuë, and moved by the virtue and resolution of Ying and the seizure of the villagers, I wrote an elegiac ode for her as follows." We will present first the translation of the ode as given by Neumann.

"Cease fighting now for a while!
 Let us call back the flowing waves!
 Who opposed the enemy in time?
 A single wife could overpower him.
 Streaming with blood, she grasped the mad offspring of guilt,
 She held fast the man and threw him into the meandering stream.
 The spirit of the water, wandering up and down on the waves,
 Was astonished at the virtue of Ying.
 My song is at an end!
 Waves meet each other continually.
 I see the water green as mountain Peih,
 But the brilliant fire returns no more!
 How long did we mourn and cry!

"I am compelled" says professor Neumann, "to give a free translation of this verse, and confess myself not quite certain of the signification of the poetical figures used by our author." We will subjoin a less free translation.

"The spirit of war has now ceased and vanished away;
 Let us go back in thought, returning like the winding stream.
 Who was there that could then resist the foe,
 When but a single female was found to insult his power?
 With her blood, she spat on the guilty wretch,
 Then despising life, she sunk in the curling waves.
 Her pure ice-like spirit now wanders over the stream—
 Her courageous soul with hesitancy lingers behind.

"My song ended, I still loitered on the spot, and casting a look on all around, I saw the hills retained their blueness, and the sea its azure hue; but the beacon smoke and the shadowing masts return no more. Long I staid disburdening myself of sighs."

It would be too revolting to the feelings to follow the narrator and our Chinese historiann in their detail of the piratical depredations during that dreadful month. For twenty days the freebooters continued their work of desolation along the shores of that river and its branches, wringing out the hard earned tribute from the poor inhabitants, or sweeping away the villages in their uninterrupted course of pillage, violence, and butchery. At the end of that time their work of death was interrupted by the appearance of a large imperial fleet coming up the river to attack them. They met, but the imperial fleet retired with the loss of five sail, eighty-three having made good their retreat. The admiral blew up his own vessel; but the pirates succeeded in getting twenty guns from her. Very few prisoners were taken, the captured crews preferring to drown themselves.

Towards the close of October, Mr. Glasspoole received a letter from his captain assuring him that he should be ransomed at any price, but advising not to offer much at first. He therefore offered to the chief \$3000, which the latter disdainfully refused, and demanded \$10,000 with other presents. When the pirates were now ready to attack a town called little Whampoa, guarded by a small fort and several vessels of war, Mr. Glasspoole was commanded to order his men (of whom he had seven British seamen,) to make ready to go ashore and aid them in battle. Mr. Glasspoole refused, as Mr. Turner had done in similar circumstances. "But on being promised that if he and his men would aid them in taking the place, the chief would accept the money offered for their ransom, and give them twenty dollars for the head of every Chinese, we cheerfully acceded to these proposals, in hopes of facilitating our deliverance." The pirates then attacked the government vessels, cut up the crews, towed the vessels out of the harbor, and again assailed the town with redoubled fury. "The inhabitants fought for about a quarter of an hour, and then retreated to an adjacent hill, from which they were soon driven with great slaughter. After this, the ladrones returned and plundered the town, every boat leaving it when laden. The Chinese on the hills perceiving, that most of the boats were off, rallied and retook the town after killing near 200 ladrones. One of my men was unfortunately lost in this dreadful massacre. The ladrones lauded a second time, drove the Chinese out of the town, then reduced it to ashes, and put all their prisoners to death without regarding either age or sex! The ladrones were paid by their chief ten dollars for every Chinese head they produced, and I was witness to some of them producing five or six to obtain payment."

A few days subsequent to this tragical event, Paou, the admiral of the pirates, sent orders for this squadron to repair immediately to Lantao to his assistance against the Portuguese. They accordingly weighed anchor, and in passing Lintin were chased by three Portuguese ships and a brig, which styled themselves "the invincible squadron, cruising in the Tigris to annihilate the ladrones!" The black and red squadrons now united, but soon again separated; the black standing out to the eastward, and the red being anchored in a

bay under Lantao. Here they were attacked by the Portuguese, while seven junks of the pirates, which were all that were then fit for action, were hauled outside, and moored head and stern across the bay. The Portuguese ships in passing this line, each fired her broadside, but without effect, the shot falling short. The ladrones returned not a shot, but awaited their nearer approach, of which however they were disappointed; for the Portuguese retired, lamenting in their public report, that there was not sufficient water for them to engage closer; yet Mr. Glasspoole declares "the outside junks lay in four fathoms of water, which I sounded myself."

In this bay and at this time there was the best exhibition of skill and force of which we read in all these encounters; for the boasted nine days' blockade called forth the best of these qualities on both sides. "On the 20th of Nov.," says Mr. Glasspoole, "we discovered an immense fleet of mandarin vessels standing for the bay. On nearing us, they formed a line and stood close in, each vessel as she discharged her guns, tacked to join the rear and reload. They kept up a constant fire for about two hours, when one of their largest vessels was blown up by a firebrand thrown from a ladrone junk; after this they kept at a more respectful distance, but continued firing without intermission two days, when it fell calm. The ladrones then towed out seven large vessels with about 200 row-boats to board them; but a breeze springing up, they made sail and escaped. The ladrones returned into the bay and anchored; the Portuguese and mandarins followed, and continued a heavy cannonading during that night and the next day." Again on the third day in the evening, it fell calm, and the same scene was repeated; the ladrones rowed out and succeeded in capturing one vessel mounting twenty-two guns. Again they returned into the bay, the Portuguese and imperialists following and keeping up a constant fire.

"On the night of the eighth day of blockade, they sent in eight fire vessels, which if properly constructed must have done great execution. They came very regularly into the centre of the fleet, two and two, burning furiously; one of them came alongside of the vessel I was in, but they succeeded in booming her off. The ladrones towed them all on shore, extinguished the fire, and broke them up for fire-wood. The Portuguese sent a dispatch to the governor of Macao, stating that they had destroyed at least one third of the ladrones' fleet, and hoped soon to effect their purpose by totally annihilating them. On the 29th of November, the ladrones being all ready for sea, weighed and stood boldly out, bidding defiance to the invincible squadron and the imperial fleet, which consisted of ninety-three war junks, six Portuguese ships, a brig and a schooner. The ladrones chased them two or three hours, keeping up a constant fire; but finding they did not come up with them, they hauled their wind and stood to the eastward. Thus terminated the boasted blockade, which lasted nine days, during which time the ladrones completed all their repairs, lost not a single vessel, and only thirty or forty men. An American was also killed, one of three that remained out of eight

taken in a schooner. I had two very narrow escapes. The chief's wife frequently sprinkled me with garlic water, which they consider an effectual charm against shot."

The time for the release of Mr. G. and his companions in captivity was now come. He received a note from the commander of the honorable company's cruiser *Antelope*, who had been three days searching for the forlorn prisoners. The necessary arrangements were soon made; a ladrone boat proceeded alone to receive the ransom, but on her return was watched and chased by a mandarin boat. "Our situation was now a most critical one; the ransom in the hand of the ladrones, and the boat not daring to carry us to the ship for fear of the mandarin boat." Next morning the chief inspected the ransom which consisted of the following articles,—two hales of superfine cloth; two chests of opium; two casks of gunpowder; a telescope, and the rest in dollars. After a little further difficulty, "we had the inexpressible pleasure of arriving on board the *Antelope*, at 7 p. m. December 7th, where we were most cordially received, and heartily congratulated on our safe and happy deliverance from a miserable captivity, which we had endured for eleven weeks and three days."

The power of these outlaws was now at its greatest height, and their path may truly be said to have been a course of desolation and blood. Yet this fearful combination in the righteous providence of God was destined to be soon scattered after reaching such a height. It was broken, not by the Portuguese power, nor by the imperial arm, but by that which has ruined many a better cause, internal division. Ever since Paou had been elevated by his own valor and the favor of the chieftainess to the chief command, altercations and enmity had subsisted between him and his rival Kwō Potae. Kwō Potae was commander of the black squadron, as Paou was of the red; but once when the latter was blockaded by a strong imperial float, Kwō Potae openly threw off all allegiance and alliance and refused to come to his aid. Paou, as usual escaped from his enemy, but when afterwards the rival captains met, their animosity broke out into blows and a sanguinary battle ensued between the two flags. The fleet of Paou at that time was much inferior in numbers, and after a bloody engagement he suffered defeat; sixteen of his vessels were lost, and 300 of his men were captured, who were all inhumanly massacred.

This was a deathblow to the confederacy which had so long defied the emperor's power. Kwō Potae now equally exposed to danger on both sides, resolved, before matters should come to extremity, to submit to government. General amnesty had been proclaimed in the emperor's name to the submissive pirates, and he resolved to avail himself of this occasion to withdraw from his associates, on condition of free pardon and a proper provision for all his followers.

But too happy in according mercy where power had failed, the government "feeling that compassion is the way of heaven, therefore redeemed these pirates from their former crimes." Kwō Potae took another name, and was elevated to the rank of an imperial officer.

The red flag of Paou and the chieftainess was still flying over much the greater number of freebooters; and their ravages continued some months longer, but more limited. But being much weakened by the desertion of their accomplice, harassed too incessantly by the enemy, who had now acquired knowledge of their rendezvous and strength, and encouraged, we cannot doubt, by the success of their former associates in crime, they began to entertain thoughts of submission. When this desire became known to the messenger whom the governor of Macao had sent to sound their feelings, arrangements were soon made for a visit from two inferior officers to the piratical fleet. But the suspicions of Paou and the chieftainess that treachery was designed, made it necessary to obtain for them and their followers the very highest pledges of safety. A meeting was therefore agreed on between them and the governor of Canton himself, to take place near the Bogue, and without any retinue. It is said the governor trembled a little, and his cheek grew pale as he advanced in a single vessel towards the line of the pirates. The dreaded pirates with Paou and another officer came upon the deck where his excellency was stationed, fell on their knees, knocked head, and received his gracious pardon. But the sudden appearance of some Portuguese and imperial ships interrupted this fair train of negotiating, and caused the pardoned pirates to flee in consternation to their fleet again. But after a few days delay, having become satisfied that no treachery had been designed, a council was called to deliberate on renewing the interrupted surrender. The chieftainess offered to go alone to Canton and finish the arrangements, being willing to show as much confidence in the governor as he had exhibited towards them. The pirates reluctantly consented to her daring proposal, and accordingly she went with several of the pirates' wives and children to the provincial city, completed all the arrangements with the governor and the Portuguese commissioner, and the fleet soon followed. The governor went down to Heängahan, and received the submission. They were allowed to retain their property or an equivalent; they who chose, enlisted under government to aid in exterminating their remaining comrades who still stood out. "This is the manner in which the great red squadron was pacified." Paou and Kwö Potae were both active in hunting out and destroying the gangs of their old confederates. "After this act," says our Portuguese authority, "Paou set out for Peking, where he found a seat in the court, and for his experience was much esteemed by the emperor." Thenceforward all became quiet on the rivers and tranquil on the four seas. For his exalted services, the governor was permitted by solemn edict from "the son of heaven" to wear a peacock's feather with two eyes!

From the narratives of Messrs. Turner and Glasspoole we gather some additional facts respecting this once outlawed but now loyal class of celestial subjects. "With respect to conjugal rights they are religiously strict; no person is allowed to have a woman on board unless married to her according to their laws. Each man is allowed

a small berth about four feet square, where he stows his wife and family, the young ladrones." So great scarcity and distress were produced among the thousands of pirates by the orders of government to cut off all their supplies, that their atrocities at that time perpetrated on the peaceful people, were rather the vindictive effect of long exasperation. "During our captivity," says Mr. G., "we lived three weeks on caterpillars boiled with rice; in fact, there are very few creatures that they will not eat." And this account will appear less and less incredible in proportion to our acquaintance with the habits and means of living in time of scarcity among the Chinese poor. The pirates were much addicted to gambling, and spent their leisure hours at cards and smoking opium. Such of their captives as were unable to ransom themselves, and volunteers, sustained and increased their numbers. Frequently five, ten, and twenty men of this latter description arrived in one party; some were only vagabonds, but many of them, says Turner, were men of decent appearance, and some even brought money with them. Such were at first allowed to withdraw at pleasure, but latterly the chief refused to permit any to join him for a term less than eight or nine months.

Another curious, but not altogether singular trait of these lawless men, was their reverence for religious or superstitious rites. We find they were ready to ask counsel of their gods in reference to their murderous work, where and when they should rob and murder the innocent and helpless; and they were sincere enough to adhere to the supposed directions even to their loss. It is stated by Turner that the chief on consulting their gods on one occasion, was required to give up his own ship and take a smaller one, with which he complied. The prisoners who united with the pirates were required to go before the idols and swear in a prescribed form to fidelity. From Mr. G. we learn that on a time the fleet anchored before a town which was defended by four mud batteries, and during two days remained perfectly quiet. On the third day, the forts commenced and continued a brisk fire for several hours, while the ladrones returned not a shot, but weighed in the night and dropped down the river. The reason they gave for this procedure was, that the idols had not promised them success: They were very superstitious and consulted their gods on all occasions; if the omens were good, they would undertake the most daring enterprises. In their progress of desolation up the river of which we have spoken, from several small villages they received tribute of dollars, sugar and rice, with a few large pigs roasted whole as offerings to the idols. Every prisoner also on being ransomed, was obliged to present a pig or some fowls, which the priest offered with prayer; it remained before the idols a few hours and was then divided amongst the crew. Does not this prove that a sense of religion is innate in man, and is not wholly eradicated even from the bosoms of the most profligate and cruel? And does it not equally prove that vain man is ever ready to delude himself with the hope of the divine protection and guidance and favor, even in the prosecution of inhuman and detestable wickedness?

In 1807, Mr. Turner estimated the number of vessels under all the piratical flags at 500, and the total of pirates at 25,000 men. But in 1809-10, when their power was at its greatest height, Mr. Glasspoole calculated their force to consist of 70,000 men, navigating 800 large vessels, and 1000 small ones, which included also their row-boats. These estimates appear not to have been ventured at random, but after a repeated enumeration of the six divisions so far as they could be reckoned by squadrons, and smaller detachments under the various flags. This number must also be understood to include all the open pirates which scoured the south and southeastern coasts of China at the time, and which were all under one or another of the flags. By their numbers and the nature of the country adjacent, they were truly a formidable band; and although not endowed with that valor which characterizes many other desperadoes, yet they were not wholly destitute of courage. They often stood well under attacks from superior forces; yet this may not have been so much owing to their own courage as to the knowledge of their assailants' cowardice. For the ridiculous weakness of the Chinese navy is as well known as is its great numerical strength. There can be little or no just doubt that in point of numbers, the navy of this country has superiority over every other in the world. At the navy-yard of this city alone, we have seen during the last autumn and winter not less than twelve or fifteen new men-of-war launched. The preceding year witnessed about the same number; yet none of these remain in port at the year's end, but they are all dispatched to their various stations as guard vessels, or cruisers against the pirates. These vessels are most of them of the smallest class, not exceeding perhaps six or eight guns each; yet the cheapness and dispatch with which they are built is unknown in other countries, and only exceeded by their imperfections. In point of speed, strength, safety, guns, powder, balls, men, officers, tactics and courage, (if indeed the two latter ought to have a name at all in China,) they are so vastly inferior to a modern ship of the line, that scarcely any amount of numbers can make them equal to one such foe.

We will close this account by a word relative to piracy since the great pacification of 1810. Chow Feibeung the conjurer, whose mediation had been used in treating with Paou the chief pirate, was afterwards ornamented by imperial order, with a peacock's feather, and acted many years as a Chinese officer of Macao. He was a great opium eater and opium smuggler, and died miserably. The famous widow of Ching Yih still lives in this city; she is near sixty years of age, and leads a life of peace, so far as is consistent with keeping an infamous gambling house. The ten thousands of poor wretches who were thus disbanded, were neither annihilated, nor subdued, nor provided thereby with future support beyond their present ill gotten means: and though there has been no such confederacy of pirates subsequent to that event; yet their names and their deeds and their wants continued; and frequent distresses have occasioned frequent piracies. To the present time depredations continue; especially near

Hainan and Fuhkeën. Europeans, who have recently visited the eastern maritime parts of China, have several times been in villages whose inhabitants resort to robbery and piracy, when their other means, if any, of subsistence fail them. In times of scarcity, robberies are frequent, even between this city and Macao. Before the Chinese new year's day, when money is in especial demand, they venture up to this city, and even prowl as land pirates about it, and in its streets; a native friend last winter told us the instances were so frequent of persons being carried off by them for the sake of ransom, that no man could feel himself safe alone in the streets after nine o'clock at night. There are one or more places on this river of so infamous memory, that every Chinese boatman, if the dusk of evening fall around him near that spot, passes with quick and silent stroke and many a fearful look behind him.

ART. IV. *Natural history of China; attention paid to it by the Jesuits, subsequently by Osbeck and others, and by the British embassies; want of information at the present time; notices of the geology of the vicinity of Lintin and Canton.*

Before entering upon the examination of the geological features of the country in the vicinity of Canton, it may be proper to take a brief survey of what has been done towards advancing the knowledge of the natural history of China. An empire, embracing within its limits all temperatures and every diversity of soil, must necessarily present a great variety of scenery and productions. Extensive investigation is consequently wanted to ascertain the general outlines of the several branches of its natural history, and patient research to enable us to judge of the actual importance of each. To acquire a correct knowledge of the geology of this country, and of the minerals which are found in its strata, and to exhibit the botany and zoology of China and the modes of agriculture among its inhabitants, together with other collateral branches of inquiry, are subjects so interesting and useful that they cannot fail to excite the attention of those, who, while they care for the welfare of their own species, delight to contemplate the handiworks of their Creator.

The Jesuits were the first Europeans, except Marco Polo, who made any investigation in this field. For nearly two centuries, these men resided in China, and in the course of their attempts to establish themselves here, they traveled extensively throughout all the provinces. During the reign of Kanghe, a period of sixty-one years, they were permitted to investigate every thing they deemed worthy of notice, and the voluminous works they left, bear testimony to their diligence. Missions were established in all the principal cities and they were ably conducted by men who were well versed in literature, and in the arts and sciences, and who would not have suffered by com-

parison with the best scholars of Europe. And what might we expect to find in their works, concerning the natural history of China? Judging by their success in other departments, as topography, history, &c., we might reasonably hope for full and faithful narrations of the vegetable and animal productions and also of the agriculture. Concerning some of the more remarkable productions, as bamboo, tea, &c., we have details of such length as to tire the reader. They were not the men who would let any thing pass by them, which could adorn their pages, or excite the wonder of readers in other countries. But what do we find on perusing their accounts? So far as those descriptions are mere translations of native authors, the defects are not to be charged to the Jesuits. They wished to tell all they could concerning China, and in their desire so to do, recorded many things, which further research would have convinced them were not facts. These exaggerated statements have conspired to create ideal notions of the character, polity, and country of the Chinese, which future travelers, we apprehend, will find erroneous. Among all their remarks on natural history, we do not find a single continued narration of facts, which the author asserts as having come under his own eyes. There was no Linnæus or Cuvier who would be satisfied with faithfully recording the results of his own observation. If such had been the case, the united labors of these 'fathers' would have presented rich materials, for compiling a work on the natural history of China, but which must now be reserved for others...

In considering the merits and demerits of these writers, however, we must remember, that they lived in an age when the public taste was satisfied with nothing but tales almost beyond the bounds of belief. Their accounts are not more improbable than what we find in Buffon; and these men flourished long before his time. Besides it was for their interest to portray this country in as favorable an aspect as possible: their situation was such as required all the aid that interesting description could bring. The want of any well digested work on natural history, also presented itself as a serious obstacle against pursuing the science in a useful way. If observations were made, how could they be compared with previous ones; and their relative importance ascertained? This was a hindrance, of which we can hardly have a full conception in the present advanced state of the science. With the want of books the precarious tenure of the establishment of the Jesuits here, may also be adduced as a reason why so few turned their attention to such subjects. Liable every moment to be driven out of the country, the leaders would naturally bend all their energies to secure that which had already been gained and leave others to narrate what was seen. The erroneous ideas concerning the natural history of this country, which have become current among the great mass of readers in the west, is a serious evil, and one which has been occasioned chiefly by the exaggerated statements of these early writers. Every author for the last century, who wished to write concerning China, needed only to open the volumes of the Jesuits, and long descriptions on every subject met his eye. These he wrought into his own

phraseology, and spared not to enlarge or reduce them to suit his own convenience. The consequence is that the same thoughts being presented in many lights and by authors of reputation, are received as accredited truths. An instance of this is found in Malte-Brun's geography, who says on the authority of a member of the Dutch embassy, "that the Chinese farmer yokes his wife and ass together, at the plough;" and this is said in such a manner as to convey the idea that it is a common occurrence; while the instances of such brutality are as rare in China as in Persia or India or any other country in the same state of civilization. Concerning the accounts of the Jesuits in general, we may observe, that when they are satisfactorily proved or disproved, and the truth sifted from the rubbish which surrounds them, they will be found to contain much valuable information. But until they have been carefully compared with renewed investigations, they must be cautiously received.

We will now proceed from the works of the Jesuits, which for the most part were written before the eighteenth century, to consider what has been done by more recent observers. In 1760, Peter Osbeck came to China as chaplain to a Swedish East Indiaman, and made some discoveries in the vicinity of Canton. He was a disciple of Linnæus, and had imbibed his master's love for the works of nature. The freedom allowed to foreigners at that time, enabled him to extend his researches in this hitherto unexplored field to a considerable distance round the city. He collected many plants in the vicinity of Canton and the anchorage at Whampoa. The remembrance of his zeal and success was perpetuated by Linnæus in the *Osbeckia Chinensis*; and a friend and assistant was also remembered in the *Torenia Asiatica*. These we believe are the only instances of any persons who came to China for only a single season, that improved the opportunity to extend the knowledge of its natural history. Other ports, as Shanghai and Amoy were once open to foreigners, but the desire for gain was then so strong as to engross all the time of those who visited them.

From the time of Osbeck till the embassy under Macartney in 1793, we read of none who explored these wide fields. No Tournefort or Pursh was found who would willingly endure the fatigues, and dangers of visiting China from a love of natural history. The embassy under lord Macartney was provided with competent naturalists, and the advantages enjoyed were many; yet the results do not appear to have been considerable. In a journey from Teentsin to Jêho (Zheho), and then through Peking to Canton, abundance of opportunities must have been presented to enlarge our knowledge of this country. But the same causes which will retard future laborers hindered the researches of the members of this embassy; the jealousy of the Chinese government prevented them from examining most of the interesting objects which came in their way, while traveling through the country. The works of Staunton and Barrow however contain many valuable notices of the natural history of China. And if the embassy did not open a more favorable trade to its projectors, it enabled us to form more

correct ideas of the real aspect of the country, both in a political and natural point of view. The remarks were such as would naturally be made by those traveling in a circumscribed manner, and relate principally to agriculture and the natural scenery. The Dutch embassy to Peking in 1795, under Van Braam does not appear to have made many remarks concerning the natural history of the districts through which it passed. From the time of that embassy to the one under lord Amherst in 1816, very little was done in this branch of knowledge in China. When that expedition was proposed, the advantages that would accrue from having an able and scientific naturalist were duly appreciated by the projectors. Such an one was found in Dr. Abel, and the result showed that the expectations of those who recommended him were not ill founded. Every thing necessary to enable him to transport the specimens, whether on shore or on board the ship, was done, and no expense spared in affording him all the facilities possible during the journey. From Teentsin to the capital, the way was closely examined. But from Peking to Canton, few observations were made or specimens collected on account of the rapidity of traveling. Besides, Dr. Abel was taken sick on his return, and prevented from making personal research to the extent he wished. The gentlemen of the embassy, however, brought him every specimen they saw worthy of notice. At Canton, the whole collection of plants, minerals and other objects, which had been collected were put on board the *Alceste*, the ship that brought the embassy to China. The loss of that vessel in Gaspar straits; and with her, Dr. Abel's entire collection and the notes appended to it, deprived the world of much valuable information. Except a very few specimens he gave to some friends at Canton; every thing he had collected perished with the *Alceste*. Among these preserved specimens, sir Joseph Banks found some new plants, one of which, *Abelia Chinensis*, commemorates the zeal of the naturalist.

Since this expedition, nothing of importance has been done in any department of natural history, excepting botany. To this branch, a few of the gentlemen attached to the honorable E. I. company's factory have paid some attention. The Horticultural society of London, in 1819, sent out Mr. Kerr, a gardener, to collect and buy living plants and send them home; but his success was only partial. Many new plants have been discovered among those which have been sent home by the residents at Canton. The steady demand for these, both among foreigners and natives, has induced the Chinese to bring rare plants to this city; they are kept for sale at Fah-te, the 'flower gardens,' near Canton. The number of plants shipped to Europe and America yearly is considerable, and the demand is increasing. According to Livingstone, not one in a thousand reaches their destination, yet from the immense number sent in a long course of years; we may safely infer that one-half of all known Chinese plants have been discovered and named in this way. Great care is necessary to preserve them on board ship in a voyage of such length; and from the want of this care consequently, many of them die. Different

plants require such different attention, that what saves one kills another. But the number of names probably far exceeds the number of species, for the Chinese gardeners are skillful in altering the appearance of flowers, and finding it for their interest so to do, they devote much time to the pursuit.

From this short sketch it appears that in the natural history of the Chinese empire, much remains to be done. The Chinese works on this subject are voluminous, and they contain dissertations on plants of all kinds and qualities, chiefly those used in medicines; on gems of which they are fond; on quadrupeds, birds, fishes and insects; and even shells and molluscs are not overlooked by them. On the same pages we also find accounts of tiger-elephants, dragons and other similar fantasies. The entire range of natural science in the Chinese empire, will require thorough investigation, for what has been done, needs to be done again. Botany has attracted the most attention, and the progress made in it from various sources is considerable; but the grasses, the cryptogamic plants and some other branches of the study, are nearly unknown. The works of the Jesuits contain notices of the animals of China; but with the other branches of the zoology we are imperfectly acquainted. The birds, and the fishes, the insects and the molluscs, will each afford sufficient materials for many interesting volumes. Mineralogy is on the same level, but the precious gems, the beautiful crystals of quartz, the white copper and the gypsum seen in Canton, show the abundance of its mineral treasures; the variety of metals cannot be small, but their full extent cannot be yet known.

Of the geology of this empire very little knowledge has been gained by Europeans; and of the organic remains, which we may expect to be considerable from those found in Ava and Siberia, still less is known. It will be apparent then, that the investigation of China and its dependencies, will open a field of research, that is unequalled in the world. From Samarcand to Formosa and Japan, and from Saghalien to Camboja, is a field which is nearly unknown. Peopled from the remotest antiquity with wandering nomades, who have despised agriculture, and employed themselves in enslaving their neighbors, Tartary is about the same now as it was a thousand years ago. China has undergone many alterations, and the face of the country by increase of population has assumed the appearance of an extended garden when compared with the countries on the western boundary. We hope this interesting and wide field will soon be carefully surveyed in all its departments. The Chinese are not so savage as the Arabs, nor so deceitful as the Moors, nor so wandering as the N. A. Indians, in whose countries travelers have passed many years. From the appearance of the times, we expect the Chinese empire will soon be open to foreigners; and we trust that the naturalist will not be slow to enter on a field abounding with objects worthy of his attention.

The geology of the country between the city of Canton and the ocean is so simple that we shall make but few remarks concerning

it. The general characteristics are primitive, and the usual accompaniments of the presence of such rocks are seen in the insulated and barren peaks which line the coast. On the north side of the river the country rises into hills, which are formed, as far as we have had opportunity to examine, of a compact graywacke, probably belonging to the lower secondary class of rocks. This rock is found near the surface, but does not appear to be used to any great extent by the Chinese in building or for other purposes. It is fine grained and contains a large proportion of quartz. Lying immediately beneath the graywacke, is the old red sandstone. This stratum is found varying from a bright red, fine grained rock, to a coarse conglomerate, full of large pebbles of quartz. It is seen outcropping in the middle of the river a few rods below the factories, and from thence it extends southwards for many miles. At that place its dip, measured by an angle with the horizon, is a few degrees westward. This stratum also extends eastward, and most of the hills between Canton and Whampoa have this rock for a substratum, with the graywacke above. The finer varieties of the sandstone are used for building and flagging, usually for the latter. Below the sandstone is found the granite. This rock outcrops more and more as the river descends towards the sea, until below the Bogue it is the only stratum. The subspecies are numerous; and in some places it passes into gneiss and hornblend. The usual variety however is a dark colored, fine grained rock, somewhat fissile. At the mouth of the river, the granite is found rising up into peaks, which present to the voyager coming in from the ocean, a range of desert, uninhabited and cheerless islets, ranging in height from 1200 to 2000 feet. When, however, the island is sufficiently large to allow a detritus to accumulate at the foot of the hills, the soil is good, and by the industry of the Chinese in manuring, is soon rendered productive. The entire number of these islands has never been ascertained, but it must amount to several hundreds; as the whole coast from Pedro Brance to the borders of Hainan is lined with them. On these islands, great numbers of erratic blocks of rock are found; on the top of Lintin peak are three or four; each weighing several tons. The granite and its varieties are used to a great extent by the Chinese in the basements of buildings, for flagging and for pillars; for the latter purpose it is well adapted.

The minerals as yet found in these different strata are very few, consisting only of crystals of felspar, quartz and pyrites, which occur sparingly in the granite. Further investigation may disclose more of those minerals usually found in primitive rocks. Crystallized, primitive marbles are brought to Canton from the northeastern parts of this province. The colors are mostly clouded blue and black. We have seen no transition limestone in Canton. Coal is plentiful and extensively used. The soil of the country in this neighborhood is mostly alluvion; but on the declivities of the hills, it is decomposed sandstone, and of a red color. It generally produces two crops annually. The fields of rice are banked up on the river side, and at

intervals sluices are constructed which allow every tide to cover them. In times of much rain, the quantity of soil held in suspension is great, and when the water remains quiet a short time, it settles. In the river itself, where the current is slow, depositions soon appear above the surface, and many of the low islands have been formed in this way, and constant additions are making to all. On the hills, the soil is more nearly primitive, and consists mostly of the decomposed rock underneath.

Map of the Choo keang. This map is designed to illustrate parts of the two preceding papers concerning 'Chinese pirates' and 'the natural history of China.' It includes the numerous islands in the bay of the river, and the river itself up as far as the provincial city; comprising in length 75 geographical miles of latitude: and in breadth one degree of longitude. The Bogue, which the Chinese regard as the mouth of the river, is guarded by three forts, at one of which foreign ships must show their passports. The principal inside anchorage is called Whampoa Reach, extending two or three miles, between the islands of Honan on the west, Whampoa and Junk island on the north, and French and Dane's islands on the south. Lintin is the outside anchorage; but during the typhoon months, it is forsaken for the safer harbors on the east and west, Kapsymoon (also written Capsingmoon,) and Kumsingmoo. The inner passage to Canton is used only by native craft, it being wholly prohibited to foreign boats. The map is constructed upon a scale of five miles to the inch. The latitude of the foreign factories at Canton is 23° 7' 10" N.: the longitude, 113° 14' 30" E. Lintin peak is in lat. 22° 24' 30" N.; long: 113° 48' 30" E. Macao is situated in lat. 22° 10' 30" N., long. 113° 32' E.

ART. V. *Burmah; sketch of the history of the protestant mission in that country; its present state; and notices of the Christian books written and published in the Burman language.* By BENEVOLENS. Oct. 1833. Continued from Vol. II, page 563:

The object of this paper is to give a very brief history of the efforts which have been made to spread Christianity in Burmah. The labors of the Romanists can hardly be entitled to any notice here, for though they have resided in the country for about a century, they have effected comparatively nothing. They have four or five congregations, which consist almost entirely of Portuguese and their descendants, many of whom wear the Burman dress, and conform to Burman customs in every respect, except that they eat pork and make their prostrations before the cross or the virgin, instead of the pagoda, and the image of Gaudama. The priests have moreover written a few tracts and had them published at Rome in the Burman character; and the present bishop, who arrived in 1831, brought as many as seventeen copies for the supply of his diocese!

Concerning the first attempts of protestants, I shall give but a very brief view, because the affairs of that trying and eventful period, if explained in detail would occupy too much space; and because they have been already presented to the public in the memoirs of Mrs. Judson;—a work which has established its character as a production of uncommon interest by having already passed through several editions;

both in England and America. To that I beg leave to refer those who wish for further information respecting the early history of the mission. Regarding more recent efforts I shall be more particular.

The first protestant labors were commenced at Rangoon in 1807 by Messrs. Chater and Mardon, who went thither from Serampore. Mr. Mardon soon left the country, and his place was supplied by Mr. Felix Carey. Not long after, Messrs. Pritchett and Brian, from the London Missionary Society reached the country. Mr. B. soon died, and Mr. P. removed to Vizagapatam: Mr. Chater, after four years residence, removed to Ceylon, but not till he had acquired the language and commenced the work of translation. Mr. Carey remained and when Mr. and Mrs. Judson arrived in July, 1813, he had gone to Ava by order of the king. Before he left the mission, he prepared and published a grammar, revised and published Mr. Chater's translation of the gospel of Matthew, and made some translations himself; how much, is now unknown, as his manuscripts were lost. Mr. and Mrs. Judson at once commenced the study of the language. Having no dictionary and but an imperfect grammar, they found it difficult; yet in the course of two years, they were able to hold some discussions with the natives. In 1815, Mr. Judson commenced and prosecuted with great zeal the study of Pali. They were alone, however, till joined by Mr. Hough, an American printer and missionary in Oct. 1816. Two tracts had been prepared which were printed by Mr. Hough soon after his arrival.

Notwithstanding all the efforts which had been made, it was not till March, 1817, that the first serious inquirer into the truth of Christianity applied to Mr. Judson. His appearance and conversation awakened joy and hope, but it was fallacious. In December, 1817, Mr. Judson, worn down by ill health, and desirous of procuring some assistance from a Christian settlement near Chittagong, where the Burman language was spoken, embarked for that place. But by adverse winds, he was driven to the western peninsula, and was detained at Madras till July 20th, 1818. During his absence, Mr. Hough was severely harassed by the government, summoned to the court, and told in the most unfeeling terms, that if he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, "they would write with his heart's blood." Further, as indicative of Burman feeling before the war, it should be mentioned, that at the court-house he was obliged to answer, through an interpreter, the most trivial questions, such as what were the names of his parents, how many suits of clothes he had, &c., which were all written down with great correctness. Sept. 19th, 1818, Messrs. Colman and Wheelock from Boston, joined the mission. In July of the succeeding year, Mr. and Mrs. Hough departed for Bengal. The same year, in April, Mr. J. commenced public preaching in a *zayat*, or open shed, erected near his house. Mrs. J. by a school and the religious instruction of females, did what she could to aid his design. In consequence of these efforts many serious inquiries were made. Mounng Nau the first convert, made his appearance in April 30th, 1819. After various instructions and important developments

of character, he was acknowledged as a disciple of Jesus Christ, by baptism June 27th, 1819; a day of unutterable joy to the missionaries, who had resided there about six years without seeing any apparent fruit of their labors.

Mr. Wheelock embarked for Bengal about a year after his arrival, in feeble health, and on his passage "in a fit of delirium plunged into the sea and was drowned." Nov. 7th, 1819, two more were baptized on a profession of their faith in the Savior of men. The persecutions which the investigators and recipients of Christianity were called to endure were so vexatious, that they were deterred even from examining its claims to be a divine communication, and it seemed the missionaries' indispensable duty that they should lay their case before the king, and solicit toleration. Accordingly Messrs. Judson and Colman immediately set out for Amarapura, at that time the capital, where they arrived Jan. 25th, 1820. They were admitted to an audience, and presented their petition for toleration, but received from one of the king's officers an intimation of his views, thus: "In regard to your petition, his majesty gives no order." On their return to Rangoon, Mr. Colman left for Chittagong, and soon after settled at Cox Bazar. "Surrounded by poverty, ignorance and delusion, he fell a martyr to his zeal, July 4th, 1822." Another convert was baptized at Rangoon, April 20th, 1820, and between this and January 1822, several others, among whom were some persons of distinction. About this time, Mr. Price arrived in the double capacity of physician and missionary. Mr. Judson continued his labor of translation with unremitting vigor. Mrs. Judson was obliged by ill health to leave Rangoon in August, 1820, and proceed to America, via England; and on her return in 1823, was accompanied by Rev. J. Wade and Mrs. Wade. During her absence, Mr. Hough had returned to Rangoon, and the little church had increased to eighteen members. Dr. Price was summoned to Ava by the king, and Mr. J. deemed it expedient to accompany him, and again petition for religious toleration. They were so far successful that the king noticed them favorably, and ordered ground to be given them for a dwelling house. Mrs. Judson joined him in 1823-4. Soon after, the war with the English commenced, and severe trials awaited the missionaries. Those at Rangoon for three or four days suffered all that human malice could invent, but were soon rescued by English generosity. Mr. Judson and Dr. Price were seized and thrown into prison, where they remained about a year and a half, experiencing every imaginable hardship and indignity, sometimes with three and sometimes with five pairs of fetters. During this period, though Mrs. Judson had no common obstacles to surmount, she exerted herself with unrivaled Christian heroism, to alleviate their sufferings, and those of the other prisoners confined with them.

At the close of the war in 1826, they were released through the interference of the English. Dr. Price continued to reside at Ava, where he was high in favor with the king and his nobles, to whom he gave scientific lectures, instructed their children, and by his conversations and defence of Christianity doubtless did much to enlighten the Bur-

man court. He died at Ava, Feb. 14th, 1828, of a lingering pulmonary complaint. Messrs. Judson and Wade repaired to Amherst, and commenced a new station, where Mrs. Judson closed her eventful life, Oct. 24th, 1826. Mr. Boardman arrived in April, 1827, soon after which all the missionaries removed to Maulmein, which though a short time before a mere jungle, had already risen into a place of much greater consequence than Amherst. At Maulmein a very unusual seriousness was awakened among the people in the latter part of 1827, and the beginning of 1828, which resulted in the addition of about thirty members to the church. In April, 1828, Mr. Boardman removed to Tavoy, and vigorously prosecuted his labor till removed by death in February, 1831.

A missionary printer, Mr. Bennett, joined the mission in 1829, and since that time, though in the midst of difficulties, the operations of the press have been unusually efficient. In Nov. 1830, the mission was reinforced by Messrs. Kincaid and Mason. Mr. Jones followed in the ensuing February. In 1828, some soldiers of H. B. M.'s 45th regiment applied to Mr. Judson for religious instruction: A small church was soon collected which received the ministrations of Messrs. Judson, Wade, Boardman, Kincaid, and Jones successively. Mr. Kincaid's labors were continued longest, and when the regiment was removed to another station, in April, 1832, the number of the church members amounted to 75 or 80. These labors were continued by Mr. Jones after the arrival of the 41st regiment, and several from that also were hopefully brought to a saving knowledge of the truth.

A second printer, Mr. Cutter, arrived in May, 1832. In September following, Mr. Jones left Burnah to commence a mission in Siam. In January 1833, Rev. Mr. Simons and Mr. Hancock, a third printer, with Miss Cummings a teacher, joined the mission. Rev. Messrs. Brown and Webb with their wives, and two or three single ladies were expected to leave Boston in Oct. or Nov. 1832 as a reinforcement. Mr. and Mrs. Wade left for America, Dec. 1832. Mr. Kincaid was about to remove to Ava. Mr. Judson continues his labors as translator and preacher at Maulmein. Mr. Mason is stationed at Tavoy as successor to Mr. Boardman, who before his death had greatly interested himself in regard to the Karens, and by whose instrumentality many of them residing on the mountains south and east of Tavoy, were hopefully brought to the saving knowledge of a divine Redeemer. Messrs. Wade and Judson have made repeated visits to those north of Maulmein. Both Messrs. Wade and Mason have made great progress in acquiring and reducing to writing their language. Mr. Mason has spent many months in visiting and instructing them in their villages with most encouraging success.

I have not the means of stating precisely the number of church members at the various stations, but apprehend the following will not be far from the truth: viz, at Rangoon 20; Maulmein 50; Karens above Maulmein, 80; Tavoy, 150, principally Kasens; English church at Maulmein 40; making a total of 340.

Various efforts have at different times been made for the establish-

ment of schools and with various success. The greatest prosperity has attended those established at Tavoy, where there has been a uniform sentiment in regard to their importance.

After what has been said, it is hardly necessary to notice a remark in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, Vol. II, p. 112. "The English missionaries are tolerated, and serve the E. I. company as the outposts of their diplomatic system." It will be seen that no English missionaries have been there, since 1814. It is true, that Messrs. Judson and Hough, particularly the former, rendered the company's agents much assistance after the war. What less could they do? They had been rescued by the English from miserable dungeons; and from their long residence in the country and study of the language, were the only persons who could be employed as adequate translators. When that immediate exigency had passed, they promptly and joyfully returned to their appropriate labors: I speak more particularly of Mr. Judson, because I have more information regarding his course.

In consequence of the removal of the printer and press to Bengal, but little printing was executed from 1824 to 1829: but various works were prepared for the press. On the arrival of Mr. Bennett with a new press, these works were published as fast as practicable. A second press arrived in 1832, and since that, two more. The difficulties resulting from the want of types have been overcome by the establishment of a foundry with the apparatus for stereotyping at Maulmein. It may not be uninteresting to other laborers in the great field of Christian enterprise to know what books are published, and what subjects are treated of in them. Where the pages of the books are spoken of they are all reckoned as of the octavo size.

1. A catechism of the Christian religion: pp. 4. This was probably written in 1818, as Mrs. Judson translated it into Siamese in 1819. With various revisions it has passed through several editions and contains in brief, yet perspicuous language, those grand outlines of our holy religion which are essential to salvation, without any direct allusion to Buddhism. The Siamese version was published at Calcutta about 1820.

2. A view of Christianity: pp. 12. This was written about the same time as the other. It is divided into four parts; historical, doctrinal, preceptive, and devotional; with a design to give as complete an outline as possible of Christianity in a small compass. The last part contains two prayers, one adapted to the state of an inquirer after the way of life, and the other to that of one who is supposed to have entered that way. Five or six large editions of it have been published.

3. Golden Balance: pp. 12. This is a comparative view of the Christian and Buddhist systems, in respect to their Gods, commands, benefits conferred, religion in general, scriptures, priesthood, &c. It is a masterly parallel or rather contrast, and has doubtless produced much effect, though the adage is still true, that

"An man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still."

It is in great demand among the laity, but the priests have a strong aversion to it.

4. A Liturgy: pp. 12. This, as its title intimates, contains a formula and directions for Christian worship and institutions.

5. Baptismal service: pp. 4. This consists merely of Scripture extracts concerning this ordinance.

6. Marriage service: pp. 6. To extracts from Scripture on this subject, are added a brief formula and a prayer adapted to the occasion.

7. Funeral service: pp. 8. Extracts from Scripture and a prayer.

8. Teacher's Guide: pp. 8. This contains those Scriptures which are particularly calculated for the instruction of native assistants in missionary labors.

9. Family prayers: pp. 16. There has been only one edition of this tract printed, and it has been out of print more than two years.

10. The Investigator: pp. 13. This is in the catechetical form, and designed to embrace all those questions which the natives usually propose in regard to the new religion, with adequate answers, interspersed with appropriate reasonings and exhortations, closed by a prayer. Two editions have been printed.

11. Abstract of the Old Testament: pp. 56. This contains an account of the creation, fall of man; flood, call of Abraham, Egyptian bondage, giving of the law, settlement in Canaan; and the principal Messianic prophecies, generally in Scriptural language. It embraces nearly all the prophecy of Daniel; and several of the Psalms, and is followed by three or four pages containing extracts from Jewish and Greek history, so far as they serve to throw light on the sacred oracles.

12. Extracts from the New Testament: pp. 72. This selection comprises the advent, principal miracles, several parables, most important instructions, death and resurrection of our Savior, the epistle of Jude and one of John's, with various other instructive portions of revealed truth.

13. The Awakener: pp. 14. As its title indicates, this is an earnest, rousing appeal to the natives, proceeding on the supposition that they have already obtained considerable knowledge of our religion. It is spirited, pointed, and tinged with much severity.

14. Ship of Grace, a parable: pp. 8. The Burmans are very fond of parables. This is so constructed that a reader who was unacquainted with its origin, would not apprehend its drift, until he had read two or three pages, but by the interest of the parable would be led through; and thus have his mind excited to receive the exposition which follows with much ingenuity and point. It is well liked by intelligent natives.

15. Catechism of Astronomy: pp. 4. Something on this subject seemed indispensable when the crude views the natives entertain, as developed in a former communication, are considered. The most important facts of the science are here concisely presented, with such brief explanations as could be inserted in so small a work.

16. Catechetical Geography: pp. 10. The outlines of physical and

statistical geography are here given. The Burmans apprehend that their country, India, Siam, and China, are the principal portions of the known world. It became necessary to correct their views on this point. Something of this kind was also demanded for the schools.

17. An Abstract of chronological history: pp. 36.

18. Maps. To illustrate the three preceding works, some part of the tracts, and especially the New Testament, maps of the world, of Palestine and of St. Paul's travels, have been lithographed.

19. New Testament. Various detached portions, as single gospels, have been repeatedly published. The first complete edition was issued at the close of 1832. It was commenced fifteen years ago and has undergone numerous and labored revisions, and though it does not claim perfection, may safely be regarded as one of the most accurate and elaborate versions ever made.

The greater part of the Old Testament is translated; and the Psalms, prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel, are ready for the press. It is hoped that the Psalms will be published this year. Two or three other works have been written, which with revision may hereafter be printed. No. 1 of the preceding list was written by Mrs. Judson; Nos. 10 and 13, by Mr. Wade; No. 14, by Mr. Boardman; No. 12 was selected by him. The rest were written by Mr. Judson. The Peguans and the Karens have strong claims on future efforts. I cannot close this communication without earnestly recommending the operations of this mission to the incessant prayers of those who love our Lord Jesus and his cause. "May Zion arise and shine, her light being come, and the glory of the Lord being risen upon her."

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: acquittal of a murderer; festival of the dragon boats; Chinese fast; inundation; Peking.*

June 2d. Acquittal of a murderer. In a village belonging to Nanhæ, not far from this city, there lived a notorious villain, Kwan Chæoupang. There was no wicked deed which he would not do; and the injuries which he inflicted on those around him were very numerous. He insulted every one, and was completely regardless of all law. On the 28th ult., having some business to transact with a kinsman, he began in his usual manner to insult him; when a young man, a son of the person insulted, seized a knife and killed Chæoupang, "much to the joy of all in the village." The next day, the young man came to Canton and surrendered himself into the hands of the chief magistrate of the district of Nanhæ, who went immediately to examine and report the circumstances of the murder. To-day the rumor is, that the young man has not only been acquitted, but has actually received a reward for killing Kwan Chæoupang!

Wednesday, 11th. Festival of the dragon boats. Religious festivals, the celebration of the anniversaries of the birthdays of gods and goddesses, heroes and sages, together with numerous other holidays, exert a powerful influence on the character of the Chinese. The interest felt and manifested on some of these occasions is almost incredible. Come what may, the rites and ceremonies of the festival must not be neglected. It is often seen as on the present occasion, that business of every description may be omitted, and the sick and the poor be left to famish and die; but the dragon boats must not be slighted. Only let them be befitting the nature of man, and we object not to recreations; much less do we reprobate an occasional cessation from labor: the Framer of our bodies has made provision suited every way to their necessities; and it is not less our duty to cease

from business during the time which he has appointed for rest, than it is to keep the command, "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." Ignorant as the Chinese are of the divine laws, they are of course not guilty in the same degree that those are who knowingly transgress the rules which they acknowledge to be the only true standard of moral conduct: still a heavy charge lies against the Chinese. Multitudes of them know, and multitudes more have the means of knowing, that all their sacrifices to wood and stone, to the winds and waves, are useless; the same too they know respecting the heavy, and sometimes grievous, burdens which they bear in order to support their religious festivals. Yet, knowledge and reason notwithstanding, they obstinately follow the course in which their fathers trod, sacrificing to dumb idols and to devils the good and perfect gifts of the true God. Thus they do, while the poor and the needy are dying around them for want of food, and the common necessities of life.

We are urged to make these remarks by seeing hundreds of men, women and children, destitute of food and raiment, sick and dying, on the one side; while on the other, thousands and tens of thousands are going madly after the 'dragon-boats.' Of the origin of this singular festival, we shall not now speak, hoping hereafter to give our readers a full and connected account of the Chinese religious festivals, holidays, &c. Suffice it here to remark, that the day has been 'fine,' and one of great noise and bustle; that the number of boats is large and they are well manned, each carrying from ten to eighty or a hundred paddles; and that the races, which commenced a few days ago, will continue for several days to come.

Saturday, 14th. Chinese fast. Governor Loo, has issued an order to the two chief magistrates of Namhae and Pwanyu, commanding them to interdict the slaughter of animals and to fast for three days, to visit two of the principal temples of the city, to offer incense and pray for fair weather. This proclamation came out this morning; no beef, pork, &c., has been seen in the markets during the day. The weather has been fair, which leads many of the people to imagine that the change from rain to fair weather has been caused by the virtue of their rulers; to them therefore they give the praise, and not to God who sends or withholds the rains and the fruitful seasons at his pleasure.

Saturday 22d. Inundation. In the dispensations of the divine Providence, cases may occur in which the benighted pagan will seem to have cause to suppose that his rulers or his gods have power to change the course of nature; but the Most High will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. Notwithstanding the fair weather of the 14th, the aspect of the heavens was changed on the next day, and on the day following the rain came down most plentifully; and so on several succeeding days, till on the 23d and 24th; by the united influence of high tides and the rains, the water rose eighteen inches higher than it did during the dreadful inundation last August. The waters are now abating; but the damage which they have caused to the rice crop and to the mulberry trees, to houses and human life, is very great. As yet, however, we have heard but few particulars, and must leave the subject for our next number.—Governor Loo, we hear, has just reached the provincial city, having hastened his return in consequence of the inundation.

Peking. Lord Macartney's friend, Sung Chungtang, (old Sung) is at last laid on the shelf; and must in the course of nature soon be laid in the grave. His imperial majesty on the 6th of March last, published a 'vermillion mandate' containing his triennial opinion and decisions concerning the magnates of the land. The hero of Cashgar, the present show seang, or premier of China, Changling, was first in order. 'His merits,' said the emperor, 'are far renowned beyond the city; his virtues and his heart are equal.' The cabinet minister, Tazou Chinyang, has long labored with diligence, respect and zeal in the military council. He is now upwards of 80 years of age, but his spirits and strength are as usual. The cabinet minister, Footsou, has exerted his energies for many years. He has been a pure and industrious public servant. His age is 86. His spirits are rather good. These three are lucky omens of a prosperous dynasty. (Footsou has since died.)

The emperor names several others, the governors of Kaangan, Kamsu, &c., and last of all poor Sung, of whom he says: "he is now upwards of eighty years, his strength and his spirits are greatly decreased, and he is hereby ordered to retire with the rank of 'tooting.'" This is a sad falling off from the rank of chungtang, which was his style forty years ago.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III. — JULY, 1834. — No. 3.

ART. I. *The Chinese classics: estimation in which they are held by the Chinese; divided into two parts, the Sze shoo and Woo king; nine subdivisions, with remarks concerning each.*

Few books are so little known in Europe as the Chinese classics. Though parts of these works have been translated and paraphrased by western scholars; who have very highly extolled both the books and their authors, still these productions of the Chinese sages have never attracted general attention. The causes of this neglect are obvious; they contain so many trivial remarks, and repetitions, and truisms, as to render them uninteresting to foreign readers. Yet no literary works have found so many admirers and been read by so many successive generations of men, as these classics. They have however been confined to the Chinese and to those who read their language. As soon as a boy enters school he commences learning them by heart, and many will recite book after book without understanding a word of their contents: When the tyro has performed this task, the teacher explains to him the meaning of what he has committed to memory, and the pupil forthwith becomes acquainted with the high principles of the sages. With this education the great majority of young men enter into the business of life, and soon forget the lofty maxims of the prince of letters. But whoever wishes to acquire literary rank, and participate in the government of the empire, must study with redoubled energy and perseverance the entire body of the classics. To aid him in his task he is amply furnished with commentaries as voluminous as the works of Thomas Aquinas, and not less profound and intricate. In his examinations for literary degrees, the classics furnish the themes for his essays; and he has only carefully to repeat the opinions of the most celebrated commentators in order to be sure of success. Having once gained proper testimonials of his acquirements in the study of the classics, he claims the privilege of holding office in the government, because he understands the great rules by which the

ancients swayed the empire. Self-interest, therefore, and veneration for the sages, combine to promote the study of these ancient writings, upon which the theory of the government is founded. In the eyes of the Chinese, nothing is more sacred than the text of their classics; it is altogether beyond the whims of criticisms, and the authority of the doctrines which they contain is never doubted. Happy would it be for Christians, if they studied with equal ardor the Holy Bible, in order to become wise unto salvation and to obtain a crown of glory in the kingdom of God. The Chinese classics, properly so called, are divided into two parts, namely the Sze shoo or Four books, and the Woo king or Five classics. Both of these works consist of several separate treatises, upon each of which we shall at present remark very cursorily, designing hereafter to take them up separately, and to give a summary of their contents.

The Sze shoo contains four distinct treatises, and hence has derived its name, Sze shoo or Four books. The first of these, the Ta heö, is a short politico-moral discourse. Ta heö, or 'superior learning,' is at the same time both the name and the subject of the discourse; it is the summum bonum of the Chinese. In opening this book, compiled by a disciple of Confucius and containing his doctrines, we might expect to find a work like Cicero's *De officiis*; but we find a very different production, consisting of a few commonplace rules for the maintenance of a good government. The aspirant who would imitate the ancient princes, must first reform himself, then his family, and afterwards the state; and thus he may arrive at the summit of knowledge, and peace and plenty will pervade the whole empire. This is in other words, *nosce teipsum*, advice which is not to be slighted even in Europe, and which is the sure and only way to effect thorough reform. A part of the Ta heö is supposed to have been lost; and to make up this deficiency, and to prove the antiquity and correctness of the part which has been preserved, a few short sentences are cited from the more ancient classics; several of these quotations are mere rhapsodies and have little or nothing to do with the main subject. In the progress of this discourse, we are surprised to find so much said about renovating and polishing our nature; for if man is naturally as virtuous as Confucius represents him to be, such labor is wholly unnecessary. What is the use of precepts and admonitions when the pure and excellent nature of man, always bent on virtuous conduct, must be a sufficient guide?

Next to the Ta heö, in the Four books, is the Chung yung, or Golden medium. This work was compiled by a disciple and grandson of Confucius; and contains the doctrines of the sage. The Due medium, something inexplicable and undefined, is the highest attainment of the sage, who is here represented in his exalted character, participating with the gods in the government of the universe. His unbounded virtue, his perseverance in duty, and his great courage, elevate him far above a mere human being. His words and actions partake of the sublime. Of himself he is what he is; and by his own power and virtue he is constantly rising higher and higher! The

whole work seems to be a panegyric on the sage, and the beau ideal of what a true Confucianist ought to be. With much that is obscure or unmeaning, the work contains many very excellent sayings. It is a curious production of an enthusiast, who wrote in behalf of wisdom, without possessing it himself or understanding its exact meaning.

The *Lun yu* is the third and the most prominent part of the *Sze shoo*. It contains the principal sayings of Confucius in dialogues with his disciples, by whom they were collected and committed to writing. The sage here appears to utter his sentiments without reserve. His actions and manners are delineated with great minuteness, and are held up as patterns for imitation. An unprejudiced European in viewing the renowned sage, would see a common mortal, possessing intelligence and acquirements superior to his countrymen, and an ardent patriot, ambitious of ruling over his nation in order to give a practical proof of the goodness of his principles, but baffled in his best efforts, and deeply affected with the vices of his contemporaries. His age was too degenerate to furnish any illustrious examples worthy of imitation. He referred therefore to the golden times of antiquity, which were long forgotten, and thence drew his maxims, not wishing to introduce new doctrines, but only to maintain the character of a reformer. His *Yaou* and *Shun*, though doubtless real personages, he adorns with all the virtues which he thought requisite in a prince, a father, a child, a minister, and a friend. Having exhausted himself in praising those ancient chieftains, he stimulates his disciples to imitate their glorious examples, and he accepted the situation of prime minister in order to revive their virtuous government. To rule the empire according to the principles laid down by *Yaou* and *Shun* was as easy, in the opinion of Confucius, as it was to turn the finger in the palm of the hand. He believed that if the ancient theory of government was reduced to practice, all the princes which in his time divided the Chinese empire among themselves, would do homage to a virtuous emperor. Having now an excellent opportunity to verify his doctrines, he endeavored to improve the government of *Loo*, his native state. In his new capacity as prime minister, he had partly succeeded and was looking for great success when the neighboring states, becoming jealous of the growing power of *Loo*, disappointed the fond hopes of Confucius. Witnessing the prosperity which resulted from the wise administration of the sage, the rival states determined to check the power of *Loo*, and sent a company of dancing girls to the king of that state, who now yielded himself up to the allurements of pleasure and became deaf to the exhortations and admonitions of his prime minister. Confucius then gladly improved the opportunity which was offered him to resign, and retiring from the cares of state, never again found so favorable an opportunity to demonstrate to the world, that to reform a nation and to rule an empire was as easy as to turn the finger in the palm of the hand! He had now the mortification of seeing, that among all his numerous disciples, there was only one who fully understood and practiced his doctrines in private; and he, alas, died at an early age.

Though thus taught by daily experience that all mankind are averse to moral rectitude, he nevertheless continually extolled the goodness of human nature.

If the sayings of Confucius have been faithfully recorded in the *Lun yu*, he is certainly not free from the charge of obscurity and affectation in his expressions. He studies the utmost brevity and terseness, and frequently the most profound Chinese scholars, without the aid of commentaries, are unable to comprehend the meaning of his sentences. But we must make allowances for the age and the circumstances in which he lived. Even at this day, among the Chinese, a writer can scarcely lay claim to classical taste, unless he is able to couch his thoughts in language so brief and obscure as to require the aid of a commentator to make them intelligible to the common reader. We have seen Chinese scholars treat with contempt treatises on Christianity, because they were written in too plain and easy a style. This notion is deeply rooted in the minds of the Chinese, and will prove a hindrance to the introduction of Christianity, and modern science among this people.

Such is the philosophy of this extraordinary person; and it clearly proves, that fallen man cannot rise to the knowledge of the Creator without the gracious assistance of his Maker. We have heard much of natural religion, but are at a loss where to look for the boasted effects of this wonderful self-existing system. Confucius, who prizes so much the relations of human life, is very deficient in pointing out the duties of a man to his wife. He acknowledges this to be the principal relation of human life, and is not slow to inculcate implicit obedience as the duty of the weaker sex. He does not scruple to tell mothers, wives and daughters, that they stand in the lowest place in the scale of nature; and expatiates on marriage and the ceremonies which are necessary on that occasion. 'Woman is not a free agent;' she is an inferior, dependent being, and lives only for man. In the home of her parents the daughter is kept in retired life, and in every thing must show entire submission to her father; as a wife, her submission to her lord is boundless; as a widow, she must obey the commands of her eldest son. In thus arranging the mutual relations of the sexes, Confucius acted against the laws of nature, and inflicted a severe wound on the constitution of his country. No society can rise above semi-barbarism without the aid of woman; wherever she ceases to be a free agent, civilization necessarily remains in a low state. While Confucius was thus dogmatizing, and heaping opprobrium on man's better half, he divorced his own wife, and wantonly severed that bond which he had declared sacred. His panegyrists strive to extenuate this egregious misdemeanor, by pretending that his desire to acquire wisdom in retirement, prompted him to this step. But is there no wisdom in woman? Does her tenderness and warm attachment exert no salutary influence on the sterner sex?

The duties which Confucius prescribes to the minister and prince in their relative stations, are less exceptionable; the advantage however is on the side of the minister, the sage having once held that

rank, and become acquainted with its duties by personal experience. In all his discourses on this topic, he exhibits a strain of noble sentiments, which is highly praiseworthy, and bespeaks a comprehensive mind and a patriotic and loyal subject. From a statesman of such eminence as Confucius, we might expect a minute detail of the measures necessary for the regulation of a good government. In this however we are disappointed, for the sage who is so particular in giving rules for the due observance of official etiquette, contents himself with laying down the general outline of what he considers necessary for a good government. A prince may indeed be well versed in the art of receiving ambassadors, of giving audiences to ministers, and performing religious rites, and a minister may excel in servility and duplicity, in bowing and prostrating himself according to court etiquette, while both the one and the other are utterly unfitted for the administration of a good government. Etiquette is the grand and all absorbing theme in the political code of Confucius. Virtue and equity are duly recommended by him; but he does not choose to tell his disciples how they are to be applied in political affairs. The Chinese government at the present day, adopting the maxims of the sage, maintains his fulsome ceremonial, and his cant about virtue, justice, and compassion towards all mankind, and especially towards its own subjects, while at the same time it has adopted and carried into constant practice the most arbitrary measures to forward its own selfish views.

In establishing mutual relations and kind offices among friends, Confucius is very laconic; but the little he does say redounds much to his honor. In one instance he recommends general philanthropy. One of his disciples complaining that he had no brothers, the sage said to him; 'All men between the four seas are brothers; how can you say you have no brothers?' He also recommended orphans and widows to the special care of the prince; but says not a word to secure compassion or protection for the poor. He himself was too fond of high life to think of exercising benevolence and kindness towards those who were in humble circumstances. Heartless indifference for the universal welfare of our fellow creatures, is characteristic of the principles of this great statesman. All under heaven are indeed included in the grand scheme of benevolent and compassionate government, yet the poor are left to themselves in their wretchedness. It is indeed true that Confucius commands his disciples to love and assist their relatives, even to the neglect of moral rectitude; yet relationship and clanship are made the barriers to prevent the exercise of general philanthropy; this wise statesman strongly advocates nepotism, and even cites reprehensible instances, which he deems worthy of imitation.

The sayings of Mángtze, or Mencius, form the fourth and last part of the Sze shoo. The great principles introduced and inculcated by Confucius had now been in operation, reforming the government and the nation during nearly two centuries; Mencius, nevertheless, found the politics as well as the morals of the nation even worse than

they were in the days of his master. None of the happy effects, which had been predicted as the sure results of the renovating doctrines were visible; and the new teacher, who was proud of imitating Confucius, set himself to work as a reformer. His addresses to princes were made in a firm tone, reproaching them for unnecessary wars and grievous oppressions. Some there were who listened to him with attention, and reformed abuses; others however turned a deaf ear to his pointed admonitions. We admire the noble conduct of Mencius, which even surpasses that of his great pattern. His style is more diffuse than that of Confucius: some of his contemporaries charged him with verbosity. When he entered on his career, two opposite sects had gained many followers; the one maintained general philanthropy, the other the most sordid selfishness; both of these Mencius gained over to his own opinions. In his political course, however, he was less successful. Though several of the princes, approving of his doctrines employed him for a short time in the administration of their affairs, yet he did not escape their censures. He had a great number of pupils accompanying him, who together with himself required large sums of money from the public treasury. This expenditure brought him in some degree into disrepute. Obligated to retire from office, he wandered about, delivering his lectures at every court he visited.

Mencius was particularly successful in citing ancient examples in order to illustrate his doctrines. Some of his figures and comparisons too were well chosen. He felt for the common people, and advised princes to enjoy themselves in company with the great body of the nation. A considerable part of his works consists of dialogues, which he held with princes and with his friends. Occasionally he is metaphysical, and endeavors to make minute distinctions in the terms which he employs. The theory of a good government, however, is the theme which chiefly engrossed his mind. To obtain universal empire was, in his opinion, a very easy thing; only maintain a virtuous government, and the nations between the four seas, will all gladly acknowledge you as their sovereign. It is very extraordinary that Mencius himself never made the experiment; and it is still more remarkable that his virtuous conduct never induced the princes of that age to call him their lord. In the practical application of principles, Mencius failed, as all Chinese philosophers before and since his time have done. Almost every prince would acknowledge the excellence of his theory; but not a single one was able to reduce it to practice. Mencius saw this deficiency; yet he persisted in maintaining the excellence of his principles and theory; as all the host of his literary successors have done even to this day, their wars and insurrections and turmoils notwithstanding.

Surrounded by admirers, numbering powerful princes amongst their pupils, followed wherever they went by crowds of disciples, and often possessing honors and riches, the Chinese sages had ample scope to exemplify the transforming influence of their doctrines on the nation. Moreover, the renovation of the government and people

was the great aim of all their instructions. In this they utterly failed. But what they gave up as hopeless and despaired of seeing accomplished during their life time, they believed would be obtained after their death, when their virtuous principles should have more and better opportunity to operate. How egregiously they erred in their expectations, many pages of Chinese history can tell us. They may have some claim to the title of sages for having reclaimed their countrymen from a state of barbarism; but their system, like all other merely human institutions for renovating mankind, was very imperfect. Not striking at the root of evil, they were unable to eradicate it. The powerful motive of love to God and man, which constitutes the basis of all good governments and of all good actions, formed no part of their scheme. But we will not blame too much those writers, who were unenlightened by divine revelation, though they might have seen and known that the whole world lieth in wickedness.

We come now to the *Woo king* or *Five classics*, which hold a very high rank in the estimation of the Chinese. Confucius is the compiler of all these works, except the *Chun tsew*, of which he is the author. According to his own statement, he merely gathered together the wise maxims of the ancient sages, which had been transmitted by tradition, and gave them to the world in a connected form. All the sayings and sentiments in these books so much resemble his own, that we are rather slow to regard him as a mere compiler. He doubtless found materials enough among his contemporaries, to form the superstructure of his doctrinal edifice, and he himself possessed sufficient genius to mould the whole into his own views. Some passages are objectionable and at variance with each other. Commentators account for this discrepancy by referring to the general destruction of books which occurred under Che Hwangte, the founder of the Tsin dynasty; their glosses however make ample amends for whatever may have been lost; and whenever paradoxical sentences are found, they do not scruple to explain them in different ways.

Of the *Five books*, the *Shoo king* is supposed to be the most ancient. It consists of a series of dialogues, designed to give a brief history of China from Yaou till the times of Confucius. The style is more abrupt and concise than that of any other Chinese book. Much of it is so unintelligible, that it is necessary, in order to understand the meaning, first to read the commentaries and then the text. The opinions of commentators on many passages are found to differ widely, and the question, 'What does the author really mean?' often remains unanswered. The conversations are held between Yaou, Shun, Yu, and the princes of the Heä, Shang, and Chow dynasties, and their ministers and statesmen. Many noble sentiments are found among their aphorisms. In every great undertaking the heroes appeal to Shangte, 'the supreme ruler,' and endeavor to gain his approbation to confirm all their actions. The *Shoo king* doubtless contains purer morality than any other work which the Chinese have ever produced. Here we meet with the first, slight traces of astronomy; among the inhabitants of China, which perhaps are as ancient as the Chaldean

accounts. As the Shoo king contains the fundamental principles of the Chinese morals and philosophy, it is worthy of careful attention. After a patient perusal of the work, we are still at a loss to determine what the Chinese really were in ancient times; there is reason to believe, however, that since the days of Confucius, the 'celestial empire' has remained nearly stationary. To the antiquarian the Shoo king must be a highly acceptable work, though he will regret that many passages have been lost and others mutilated.

The Chun tsew, literally, 'spring and autumn,' is a mere chronological table, which embraces the times of Confucius and a short period immediately preceding. The philosopher published this book to improve the manners of his contemporaries; but why such a work rather than a faithful narrative of facts, should have been selected for such a purpose, we cannot even guess. China, at that time, being divided into many feudal states and engaged in constant wars, presented a wide field for the historical writer, who by relating a series of facts demonstrative of the evils of war, might have hoped to repress the spirit of contention. Native historiographers have regarded the Chun tsew as a work of great value. We look in vain to find in it the brilliant talents of Thucydides, who so admirably portrays the Peloponnesian wars; Confucius, however, was not a general or a warrior, but a lawgiver and a man of peace.

Little need be said here concerning the Yeih king, a congeries of metaphysical nonsense. We are aware, that much has been written by both Chinese and foreigners to elucidate the system of diagrams, which have been drawn in explanation of those mystical theories. As it is an utterly false assumption, that the world continues to exist by the influence of the dual powers, Yin and Yang, which is the fundamental doctrine of the Yeih king, the inferences drawn from these premises, must be equally illogical or false. Confucius himself considers the Yeih king as a book which it is difficult to understand; but he intimates, at the same time, that whosoever should comprehend it, would be enabled to know all things. Assuredly if we knew causes and effects in endless succession, we should be enabled to enter deeply into the study of futurity; but to man this knowledge is hidden, nor is the way to it known to him. In point of style, this book of riddles, is lucid. It is full of antitheses, which form the greatest beauty of Chinese writings. The Chinese always endeavor to imitate this mode of expression, and delight to study the style of this classic. Both from the recommendation of Confucius and the hidden wisdom which it contains, it is greatly esteemed by native scholars. Confucius, who was a practical philosopher, does not fail to draw inferences for the encouragement of virtue from the combination of the powers, which operate in nature. We should be inclined to consider the Yeih king a book of fate reduced to a regular system, as destitute of reason as is the belief in fate itself, compared with trust in an overruling Providence.

No part of the classics bears fewer traces of the polishing hand of Confucius, than the Shoo king or 'book of odes.' It is a collection of

national odes divided into three parts, abounding in repetitions, without any practical merits. Popular songs, which were sung by the people and recorded some remarkable event, or alluded to some part of history, constitute the more important part of this collection. Some are amatory verses, religious idyls, &c. Were we better acquainted with the localities; and could we feel the emotions of a Chinese, in reading these expressions of the men of olden times, we might perhaps better appreciate them; but now we can consider them only as curious specimens of antiquity. There is not the same moral feeling prevailing these pieces, which we have observed in the other classics; some passages are even not very decent; the commentators therefore remark, that all the objectionable passages have been interpolated. As a work of general reference, the Chinese view the *She king* with the highest respect. Their most important essays are prefaced by a motto from the *She king*. Confucius himself has adopted this method in his writing; and often proves his reasoning by citing a passage of the odes. He himself recommends the perusal of the work, as adapted to refine the manners of the reader. Europeans who have seen parts of the work in a translation, which improves both the style and the subject, will rather doubt our assertion, when we tell them, that it is very jejune. In poetry, the Chinese have not been able to emulate the inhabitants of western Asia, though they have surpassed them in several other branches of literature. The *She king* however is by no means their best work of this description, though it is the first book of poetry which appeared among them.

The most extensive of the classics is the *Le ke*, or 'book of rites.' It is a code of rites, intended to regulate all the actions, and motions, and behavior of men, their sitting, standing, eating, sleeping, walking, weeping, &c. These regulations are interspersed with excellent remarks upon moral conduct, in no ways inferior to the best maxims in the other classics. The style is more diffuse; repetitions occur very frequently, and the subject is fully discussed. The book consists of remarks and discourses, in which the author answers all difficult questions concerning etiquette and expatiates upon the most important rites. By rites, he informs us, man is distinguished from brutes; but by multiplying them he renders them so tedious that the most perfect automaton is unable to follow them all. He did not perhaps intend to press all as necessary, but to present a whole system for the strict observance of his countrymen, who follow it so far as suits their own convenience. The *Le ke* is a work of great importance in the estimation of the Chinese. The religion of the state is founded upon its principles, and a tribunal is established to secure the due observance of its requisitions. It is considered as the standard of manners. Like some of the other classics it has suffered by interpolations; Chinese scholars complain of this, and some of them do not scruple to despise its authority on this account. Many other works have been written upon the same subject, which altogether afford rules sufficient to transform a whole nation of 300 millions into perfect courtiers. But after all this, it is strange to see

how unmannerly the bulk of the Chinese still remain. This however we would not impute to the Chinese sages, but to the untractable nature of their countrymen.

The Chinese maxims which inculcate filial obedience, and due respect towards parents, and which hold so high a rank in their code of morals, have deservedly obtained the encomiums of foreigners. As far as due veneration and respect towards our progenitors is concerned, the doctrines of Confucius coincide with the law implanted in the human breast by the Creator; but when he requires divine homage to be paid to ancestors, filial piety then degenerates into idolatry. To mourn at the death of our parents, to lament their loss, is the natural effusion of the human heart; but to pray months and years at their graves, to neglect all business on their account, and to perform unmeaning ceremonies in order to show our grief, is unnatural and can never be practiced without hypocrisy. Such however are the commands of Confucius; he repeatedly enjoins the performance of tedious funeral rites, and requires that offerings be made to the manes of deceased parents, and sums up the whole matter by saying, "Serve them when they are dead, as if they were alive." The utmost stretch of filial piety could never strictly fulfill this command. What would life become, if we were constantly to bewail and to serve the dead? We might as well bury ourselves with their bodies, to give a practical proof of our affection, as to remain forever mourning at their tombs. But the views of Confucius were confined to this world; he taught his disciples to "mourn as those who have no hope," and whose existence would cease as soon as they left this present state of being. Confucius never spoke of the immortality of the soul; every thing with him was confined to this world. The philosopher was not consistent with himself. Sacrifices offered to the manes of the departed, imply existence after death; but if the beloved relatives continue to exist, why should the dutiful son be inconsolable on account of their having departed this life? Would it not be more suitable to be consoled with the hope of meeting them again in the life to come? Confucius never dwelt on this subject, nor do we think he was aware of his great inconsistency.

If we were not persuaded that by their own reason, without the aid of revelation, men do not acquire a knowledge of the true God, we might wonder that the same philosopher who labored to lay the foundation of a stable government, by inculcating implicit obedience and unbounded veneration towards the authors of our earthly existence, forgot the almighty Creator from whom the parents derived their life. We have endeavored in vain to find traces of his belief in one God; such an idea seems not to have found a place in his creed. Knowledge and adoration of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift descends, found in him no advocate; he buried himself under the gross system of materialism, and never rose from the creature to the Creator. While he beheld the steady course of the seasons and the splendid firmament, and was struck with the stupendous works of nature and the wonderful vicissitudes of human life, he hesitated to

assign any cause for their existence which was beyond human comprehension. There is a grandeur in the universe which everywhere proclaims the being of God; Confucius felt this, and sometimes gave vent to his feelings in short ejaculations, which indicated the inexpressible sentiments of his laboring mind. Yet his worldly policy and groveling heart stifled his better feelings, and he constituted a system of material powers (yin and yang,) without life or voluntary motion, as the origin of all life and the ruling powers of this world. Such, according to Confucius, is the doctrine of Fuhhe, one of the most prominent characters of the Chinese fabulous era,—but it is in fact a system of gross polytheism dressed up in mysterious nonsense. The starry vault of heaven, however, was too vast and glorious an object to be entirely lost sight of in the reveries of brutal ignorance. Confucius, therefore, independent of his system of the dual powers, and apprehensive lest all adoration should redound to the blue firmament, makes 'mother earth' share with the 'azure heaven' in the honor of worship. Heaven is supreme, and the earth is next in rank; the former is clothed with sovereign authority, and the latter is placed under honorable vassalage. Infidels may admire the skill and success of the eastern philosopher in eradicating the belief of one God from the breasts of millions of his votaries, but they would be puzzled in hearing him speak of a shang te, supreme ruler, who has a paramount influence in the government of the world; under whose auspices the ancient heroes fought, and to whose bar they appealed for the justice of their cause. In this there may be found a faint trace of the patriarchal creed; but alas! it is dark and confused in the extreme. There are now gods without number, who rule over the air, the rivers, mountains, seas, &c. Confucius disposes of these summarily by commanding his disciples to worship them as if they were gods! But his disciples will sometimes even boast, that their master never gave instructions concerning the gods; and that when reminded to pray during a severe illness, he refused to do so, upon the plea of having already prayed.

ART. II. *Early foreign intercourse with China, as described by Arrian, Ptolemy, the Arabian travelers, Ibn Batuta, Rubruquis, Marco Polo, Oderic, Clavijo, Mendez Pinto, Anthony Jenkinson, and others.*

The empire of China was probably not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the western world. Though their knowledge of all countries beyond what they regarded as the civilized world, was exceedingly confused, like that of the Chinese respecting foreign countries at the present day; yet they were not so ignorant as we might be led to infer from their general silence respecting them. The earliest mention of the Thine by western writers occurs in a book ascribed to Aristotle, but evidently the production of a later writer. Eratos-

thenes, who lived B. C. 250, placed Thinae at the end of the earth, bordering upon the eastern ocean. Arrian, after describing an island in the Indian ocean, says: 'Still farther on, towards the north, beyond the sea which bounds the country of the Sinae, is the great city Thinae, in the interior; from which raw and manufactured silks are brought to Barygaza by way of Bactria and the Ganges. It is extremely difficult to reach Thinae, because it lies at a great distance and few go there. Its territories are said to extend to the remote sides of the Pontus and the Caspian sea. On the frontiers of the Sinae, an annual fair is held for the Sesatae (Tartars), a wild tribe, who assemble there with their wives and children. They bring for traffic bulky articles packed in mats; and having assembled upon the frontier between their own country and that of the Sinae, they spread out their mats and make a great feast.'

According to Ptolemy, merchants from India joined by Greeks from Cilicia, assembled for trade with the Seres at a place called 'the stone tower.' From this tower to the capital of the Seres was a journey of seven months. The stone tower stands in a narrow pass of the Belurtag, not far from the place where the Gihon and Yerghien approach each other. The pass is ascended from the north-west; at the left side of the ascent, on the face of the mountain a large rock has been hewn into a regular form. It has two rows of twenty columns each; and therefore called by the natives 'the forty columns.' From foreigners it has received the name of *Tuct. Saliman*, 'the throne of Solomon.'

The Chinese did very little in ancient, as well as modern times, towards making themselves acquainted with other nations. It was only when hostile tribes invaded their territories, or the emperors were actuated by a thirst for conquest, that new discoveries were made. Had the conqueror Ché Hwangtsé (B. C. 200) lived and continued to extend his dominions, the Grecians who were settled near the Caspian, would very soon have come in contact with the Chinese. At a later period the emperors of the Han dynasty subjected Sogdiana to their sway, and the empires of the Roman and the Chinese gradually approached each other. But an insurmountable barrier stood between them. The wild, invincible Parthians braved the armies of both empires. While the Romans on the west were endeavoring to subdue these hardy warriors, a Chinese general was sent (A. D. 94) to attack them on the east. He marched towards the country to be conquered with all the pride natural to a Chinese general; but being told, on approaching the shore of the Caspian, that the passage across it would occupy from five to twelve months, his ardor was cooled, the expedition was abandoned, and he returned in disgrace. No further attempt was made to extend the boundaries of the celestial empire in that direction. An embassy was afterwards sent to the *Tz'utsin kwé*, by which it doubtless meant the Roman empire; but the envoys never arrived at Rome. On their return they reported that beyond the territory of the *Tz'utsin kwé*, (perhaps the Persians,) there was a great sea, by which, sailing due west, one might arrive at the country where the sun sets. This was probably the Mediterranean.

Alexander, when marching towards India, became acquainted with the use of silk stuffs. The merchants of India supplied the western world with this article, till Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, resolving to find the country from which this valuable merchandise came, dispatched an embassy for that purpose. As the way by land was tedious and dangerous, he sent his ambassadors by sea. They reached the place of their destination in A. D. 166; but returned without effecting anything. Had the Bactrian Greeks left us an account of their commercial enterprises, we might have learned something respecting their intercourse with the Chinese. The Nestorians, driven by persecution from the Roman empire, found their way to the most distant countries of the east; but they also, have left us very brief accounts of their travels in China. Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, speaks of the Hunni, and of the great distance from Ceylon to China.

The Arabs at the time of their extensive conquests, became intimately acquainted with the Chinese. As early as the reign of Walid, (708), an embassy with valuable presents, was sent to China by way of Cashgar. Our readers are aware that an account of China was published by two Arabian travelers, Wahab and Abuzaid, who arrived in the ninth century at Canfu, one of the emporiums on the coast of China, a great resort for Arabian merchants. Ibn Batuta, a pious pilgrim, who left his native city Tangiers in 1324, traveled over a great part of Asia. On his visiting a pious Imam at Alexandria, the latter addressed him saying; "I perceive that you are fond of visiting distant countries; you must visit my brother Farid Oddin in India, and my brother Borhan Oddin in China, and when you see them present my best compliments to them." After performing his pilgrimage, and taking an extensive tour in western Asia, Ibn Batuta arrived at the court of Delhi. Here he became a judge under the sultan Mohammed, and was afterwards dispatched on an embassy to China. A Chinese envoy with valuable presents came at the same time to the sultan, and requested permission to rebuild a large idol temple on the frontiers of Bootan. The inhabitants of the district were poor and dependent for the means of subsistence upon the fertile plains of Bengal, then in possession of Mohammedans, and therefore had petitioned the emperor of China to intercede with the sultan in their behalf. Ibn Batuta was sent with an escort of a thousand cavalry, to carry a harsh reply to the emperor. He was attacked on his journey, and, stripped of every thing he possessed, he returned to Delhi. Having been despatched again, he arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast, where he found fifteen Chinese junks lying at anchor. He tells us that the sails of these vessels are made of cane reeds; in some of them there will be a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers. They are rowed by immense oars, over some of which twenty-five men will be stationed, who pull standing. They have on board culinary herbs which they cultivate in pots ranged along the sides. The captain of such a vessel is a great emir; officers with their wives, reside in houses built on deck, so that such a vessel is a city itself.

Ibn Batuta embarked the embassy on board one of these vessels on the day before they were to sail. During the night a tempest arose which destroyed the fleet; his retinue found a watery grave, and his treasures sunk in the ocean. He remaining on shore to offer his prayers in the mosque, escaped; but after such a failure, dared not return to Delhi. After many adventures, he finally arrived at Sumatra and from thence sailed to China. On his arrival at Zaitun, an emporium, the location of which it is difficult to ascertain, perhaps Tseuenchow in the province of Fulkeön, he was astonished at the good order and industry which everywhere prevailed. Paper money was then commonly used in trade. In every large town he found Mohammedans, who were usually wealthy merchants, having their own officers. After he had been in the country some time and visited many places, disturbances arose among the members of the reigning family, and the khan was murdered. His funeral was a pompous ceremony. His body having been laid in a couch with all the pageantry of imperial dignity, was placed in the grave, together with six of his attendants, four female slaves, and four horses, over all of which a hill of earth was raised. Ibn Batuta returned soon after this to Sumatra.

Before the time when Ibn Batuta traveled in China, the Mongols had carried their inroads to the frontiers of Poland. They were a fair specimen of the people who conquered China. They waged war with all nations. In Armenia and Georgia they met with an obstinate resistance. Having subdued these countries, they wished to turn their arms against the Mohammedans. Innocent IV. thinking by their assistance to wrest the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, sent four Franciscan friars to the Mongolian head quarters in Khowaresm. The Mongol officers were astonished at their shabby appearance, and could scarcely believe that they were the ambassadors of the head of the Christians. They asked them whether the pope knew that the grand khan was heaven's son, and that the dominion of the earth belonged of right to him. The friars pleaded ignorance of such a personage; and added: "All that the pope knows on the subject is, that there is a strange and barbarous people called Tartars, who lay waste every country they visit, and destroy particularly the Christians; and his purpose is to exhort them to repent of their past wickedness and cease to destroy the people of God." The officers surprised at such an answer from the bare-footed friars, asked what present they had brought from the pope to the great khan... "The pope," they replied, "is accustomed to receive presents from all men, but never bestows any even upon his best friend, far less upon strangers and infidels."

Notwithstanding these insolent speeches, they were about to be admitted to the presence of the khan, but being requested to make three genuflexions, they refused to do it, except on condition that the khan would turn Christian, alledging that their kneeling to an infidel would be an eternal disgrace to the holy church. Their obstinacy and insolence so enraged the Mongol nobles, that they proposed to flay them alive, stuff their skins with hay, and send them back to the

pope in that shape: but the khau's mother prevented the execution of this horrible design, and they were furnished with a rich supply of provisions for their journey and sent back to their master. But before their departure, they suffered great indignity from the Mongols, who called them dogs, and did not spare their holy father, the pope, in their execration. The Mongols could not conceive why men, whom they had seen worshipping a wooden crucifix, should refuse to kneel before a 'heaven's son;' nor could they understand how the pope, without having performed any military exploit, dared to send ambassadors to the great khan. An insulting letter was addressed to the pope: "If you wish to remain in your land and heritage, you, pope, must come to us in your proper person, and do homage to him who holds rightful sway over the whole earth."

Another embassy was sent at the same time to Baatu khan. Carpini, a Minorite, who was at the head of it, had orders to convert the Mongols, exhort them to repent of their evil deeds, and cease their predatory excursions. This embassy met with a splendid reception, but had to pass between two fires before coming into the presence of the khan. He sent them, weak as they were after fasting during lent, to the great khan. They arrived just when he was about to be installed in his dignified office. Four thousand messengers and ambassadors, who came loaded with presents, assisted at the ceremony. A superb tent had been pitched for the occasion; by the sides of which were arranged five hundred carts filled with treasure: and every thing indicated such wealth and splendor as the friars had never before seen. The monarch treated his poor visitors with kindness, and sent them back with a friendly letter. Carpini was disposed to think the condescending khan a Christian; and having heard of the ceremonies of the Chinese Budhists, which he perceived bore a strong resemblance to some of those practiced by the Romish church, he began to think that this great nation confessed also the Christian faith.

St. Louis while engaged in his crusade to the holy land, received a message from Erkaltay, a Mongol chief, who was carrying on a war with the Saracens on the side of Persia. He, in return, dispatched Von Ruysbroeck, better known by the name of Rubruquis, with other friars, to accept and cement the offered friendship. After visiting the western chief Sartach, they proceeded to the court of Baatu khan, whence they were sent to the grand khan. They found in his camp several European artists; and saw there such a display of splendor as they had not before witnessed. Rubruquis in this visit to China met with many Nestorian Christians; but they were degraded by superstition and vice, and enemies to the sons of what he regarded as the true church.

In the pagan rites of the Chinese, he also, observed the resemblance to those of the church of Rome, which had so forcibly arrested the attention of his predecessors. He traveled through the territories of Prester John, whose memory was then almost buried in oblivion in consequence of his successors having relapsed into paganism. Though the embassy proved unsuccessful, much valuable information respect-

ing the interior of Asia was obtained. Rubruquis had become acquainted with the Dalai lama; and satisfied himself that the rites of his religion must have been derived from a spurious Christianity.

In 1254, Haitho, king of Armenia undertook a journey to the court of the grand khan, or emperor of China, to petition for an abatement of the tribute, which the wide spread terror of the Mongol arms had obliged him to pay. He had no opportunity to become well acquainted with the Chinese, and represents the inhabitants of the celestial empire as haughty mortals, who arrogate to themselves all wisdom, and regard the people of other nations as little better than fools.

The travels of Marco Polo are too well known to require particular notice. In 1288, John de Monte Corvino was sent to the east by Nicholas IV. to promote the interest of popery. He arrived in India and went with a merchant to Cathay, where he presented his credentials and invited the grand khan to embrace Christianity. Surrounded by the hostile Nestorians who were very numerous, Corvino made but slow progress at first. He succeeded, however, in building a church at Cambalu, or Peking, which had a steeple and belfry with three bells, that were rung every hour to summon the new converts to prayer. He baptized 6000 persons and bought, in addition, 150 children whom he instructed in Greek and Latin, and composed for them several devotional books. He translated the Psalms and New Testament into the Mongolian language; and enjoyed the patronage of the grand khan. Pope Clement V. hearing of his success, appointed him archbishop, and sent other missionaries to his assistance. He ordered him, among other things; to have the mysteries of the Bible represented by pictures in all his churches, for the purpose of captivating the eyes of the barbarians and thus leading them to the worship of the true God. Corvino died in 1330, and the hierarchy which he had established, ceased at the death of his successor. Caravans from India and the shores of the Caspian, at the time of which we are speaking, made annual visits to Peking. The difficulty of traversing central Asia was probably less than it is at present. The whole of Bukharia was under the Mongol government, which kept the unruly hordes of its inhabitants in subjection, and maintained order among them.

There is extant a journal written by Oderic, a friar who traveled over the whole of central Asia. He visited China and enjoyed full liberty to go wherever he pleased. At Zaitun he found Minorites who possessed two monasteries, in one of which he deposited the bones of friars who had suffered martyrdom in India, whence he had brought them. The preservation of these relics afforded him great satisfaction; but his sorrow equaled his joy when he saw so many pagan temples where the priests daily served up sumptuous repasts before their idols. While these regaled themselves with the steam of the savory viands, the priests fed upon the substance. The power of the idols being very great, the friar informs us that the Minorite brethren were enabled to work miracles, to prevent the farther encroachment of the powers of hell. Having satisfied his curiosity in

China, he proceeded to Thibet. Here he made his observations with the same simplicity as elsewhere. He was struck with horror at the practice prevalent among the Thibetans, of eating the bodies of their deceased parents; and not a little surprised and perplexed at finding here another pope in the Dalai lama.

During the reign of Timur, the Castilian monarch sent an embassy to the conqueror who then held his court at Samarcand. Clavijo, his ambassador, returned with assurances of the greatest friendship. The successors of Timur, who ruled over Persia, were anxious to conciliate the favor of the emperor of China. Shah Rokh therefore, in 1419, sent an envoy to the court of Peking, who was joined by ambassadors from Khorasan and the surrounding provinces. The high state of civilization in which they found China, greatly surprised them. In the progress of their journey, according to the account given of it, the emperor furnished the ambassadors, at each of the post-houses, with 450 horses, mules and asses, together with 56 chariots or wagons. Near the frontier they met with a huge idol, 50 feet in length, lying in a sleeping posture. On arriving at Peking they found 300,000 persons assembled around the palace, 2000 of whom were musicians and singers, chanting hymns in honor of the emperor. The pavilions around were hung with yellow satin, embroidered with various curious figures. The throne was of massive gold. On one side were arranged the officers of the court in all their gravity, and on the other, young females with pencil in hand to record the words and actions of his majesty. As soon as the emperor had seated himself upon the throne, which he ascended by silver steps, the seven ambassadors were led forward, and at the same time, 700 criminals in fetters were brought in. An officer read a document stating the object of the embassy, and added that the envoys had brought rare and curious things as presents, and came with the view of knocking their heads in the dust before his majesty. The ambassadors then bowed according to Persian custom, and presented the Shah's letter, wrapped in yellow silk. Yunglö, the emperor, was somewhat aged, but having received a fine horse from the ambassadors, he was induced to go out for a hunt. The spirited animal threw his imperial rider, who was so enraged that he would have killed the ambassadors had not the great officers of his court interfered in their behalf. They were soon after dismissed in peace, but without having accomplished anything in respect to the object of their mission.

After the Portuguese had opened a trade with China by sea, many worthless adventurers resorted to the newly discovered coast. The various feats of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, who was one of the first Europeans that reached Japan, are too curious to be passed by in entire silence. This man after having visited the court of Abyssinia, and been taken prisoner and sold, first to a Greek renegade and then to a Jew, found his way to Malacca. From thence he was sent as ambassador to the Battaks of Sumatra, and on his return suffered shipwreck. He now engaged in the service of Antonio de Faria; with whom he and a number of other desperadoes, at length arrived

at Ningpo on the coast of China. While there, they were informed by a Chinese pirate that there was an island situated at some distance to the north-east, where might be found the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, all of gold. They soon set sail in company for the island, which was called Calempuy; but when they had arrived in lat. 49 N., and it grew cold, the Chinese became disheartened and returned.

Faria and his Portuguese companions were not so easily frightened. Though forsaken by their guide, they found the island and plundered the tombs, in which they found a large quantity of silver. The island was inhabited by hermits, who told them that these treasures were placed in the graves to support the deceased kings, who lived eternally in the moon. Before they had removed all the treasure, they were attacked and obliged to withdraw as hastily as possible. On their return a furious gale overtook them, when in the latitude of Nanking, and they were forced to throw their treasure overboard; one of their ships sunk, and the other they run on shore. Only fourteen Portuguese were saved. These were taken prisoners by the Chinese and thrown into a pond where they were almost devoured by leeches. After suffering many other indignities, they were sent to Nanking and there condemned to be whipped and to lose one of their thumbs. They were then conducted to Peking. On his way thither, Pinto had an opportunity to observe the manners of the Chinese, in his praises of whom he is very profuse. Their love of justice and the good order and industry that prevailed among them, appeared to him very remarkable. He met with many Christians in different parts of the country. At Peking he remained two months. Here the adventurers received their final sentence, and were condemned to one year's hard labor at Kwanse; but before the time expired, they were set at liberty by the Tartars who were then overrunning the country. He and his companions now followed the fortunes of their liberators, who were soon obliged to retrace their steps. While with them, they saw the grand talipicor, probably a chief lama, whom Pinto called their pope. He made them all priests and empowered them to give bills of exchange on heaven to all who might be willing to pay for them. They at length left the Tartars, found their way to the coast, and embarked again for Ningpo. But the Chinese captain with whom they sailed, left them on a desolate island, where they almost perished with hunger. They were taken off by a pirate, and were again on their way to Ningpo, when the wind became adverse and drove them to the coast of Japan. Here Pinto ingratiated himself with the natives, and on his return to Ningpo, gave his countrymen so favorable an account of what he had seen, that a large expedition was fitted out for Japan. But several of the vessels were lost, and Pinto was driven to the Lewchew islands. Here they were upbraided with the murder of some natives of Lewchew at Malacca, when the Portuguese took that place. The king had been told that all Portuguese were pirates, and therefore gave orders that these shipwrecked adventurers should be quartered, and their limbs hung up by the side of the highway. From this punishment they were saved by

the kind interposition of some native ladies, and Pinto at length returned to Malacca, broken in spirits and fortune. He again visited China in 1556, and afterwards went on a mission to Japan.

The English did not remain idle spectators of the trade of their neighbors. But thinking themselves unable to cope with the Portuguese in the Indian seas, they endeavored to sail round the northern extremity of Asia or America, to China. Failing in this, they next endeavored, by the favor of the Muscovite czar to find an overland passage to China. A supercargo named Jenkinson embarked upon the Volga in 1558, sailed across the Caspian, and reached Bukharia. But the rapacity and poverty of the natives precluded all hopes of profitable trade. A new effort was made to establish a commercial intercourse with China in 1583. An expedition was dispatched by way of Aleppo, Bagdad, Bussorah and India, furnished with credentials to the grand khan; but after visiting a great part of southern Asia, they returned without entering China.

It is remarkable that the Chinese of the Tang, Sung and Ming dynasties showed far more commercial enterprise than their posterity of the present age. No Chinese junk now goes so far as the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel or even to Calcutta. Indeed few of their navigators know the situation of those places. But under the dynasties just named, a very extensive though tedious trade was carried on with these ports. The petty princes of the Indian archipelago often referred the decision of their quarrels to the emperor of China, who was always anxious to have justice done to the injured party. The emperor Kublai who was bent upon conquest, sent an expedition under the command of Marco Polo, to survey the Indian archipelago. He afterwards fitted out two armies with the design of subjecting the islands to his sway; but both expeditions miscarried, and he relinquished the object. The Indian archipelago, notwithstanding its proximity, still continues to be almost unknown to the Chinese as a nation. The thousands of individuals who visit it, find no encouragement from their government. Chinese, however, are constantly emigrating thither, and the trade is flourishing, but not more than one third as extensive as it would be, were it not for the utter contempt with which the celestial empire treats all intercourse with foreign nations.

ART. III. *Remarks concerning the situation of Canfu, formerly the chief resort of Arabian and other foreign merchants in China.*

When reviewing, in the first number of our first volume, Renaudot's "Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travelers, who went to those parts in the ninth century," we rather too hastily adopted the opinion of the learned translator, that the port of Canfu, which the travelers frequented, was the same as the modern Canton, called by the present Chinese Kwangchow foo.

Further enquiry has convinced us that this is not the case; but that the port which they so highly celebrate is that of Kanpoo, near to the far-famed cities Hangchow and Ningpo in Chêkeäng. Before showing our reasons for this opinion, we will quote the account which is given of Canfu by the Mohammedan travelers.

"Canfu is the port for all the ships and goods of the Arabs who trade in China.* * * *When a ship has got through the *Gates of China*, she, with a tide of flood goes into a fresh water gulf, and drops anchor in the chief port of China, which is that of Canfu; and here they have fresh water both from springs and rivers, as they have also in most of the other ports of China. The city is adorned with large squares, and supplied with all the necessities of defence against an enemy; and in most of the other provinces there are cities of strength fortified in the same manner.* * * They say that in the kingdom of China there are above two hundred cities which have jurisdiction over several others, and have each a prince or governor, and an eunuch or lieutenant. Canfu is one of these cities, being the port for all shipping and presiding over twenty towns."

This description may apply with nearly equal correctness to several ports on the Chinese coast. Canton, then called Kwangchow, Fuhchow, in Fuhkeën, and Hangchow in Chêkeäng, are all situated on rivers of respectable size, which at their mouths widen into gulfs, though none of them are indeed 'fresh water gulfs,' except during freshes. Such being the case, we must find some other circumstances whereby to determine which of these places is designated by Canfu.

None of the cities here mentioned bear names analogous to that of Canfu or Kankhou,* which is given by some Arabian geographers. The sound of Canfu has indeed been thought to resemble that of Kwangchow fon, the middle syllable, *chow* being dropped; but this was not the name of Canton at that period, or at any time previous; no argument can therefore be deduced from the name, in favor of Canton being intended. Near to Hangchow, however, at about 30 miles distance from the city, in an easterly direction, we find a place called Kanpoo, which the Arabs, having no *p* in their language, would change to Kanfoo or Canfu. This place was formerly a sea-port, though its harbor is now filled up by sand. Hangchow being farther up the river, vessels could not reach as far as that city, owing to the sands which choked the passage. Here therefore was the anchorage, and perhaps the ordinary residence of the Arabian merchants. And, by an error natural to persons ignorant of the language, they transferred the name to the neighboring city, to which they carried their imports, and from which they received their exports; as Europeans in later times, have transferred to this city, in a corrupted form, the name of the province of which it is the capital. This will account for much that is said of the greatness of Canfu, which cannot apply to the small sea-port town Kanpoo, nor even to Canton perhaps, which was then and for a long time afterwards but little removed from gross barbarism.

* The Arabic *kh* differs from the *f* only by the addition of a single dot, which accounts for this variation.

Another circumstance that enables us in some degree to determine the place meant is a detail of the progress of a rebellion, which raged for several years and almost destroyed the Arabian trade with China. The account given of it by one of our travelers agrees very well with what is contained in the Chinese annals. The rebel attacked, and after a long siege took and pillaged Canfu, committing great slaughter, and destroying all the mulberry trees. This last circumstance is mentioned by the Arabian: "because the Chinese carefully cultivate the mulberry for the sake of its leaf, wherewith they subsist and propagate their silk worms. This devastation is the cause why silk has failed, and that the trade which used to be driven with it, in the countries under the Arabs, has stagnated." This was about A. D. 877. Both Hangchow and Canton withstood a long siege, and were finally taken and pillaged by the rebels. This account may therefore apply equally to both. But the cutting down of the mulberry trees could be but of secondary importance in Canton, which has never been noted for its silk manufactures; while in Hangchow it would, for a long period, occasion obstruction to an extensive trade, by removing the chief source of its prosperity. It may be owing perhaps to this that we find Canton, about thirty years afterwards, so much enriched by commerce, as to be able to purchase from one of the usurpers a temporary independence, by a gift of foreign commodities to the value of five million taels. The merchants who were driven by civil war from Hangchow, repaired to Canton, which latter city is scarcely heard of for some time after its reduction by the rebels in the year 877. It is therefore with a high degree of probability that we suppose Hangchow and its neighborhood to be the place denominated Canfu.

But we do not depend merely on probability. We learn from Chinese records, that under the Tang dynasty, between the seventh and ninth centuries, an officer was appointed to receive the commercial duties at Kanpoo. Klaproth, extracting from Chinese works, states that "in A. D. 306, Kanpoo had already become an anchorage for coasting vessels. Under the dynasty of Tang about A. D. 720, it had an admiralty. In the time of Yuen, or the Mongol dynasty in China, the counsellor Yang Naeung, who resided at this port, established here a tribunal of commerce, to try and decide cases of difference arising among the merchants, who come here by sea for the purpose of selling their goods." Under the Sung dynasty, immediately preceding that of Yuen, we are told that Hangchow "had intercourse with all nations beyond sea, in the four quarters of the world." It undoubtedly recovered its trade as soon as peace was restored. At the commencement of the Mongol dynasty, Marco Polo was in China, and made a long stay at Hangchow, which having lately been the imperial residence was then called Kinsae (Kingsze). He tells us that "at the distance of twenty-five miles from this city, in a direction to the northward of east, lies the sea, near to which is a town named Gaupu, where there is an extremely fine port, frequented by all the ships that bring merchandise from India. The river that flows past

the city of Kinsae forms this port at the place where it falls into the sea. Boats are continually employed in the conveyance of goods up and down, and those intended for exportation are there put on board of ships bound to various parts of India and of Kstain."

Kanpoo is now a walled town a little removed from its ancient site; it is one of the depôts for salt, so extensively manufactured on the east coast of Chêkeäng. The sea has receded here considerably; but Chapoo, a few miles to the eastward, is still the emporium of the Japanese trade. The following account of it is given by Mr. Gutzlaff, in one of his journals.

"On the 8th, we steered for Chapon, the emporium of the Japan trade. None of us had ever been there, nor were we in the least acquainted with the situation of the harbor: After having rounded the first bold head-land, a large trading place gradually opened, and we perceived a great number of junks at anchor. We could no longer be ignorant of the place of our destination. To prevent all trouble, we resolved not to go on shore, and strictly to abstain from all intercourse with the authorities. Chapoo, however, looked too invitingly. The city itself is built at the bottom of a bay. The anchorage is shallow, and the junks lie high and dry at low water. There are many fine shops in the suburb; but the streets are narrow and crowded. The principal part of the city is surrounded by a massive wall, which is now tumbling down, and has considerable breaks." For further details see the *Canton Register*; vol. 6, nos. 12 and 13, and the *Chinese Repository*; vol. 2, pp. 30, 31.

ART. IV. *The profession of letters in China; motives to engage in it; great number of unsuccessful candidates; portrait of an unsuccessful one.*

The profession of letters in China is adopted with a view to office in the civil service, to attain the judge's bench and magistracy; or, perhaps, the government of provinces; or, it may even be, a seat in the ministerial cabinet, guiding the councils of the great emperor himself. Such elevation is possible to the poor scholar, the humble student of Confucian principles; and, tempted by the prospect, almost every family of a little property dedicates one or more of its sons to the study of books. But of the myriads of candidates throughout the empire, a few only can attain the degrees which render them eligible to office; and of those who are so far qualified, but a very small number are actually chosen to office.

But those who are not chosen, and who have property can, of course, get on well enough in the world; others are usually a burden to their kindred or their friends. Some become private tutors or public schoolmasters; but the frequently recurring examinations for higher degrees call persons away from these duties; and they seldom do well, unless they abandon the profession and pursuit. He who

lives in the country, if he has attained the *sew tsae* degree, must repair, however distant his residence, to the provincial chief city, to be examined for the next degree, that of *keu jin*. And he who has acquired this degree must repair, every three years, from the extremities of the empire to Peking, to try for the *tsin sze* degree. In this manner a man's time and resources are frittered away; and, if unsuccessful, he passes through life a continual prey to disappointment. Besides there is a pride of caste cherished by these *tuh shoo jin*, or book-reading men, as they call themselves, which is a hindrance to their entering on any useful calling. They would rather beg of their kindred and friends, or even of the public, in the character of 'gentlemen scholars,' than put their hands to some useful occupation. It is to be regretted that the government allows such an idle course of life as is that of the unsuccessful candidate, by at length rewarding those who without merit, have persevered to old age in this unproductive occupation,—rewarding them with the degree they have so long sought, when its attainment has ceased to be advantageous.

The following is a portrait of a living, unsuccessful Chinese scholar. "A few days ago a man, about forty-eight years of age, with a respectable head, but clothed in filthy, ragged, worn-out garments, passed and repassed before my window, now and then looking up. Being engaged, I took no notice of him at the time. The next day he came again, and seated himself on a stone opposite to the window, looking up occasionally. Observing this, I sent a servant, one of his own countrymen, to ask him if he wished for anything. The man returned, and said he was a north-country man, and did not want anything; he was waiting for somebody. Knowing the unwillingness of natives to reveal the truth to each other, I sent and asked the poor, ragged stranger into the house, that I might speak to him myself. He came, and as soon as the back of the other Chinese was turned, he knelt down before me, and knocked his forehead against the floor, then rose, and unrolled a dirty paper containing a statement of what he was.

"He was a native of Fuhkeên province a *keu jin* graduate, and had been thrice at Peking, trying for the next degree, without success. He had exhausted all his own money, had tired his friends by repeated application for money, and had tried to earn a little by writing scrolls and papers, but could seldom get above 200 cash a day; he had not sufficient food, and his raiment had been gradually reduced to what I saw. The other day he wanted to kneel down in the streets and beg of me, but Chinese were constantly passing, and he was ashamed. I gave him a dollar to satisfy his immediate want of food; and bid him come again in two days, that I might have time to think what to do for him. I then sent natives to enquire about him. All they could learn was, that he was one of those north-country men, who being friendless and without employment, sink into a state of beggary; instances of which frequently occur. There was no suspicion of his being a bad man.

"He came, according to appointment, in the same filthy rags,—

but having his head clean shaved and his beard dressed. I had been thinking how to clothe him, and feared it would be expensive should I employ my own people, who would make a job of it and take a large percentage. I therefore asked my beggar-friend himself, for what he could get a second-hand suit of clothes. He immediately made a minute estimate of the cost of each article, and thought that for two dollars he could dress himself in a summer suit of clean second-hand clothes. Pleased at being able so cheaply to supply his wants, I gave him three dollars. He returned in about two hours, bringing a complete suit, neatly wrapped up in paper, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar left. Yesterday he appeared in clean, decent raiment. I conversed two hours with him, concerning Formosa, Ningpo, Soochow, Peking, &c. He is of course acquainted with his native dialect, Fuhkeên; he also converses in the mandarin dialect, elegantly. He read and wrote in my presence. I have no doubt of the general truth of his story. His father held the office of cheheên for many years, from which he retired about twelve years ago, at the age of 80, having acquired or saved only about 6000 dollars. Part of this he distributed among three sons, of whom my friend doctor *Ting* is one: Allured by the fame of its riches and liberality, he came to Canton. He has *thrice* been assisted to repair to Peking, to seek higher honors and office; but he almost despairs of further aid, for how, says he, 'can I hope that heaven will rain down 300 dollars.*' However, he means, next year, to try his patrons once more. If he fails this time, *Ting* intends to abandon the pursuit, for he will then be in his 50th year;—he will then conclude that it is his destiny to be poor. Like most of the Confucianists, he is intellectually a proud, self-sufficient fatalist, apparently resigned and yielding, but not humble,—giving up exertion, and submitting to opposition, but with undiminished pride of spirit. For these men never take blame to themselves, but charge all the ills that befall them to their destiny.

"Such is a specimen of an unfortunate Chinese literary adventurer. He has classical learning, but not much useful knowledge, beyond an acquaintance merely with what he has seen. He asked me, when we sail beyond England, and go as far as it was possible for us to go, what it is we at last find—on the supposition that earth and ocean are a plane surface! As long as China secludes itself from the rest of mankind, it must remain ignorant and conceited. If men were merely brute animals, the present policy might be a wise one; but since a rational nature is characteristic of men, the Chinese certainly injure themselves by their exclusiveness."

* A *ken jin* graduate, joining with three or four others, can go to Peking and come back for this sum. The candidates are allowed to pass the custom-houses without being searched; and they wish to be at court about twenty days before the examinations commence, to recover from the fatigues of the journey and refresh their memories a little with the classics.—Many of the men of *Keiyang* chow are barbers, and exercise their skill in this way on the road to Peking; instead of spending the whole time in unprofitable journeying.

ART. V. *Agriculture of China; its antiquity, laws regulating it; obstacles to improvement; the soil and temperature of China; irrigation and manuring; implements of husbandry.*

The Chinese have always held agriculture in high estimation. Unlike their neighbors on the north and west, they have remained stationary age after age, not wandering from their homes unless compelled to do so by invasion or famine. Their early records speak of the tillage of the earth in such terms as evince a considerable acquaintance with its principles. The husbandman has been honored above other classes of laborers, and the fabled founder of agriculture, Shinnung, 'the divine husbandman,' was one of the 'three sovereigns' who flourished in China; previous to the rise of the five great emperors. For many of the ages immediately following this date, the history of agriculture was that of the country. In these early times the fundamental maxims of the science were established, which as far as we can learn from succeeding history, have been practiced to the present day. By pursuing this course for a long period, China found herself in wealth and population far in advance of all her neighbors. The only sure way of advancing and securing a nation's prosperity, by the cultivation of the soil, has been understood by the Chinese, and successfully practiced, from time immemorial. The ancient emperors themselves ploughed the soil, and the empresses cultivated the mulberry trees. The annual ceremony of ploughing, performed by the emperor at the present day, has a great tendency to elevate the occupation of tilling the soil in the estimation of the people. They there see a man, who is thought but little less than a god, and by far the highest person in the world, condescending to show them that they are not forgotten.

The laws at present in force, regulating the affairs of agriculture, the transfer of lands, &c., are substantially the same as in the days of Confucius. Although each dynasty has promulgated its own laws, still the models of them were found in the ancient books. By these laws the emperor, after the patriarchal mode, is declared universal landholder, and all lands are held in occupation directly from him. The possessor can be ejected at will, but he is allowed to remain as long as he can cultivate the soil. Thus the same spot of ground descends from father to son, for a long succession of generations. Whenever a man is registered in the lawful possession of a spot of ground, all the improvements and crops are guaranteed to him. Many who possess more land than they wish to cultivate, lease it to others, who give a part of the produce as rent. The greatest part of the land cultivated in China, is held in this manner. Mortgages are also known among the Chinese, and on any secretion of the property or fraudulent evasions, the land reverts to government. Lands occupied by soldiers cannot be mortgaged. One peculiarity about these leases is, that at the end of the time, the mortgagor can recover his land,

by paying the original consideration, and the mortgagee cannot refuse to deliver up the premises. All unregistered land can be cultivated by any one who applies, if he shows that he is able to fully occupy it. There are no game laws nor fishing privileges, and the use of rivers, lakes and canals are open to all. The land tax is paid, partly in money and partly in kind, according to the nature of the produce, and the wants of the government. Evasions of the taxes, either by the officers or from false representations on the part of the landholder, are punished by confiscation and blows. The rate of taxation, however, is altered, when the land becomes unfruitful, or it is remitted when freshes or droughts have deprived the husbandman of the fruit of his labors. Destroying the instruments of husbandry is punished the same as thefts, except branding.—These laws, which are now in use, are extracted from Staunton's translation of the penal code; some of them have been slightly modified by various clauses, but their general effect is not altered by these exceptions.

Considering the regard paid by the Chinese to all customs and modes of operation which have the sanction of antiquity, and which are found easy in the execution, we cannot expect that the general plan of conducting agricultural pursuits at present will differ very much from what it was in ancient times. The strictness with which filial duties are enjoined upon the young, and the habitual deference paid to whatever has the sanction of a parent, also renders the introduction of any improvement extremely difficult. The great articles of consumption, and the manner of raising them are the same now as thousands of years ago; the implements of husbandry the same; and in the eyes of a Chinese, both are perfect. If improvements, manifest and simple, were proposed to a Chinese husbandman, the proposer of them would be immediately referred to ancient custom, and to the usage of his fathers, and this would be an end of all controversy. The force of custom on the minds of the Chinese will be a great bar to their improvement, particularly in agriculture. Experience has shown, that a supply of food can be procured, and a numerous population supported, by an adherence to the ancient mode. And if manual labor is always to be used for animal, it may be well doubted whether these objects can be obtained more perfectly than they are at present. To obtain as large a supply of nourishment as possible in the simplest manner and from the smallest space, is the great end of Chinese agriculture. And to effect this, the land is subdivided into such small portions, that the entire energies of the laborer are directed to a spot not many times larger than the tenement he occupies. Here he must live or starve, and we can easily perceive that he would not be much inclined to waste either land or labor in venturesome experiments.

The soil of China is as diversified as its climate; the general characteristic of it, however, is great fertility. This fertility is in a good measure artificial, being made so by the amount of labor bestowed upon it. The aids afforded by nature to fertilize the country are improved to the best advantage. These are the long rivers which flow from the mountains on the western side of the country across to the

ocean, and which are intersected by numerous canals throughout their whole lengths. The mountainous regions are not so high as in Hindostan, neither are there any deserts of sand as in Central Asia. The situation of the elevated land is such as is favorable to the formation of rivers, while at the same time it is accessible to cultivation. The forests which cover some parts of the mountains in the western provinces contain valuable timber, especially those kinds suited for cabinet work. Notwithstanding the numerous population of China, tracts of land are found in various parts of the empire, which support scarcely any inhabitants. Some of them are in the vicinity of large cities. The existence of such wastes is owing to the ignorance among the people of those principles of agriculture, the application of which would render them fertile. The most of them are marshes which need draining and manuring. To effect this requires an outlay of capital which would be nearly thrown away to the adventurer, or the return would be very distant. The price for which food could be afforded, raised on such lands, would be far more than that grown in more favorable situations. Some of them support a scanty population of wretched looking beings, who barely subsist. There are also small tracts of sandy plains, but in general they support a small growth of pines.

The temperature of China in general is moderate, being softened in winter by winds from the ocean, and mitigated in summer by those which come from the mountainous regions on the west. In the northern parts, the cold is often severe and continued for a long time. At Peking the thermometer sinks to 20° below zero; in the south, the heat during the summer, ranges from 75° to 96° , and in winter, from 30° to 55° . Very violent winds frequently occur about the time of the autumnal equinox, but the rest of the year is mild. The face of the country, as far as the observation of travelers extends, is diversified by hills and valleys, rivers and canals, cities, villages and hamlets in an almost unlimited variety. The absence of large forests is a peculiar feature in the landscapes of this country, neither are there any solitary mansions to be seen pointing out the abodes of opulent landholders. Every thing artificial has nearly the same aspect in each province; yet the numerous villages, the narrow canals running in all directions with a wide river meandering through the fields, both spotted every where with innumerable boats, together with terraced hills, clumps of graceful bamboos, extensive grounds covered with rice, often a large city, and a tall pagoda standing here and there like watch towers on the tops of hills, render a landscape in China a peculiar scene.

The Chinese have been well called gardeners instead of agriculturists, for they are almost entirely ignorant of those principles by which agriculture could have been placed on a scientific foundation. The great requisites in their system are manure and water, and to obtain these their whole energies are devoted. The soil is rarely allowed to lie fallow, and in most parts produces two crops annually. It is assiduously pulverized, and different soils are also mixed together to im-

prove the quality of both. They will carry sand for a long distance to mix with a clayey, heavy soil, and loam to put with that which appears too loose. During the few months of winter in the southern provinces, the soil is sometimes thrown up into heaps where it has been mixed with some vegetable matter, thus making a kind of compost and also presenting a larger surface to the air. After those lands which require flooding, are covered with water, they are hoed and turned over until the whole surface is reduced to mud; this process has a still further fertilizing tendency.

For manure, the Chinese collect every thing of a vegetable or animal kind that can possibly be applied to such a purpose. Reservoirs of brick or wood are dug in the banks of the field near a canal, into which every refuse substance is put. The principal one has a roof over it, and is plastered that the contents may not be absorbed into the earth. Besides this principal one, large vases of stone-ware are sunk in the ground at convenient places for the use of passing travelers. The children and poor people are continually employed in collecting refuse vegetable and animal matter with which to fill up these receptacles; the sweepings of streets, hair from the barbers' shops, offals from the butchers', feathers, horns and bones, which are reduced to powder, soot, and the deposits of creeks and rivers are all industriously gathered up, and thought sufficiently valuable to be carried a great distance, especially if water carriage is convenient. The dung of all animals is esteemed above any other kind of manure. It often becomes an article of commerce in the shape of small cakes, which are made by mixing it with a portion of loamy earth and then thoroughly drying them. These cakes are brought from Siam, and they also form an article of commerce between the provinces. They are never applied dry, but are diluted in as much animal water as can be procured. Ashes are employed in fertilizing the soil, as are also lime and old plaster. The latter is esteemed of such value as sometimes to induce a farmer to replaster an old room that he may fertilize his fields with it. Lime is sparingly used, except in destroying weeds, but its stimulating qualities are well known. In applying manure to the soil, care is taken that it shall have its full effect. Before being taken out of the receptacles in the field, it is suffered to become half putrified, in which state it is put upon the plant. Some seeds are put into manure until they have germinated, while others are planted enveloped in their appropriate manure. After the plant has grown a few inches, it is again manured with that which is much diluted. The effect is immediately apparent in an accelerated growth. On the seacoast, fish and sea-weed are used to some extent as manures. Still, after every thing is employed that can be procured, the supply is inadequate to fertilize the land.

The means adopted to irrigate the land are such as combine in a high degree, economy and utility. The numerous branches of the rivers which flow through the country are easily united by canals. These latter again branch off into smaller streams leading into every field and garden. By uniting them to other canals, a current is

formed, which together with the constant agitation caused by the boats, keeps the water constantly fresh. The digging of most of them requires but little more labor than the mere excavation, since there are no towpaths for draught animals, and but few locks are needed.

The bridges which are thrown over canals are, for the most part, structures of great solidity, being built of stone. Some of them have arches that are high and beautiful; those constructed over the grand canal, are fabrics that would do honor to any nation. There is one crossing a lake which joins the grand canal near Hangchow foo in Chêkeäng that is said by Barrow to have about ninety arches, and that at Fuhchow foo is also a noble structure. Some of those which cross the sluices in the grand canal, are on wheels. When a boat is about to pass, the bridge is rolled off, the loose spars on which it runs taken away, and the planks composing the gate raised by a capstan, and the boat goes through with the current. To pass stationary bridges, the masts of the boats are constructed so as to rise and fall at pleasure. In the construction of the common bridges over small creeks, the main object is durability; heavy buttments are built on the banks, and also in the middle, if the width requires it, and these are joined together, either by a slight arch or by horizontal tiers of wood or stone. Wooden bridges are common, built similar to those of stone.

The repair which is needed by the canals in the course of a year is but little, except they have been injured by freshes. The boats are always furnished with a scull, and are usually propelled by it; this mode gives so little injury to the banks that they are seldom defended by wood or stone. Where the tide ascends the streams, sluice gates are made in the banks of the adjoining fields, which allow every tide to cover the grain; the water is easily retained or permitted to flow off at the convenience of the farmer. The terraces are watered in a variety of ways. Whenever a rivulet is found issuing from the sides of the hill, it is assiduously conducted into little channels, and not suffered to escape at the bottom, till it has watered every plat. For the convenience of watering the terraces, there are usually reservoirs near the top and at the foot of the hill; from the latter the water is raised into the upper levels by wheels or by hand. When it is done by hand, two men are employed, who stand on either side of the reservoir, with a pail between them; to this vessel is attached long ropes, which are fastened to it near the middle. By giving the pail sufficient impetus, and standing a little above the level of the reservoir, the water can be raised with great expedition. When the water is raised by wheels, the buckets are usually attached to its circumference, and discharge the water at the top. The machine, except the axis, is made entirely of bamboo; it is placed so as to turn by the force of the current, and some of them will raise one hundred and fifty tons of water in twenty-four hours to the height of forty feet. Where the ascent is less, chain-pumps of a simple construction are used, which are worked both by men and animals. A single bucket attached by a rope to a long lever, which turns on a tall post as a fulcrum, is also employed to raise water.

The cultivation of the sides of hills by terraces, for which the Chinese are peculiar, has, from the manner in which it was treated by writers, been greatly exaggerated. In general, only the most favorable hills are chosen, such as have a good soil, and a moderate ascent. The terraces are walled up by stone, and the banks being used also for paths become in time very firm. When there is a natural stream of water, sluices are made in the banks, through which it can run. The number of different levels made, depends entirely upon the attending circumstances. The tops of the hills are generally occupied with graves; for the Chinese always endeavor to bury their dead on eminences, that the bodies may be beyond the reach of water or insects. In the neighborhood of large towns, this predilection would render the ground as valuable as it would become by cultivation. When the soil is thin, the hills are left for pasturing their flocks and herds, which are few. In those places where the ground between the hills is marshy and sterile, and the population numerous, the latter are covered with terraces to the top.

Rows or drills are almost always employed in planting, the mode of sowing by hand as in other countries being seldom practiced. The previous preparation of the soil is done mostly by man; buffaloes are used to assist him in ploughing and harrowing. When practicable, the rows are put in the direction of north and south. Reaping is performed by means of knives of the shape of a bill-hook, and mowing, where it is needed, is done with the same instrument. In gardens, the seeds are planted in beds, and two crops of vegetables are obtained by planting one among the other, but which come to maturity at different times. Garden vegetables of all the common kinds known in Europe are raised, such as cabbages, turnips, onions, cucumbers, &c.; and in the south the list is increased by a number of tropical fruits, as the egg-plant, banana, sweet potato, &c. Besides the many esculent plants cultivated, a great variety of others used either in medicine, in the arts or for show, are raised. Among such, may be mentioned cassia, indigo, the mulberry, rhubarb, tobacco, fruits of all descriptions, and flowers innumerable. The cultivation of some of them, as indigo, rhubarb, cassia, is confined to particular districts, while others are universal, as tobacco. The fruits are usually inferior in their flavor to those of Europe, except those which are indigenous. The mode of increasing the flavor by grafting is known, and in some places, it is frequently practiced. Water plants which are used as food are extensively cultivated, thus occupying land which would remain waste. The banks of the canals and rivers are often seen planted with water chesnuts (*Scirpus tuberosus*), with taro (*Arum esculentum*), or with the nelumbium. The lakes in the province of Honan are nearly covered with these aquatic vegetables. In the northern provinces, millet is sown in damp grounds.

The utensils of the Chinese farmer are very few and simple. The object of most of them is merely to direct manual labor, and not to reduce it. The plough is without a coulter, and has only one handle. The share is made of iron, and attached to the handle by a withe of

bamboo. It is usually drawn by a single buffalo, and is held in such a position that the furrow is not more than four inches deep. The form of the share is much like that of a spade. There are also other kinds; one is a light implement used in making furrows in the beds of gardens, and is drawn by hand; there is another employed in stirring up the soil in flooded fields, which is carried in nearly a vertical position, and drawn by a chain fastened near the share. To perform most of his operations in gardening or farming, the Chinese employs the hoe; and by practice he has learned to apply it to almost as many uses as there are separate instruments in other countries. Trenches either for water or between beds in gardens, are dug with it; a considerable part of the turning over the soil is done with it instead of the plough; and in fine, for most of the purposes a Chinese husbandman wishes to accomplish. It is usually about a foot long and five or six inches broad, and trimmed with iron; for turning over the soil to mix with the manure, it is often divided into three or four prongs. The common harrow of the Chinese is similar to a large rake; it is drawn by buffaloes, who are directed by a man sitting over the teeth; there is also another one with several rows of teeth. In soft soils, as paddy fields, they sink to such a depth, as in a great measure to supersede the necessity of ploughing or hoeing the land, and as the teeth are near each other, they at the same time clean the ground from old roots.

The use of carts in agriculture is wholly superseded by the boats on the canals, except in the northern provinces. Those there in use, even for pleasure, have only two wheels; and those employed by the farmer are so low that the wheels have no spokes. Burthens are carried in the south by porters on land, and by boats on water. Thrashing is performed in several ways. Almost every village has a public thrashing ground, as have all the principal farms. Flails similar to those in western countries, and also animals, are employed in thrashing the grain. It is cleaned of its chaff by means of fanning mills, and also by shaking it in the wind. The paddy or unhulled rice is deprived of its husk by being rubbed between two cylindrical stones. These stones are of various sizes, and are usually turned by hand. The instruments employed for expressing the oils obtained from various seeds are numerous. One made on the principle of a trip-hammer, falls into a wooden bowl in which the seeds are placed. The same principle is also extended, and several hammers are elevated by a long cylinder, which is turned by means of a water wheel. The seeds are placed in a trough, and the whole machine requires but little attention. Another mode employed for the same purpose is to press the seeds in a trough hollowed out in a circular shape. The weight is suspended from a beam above and has a wheel at the lower end of it, which runs in the trough. By pushing the weight horizontally, the wheel presses upon the seeds through the whole length of the trough. In all the mechanical operations of the Chinese, simplicity and cheapness are conspicuous; but to save manual labor by the use of machinery; seems to form no part of their economy.

ART. VI. *Free intercourse with China; present situation of the country; remarks on it, by Staunton, Majoribanks, Auber, and by writers in the Quarterly and Westminster Reviews, Spectator (London newspaper), and Alexander's East India Magazine.*

The day is not very distant, unless we mistake the signs of the times; when a well regulated intercourse will be established between China and the nations of the west. The present condition and attitude of this empire are unnatural and utterly opposed to the spirit of the age. Hitherto in China the rights of man, even those which are unalienable have been trampled on and disregarded: but so they cannot always be. Once indeed there were exclusive rights among the nations; but since the advent of the Prince of peace, the rights, as well the duties of men, have been placed in a new light. From the eleventh century to the seventeenth, the march of freedom in England had no parallel; and from her borders there went out an influence which is elevating and ennobling the world. The republic of North America, composed chiefly of her sons, has joined her in the march of improvement. A similar spirit, mighty and uncontrollable, is rising up in France, Germany, and other places on the continent of Europe; and like the united power of mountain torrents, seems destined to remove every obstacle that impedes its course. Who that has witnessed the changes which have taken place during the last few years in France, England, Egypt, and throughout the Turkish dominions, can believe that there is any thing in China which will not give way to the spirit of reform? Where can men be found more fierce and desperate than the Algerines? Where is the monarch that is more haughty and obstinate than the Sultan? And where are there any superstitious more deeply rooted than those which lately required the burning of widows in British India? Limited indeed must be their views who do not see that the great changes which are taking place in the earth, are not the result of mere human wisdom and powers. The work which has been accomplished under the guidance of divine Providence, is a sure pledge of what shall hereafter be achieved; and that even China will be brought down (or more correctly, will be exalted) to stand on a level with the nations of the earth. The present situation of China as it regards herself and as she stands related to other countries, should be carefully considered.

China is not a free country: That the empire is independent, and that the authority of the body politic, which is concentrated in one man, is complete and supreme, are points which none perhaps will dispute. But what are the constituent parts of this great nation, and how has it been formed? Two centuries have not yet elapsed since the ancient provinces were overrun by foreigners, who conquered the inhabitants, subjected them to the disgraceful tonsure; and to this day hold them in bondage. The conquerors have indeed framed a code of laws for the government of their subjects; but both the one

and the other are entirely the creatures of a despot's will: The emperor is supreme, and neither law nor subject can control him. In many respects the laws are good; but in others they infringe the laws of nature—the laws of God; for they deprive men of those rights which render him a free agent and contribute in the highest possible degree to personal happiness. If the people will bow down and worship wood and stone, and their rulers too, well and good; but if they presume to worship heaven, or as they ought to do, Him that dwelleth therein, they violate the laws of the land and incur the heavy penalties of chastisement, imprisonment, or death. Never would we evil affect the minds of the Chinese towards their rulers, nor reproach them for the bondage in which they are held; but we cannot do justice to the subject which we discuss without exhibiting the full state of the case. Thousands of the sons of Han, who feel the galling tyranny that grinds them to the very dust, know that it is unjust.

However wrong the internal condition of this country may be, that which is external, and by which it is, or ought to be, associated with the other great and independent nations of the earth, is still more unjust and indefensible. Continually boasting of her benevolence, justice, and tender regard towards all that dwell between the four seas, China habitually stigmatizes them as fierce and crafty barbarians, and treats them as enemies. She knows no equal, and in all her intercourse with foreigners proceeds on the principle that they are in every respect far inferior to the inhabitants of the 'celestial empire.' In her own view she is the sun and the centre of all, and upon her all kingdoms of the earth are dependent. The simple maxims, that nations are moral persons, and that each has perfect equality in sovereignty and social rites with every other, she treats with contempt. Hence the duty of nations to succor and assist each other, to cultivate mutual friendship, and to cherish as far as may be, an honest and frank intercourse with others, she entirely disregards. The broad rivers that flow through her territories, nay, even the 'great ocean' which is contiguous to her coasts, she will not allow other nations to share in common with herself. She expels from her presence and drives from her borders all who approach her, except they come as suppliants. The petty nations around her may bow down their heads in the dust before her sovereign and do him homage: The nations of Europe, by especial permission, may sometimes participate in the same privileges. But they must not presume to seek anything more: Thus, notwithstanding her lofty pretensions to justice and kindness, she does not in fact even allow avenues to be opened for reciprocating friendly offices. The right which every nation has of sending ambassadors to negotiate with foreign courts, and ministers to reside at them, China disallows, and thereby cuts off the only effectual means of establishing and maintaining friendly intercourse with other nations:

Such is the present attitude of the Chinese empire: and when viewed in connection with the spirit of the age and the present position of Christendom, leads us to the conclusion that a change must speedily take place; a change which will result in a well-regulated

intercourse between this and the other nations of the earth. The present state of affairs cannot be viewed with feelings of approbation, and there is no reason why it should be tolerated. The pope is wont to denounce as heretics those who do not submit to his authority; the Mussulman solemnly pronounces all men to be outlaws who do not embrace his faith; and, the impiously so styled, 'son of heaven' declares those rebellious and perverse, who, without especial permission, dare approach the borders of his empire, and seek to hold friendly intercourse with its inhabitants. But who now heeds the thunders of the Vatican, or the anathemas of the false prophet? They have lost their power; and the 'flaming edicts' launched from Peking to drive foreigners from the coast are equally harmless. As well might 'the one man' prevent the swelling tide from rolling in upon the shore, as maintain forever the present system of excluding foreigners from the ports of his empire. The system is too unnatural and too unjust to be long perpetuated in an age like this. Causes are in operation which are hastening the destruction of exclusive rights, and the introduction of a new order of things. The eyes of the nations are now turned towards China.—Great Britain, on account of the changes in her commercial relations with this country, has given the fullest expression of feeling on this subject, and her press has, during the last two or three years, been fruitful in productions respecting a country hitherto far too little known. Among those productions, we shall briefly notice a few of the most recent date.

No man living in Europe is probably so well acquainted with China as sir G. T. Staunton; his opinions therefore, are deserving of the first attention. Before the British parliament, in June 1833, he stated that, "it is not easy to estimate the vast field which would be opened to the enterprise and the industry of the manufacturing and producing classes in England, if such an improved understanding could be effected between the governments of Great Britain and China, as might lead to a free and unrestrained intercourse of British subjects with the ingenious and industrious population of an empire, exceeding, in respect to numbers, extent, and natural resources, the aggregate amount of all the nations of civilized Europe." The whole foreign commerce now carried on with China, amounting to \$30 or \$35 millions annually, is by no means inconsiderable; but this amount, we think, might be doubled, and even trebled; and nothing but unnatural restriction prevents it from being thus augmented. Our limits forbid us to give sir G.'s resolutions entire; the chief points on which he dwells are these: 'that the port of Canton is one of the least advantageous in the Chinese dominions, either for exports or imports; that the trade, instead of being regulated by treaty and under the protection of public functionaries at the capital, is wholly abandoned to the arbitrary control of the Chinese local authorities, and is by them subjected to many very severe and vexatious burdens, and to various personal restrictions and privations of the most galling and oppressive nature; that these evils are wholly attributable to the nature and character of the Chinese government and not to any want

of proper spirit and firmness in the agents of the East India company; that in abrogating the authority of the company in China, it is indispensably necessary that a greater instrument of protection be at the same time substituted for it under the sanction of a national treaty between the two countries; that notwithstanding the ill success of all complimentary embassies, there is no insurmountable obstacle to such an arrangement; that in consequence of the liability of homicides being committed by foreigners, it is expedient to constitute a British tribunal upon the spot for the trial and punishment of those who may thus offend; and that it is of the utmost importance that all legislative measures, in any manner affecting a branch of commerce, at once so valuable and so capable of improvement, and yet so precarious, should be founded on the fullest and most impartial consideration of all the circumstances of the case.

We will next notice the 'Observations' of sir J. B. Urmston, who from 1819-20 till the appointment of sir W. Fraser in 1826-27, was at the head of the British factory in China. The object, which sir James had in view in making his observations, was to show the situation in which foreigners are placed in China, and to impress on the British government at home, the necessity of removing the trade *entirely* from Canton to some more northern port of the empire; or, should this not be accomplished, to adopt measures to place it on a basis more secure and honorable than that on which it has hitherto rested—"measures," he says, "which must be undertaken sooner or later." This remark was made previous to the opening of the free trade; "the adoption of that measure renders it," in his opinion, "still more imperative that some very distinct understanding should be entered into between the British and Chinese governments, touching the intercourse between their respective subjects; an intercourse which will now be considerably extended, from the additional number of British ships and persons that will, in all probability, frequent the waters of China, and consequently the chances of casualties by homicides, &c., will be considerably multiplied."

Proceeding on the great rule in commerce that it is best to choose the point where the merchant can buy the cheapest and sell the dearest, he shows "that Canton is one of the very worst places in the empire, which could have been chosen as an emporium for the British trade; and the evidence which he adduces to prove his position is most ample and satisfactory. He cites, as Staunton does also, the statements of Mr. Ball, 'the late very intelligent and able inspector of teas in China, who wrote an ingenious pamphlet to show that the additional expense of the company's black teas alone, owing to the inconvenient overland transportation to Canton, amounted annually to £150,000. He names Ningpo and Hangchow as the most central and convenient places for British commerce; but however desirable and important either these or any other places on the main land might prove, he is "decidedly of the opinion, that an insular situation like Chusan, would be infinitely more so." Sir George Staunton is likewise of the opinion, that 'it may be expedient (though

only as a last resort,) to withdraw the trade altogether from the control of the Chinese authorities, and to establish it in some insular position on the coast, beyond the reach of acts of oppression and molestation; where it may be carried on securely and honorably.² Surely, to confine the intercourse with the Chinese to an insular position, or to limit it to a single port, should be done only as a last resort.

In reference to national intercourse and the situation of foreigners in Canton, sir James has the following very pertinent remarks: "It has been argued by many, and the doctrine is maintained by almost all persons in Europe who are ignorant of the actual state of things in China, that if we choose to trade with China, we are bound to submit to such regulations as that country may think proper to frame as regards foreigners trading with it. This is all very plausible, and at the first view may appear but reasonable and just. No one for a moment will, of course, attempt to deny to the Chinese the right of framing regulations for the guidance, and to a certain extent the control, of foreigners resorting to their country; and if such regulations were of a reasonable and just nature, even with a considerable latitude allowed on our part for the peculiarities and the jealous policy of the Chinese, there would not perhaps be any just grounds for insisting on an alteration in the system of our trade, and in our general intercourse with them." He again says, "neither our trade nor general intercourse with the Chinese is carried on under those established and reasonable regulations, such as usually attend our commerce in other parts of the world; but on the contrary, such laws and regulations, as do exist, (if the arbitrary system of the Chinese can be so termed,) touching the foreign trade at Canton, are altogether vague and undefined; the consequence is, that our valuable and important Chinese commerce is, at all times and seasons, at the mercy of the caprice and rapacity of the local authorities and their subordinates.*** It cannot but be deeply lamented and deplored, that our intercourse with China remains on its present footing, and that a trade of such magnitude and importance should continue to be carried on under such disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances, subject as it is at all times to sudden interruptions either from the capricious conduct of the Chinese government, or from accidents, such as no caution, vigilance, or judgment on the part of Europeans, can avert or prevent."

Mr. Marjoribanks after a residence of about twenty years in this country, and a long connection with the select committee of the British factory, became its president in 1830, and early the next year, on account of ill health, embarked for England. In a spirited letter, published in December last, a short time before his death, and addressed to the right honorable Charles Grant, he corroborates the statements given above, that the port of Canton is one of the worst in the empire for foreign commerce, and portrays the state of affairs here

in vivid colors. Those who are unacquainted with China, may charge him with severity and exaggeration in the account which he has given of the Chinese government, but they will find it difficult to disprove his statements. He might indeed have spared some of his remarks in regard to what the hong merchants once were; had he said less however concerning what they now are, he would, we fear, have concealed the truth. Their situation is by no means enviable. By the local government they are held responsible for all the acts of foreigners visiting this port, however little those acts may be within the sphere of their control; moreover, they are pronounced to be the only proper medium of communication with the government. "It becomes, therefore," says Mr. M., "the unremitting endeavor of the hong merchants to keep foreigners within the severest restrictions, and to prevent any enlargement of their privileges which may infringe on the rights of their own monopoly. Although, therefore, their existence depends upon foreign trade, they are the greatest enemies to its improvement or extension. They resort to the lowest means of fraud and deception to impose upon foreigners, and do not hesitate at the assertion of the grossest falsehoods in representing their conduct to the government. Such is a part of the system to which British merchants are compelled to submit in China."

Concerning native authorities he speaks in terms not more plain than just. "Most of the offices of government are put up to sale, and sold to the highest bidder. The salaries are very inadequate, and the possessor of the office naturally looks to remunerate himself by corrupt practices for the sums by which he purchased his appointment. It may safely be asserted, that there is no officer of the Canton government whose hands are clean, or who is not at all times ready to infringe the law which it is his nominal duty to uphold. Is it possible, let me ask, to apply the principles which regulate our national intercourse with the nations of civilized Europe, to a government constituted as this is?*** It may be broadly and safely asserted, that for the last ten years no foreign merchants, except the E. I. company have traded in conformity to Chinese proclamations."

He next adverts to the extensive trade now regularly established at Lintin. "The importation of opium is most violently denounced by the edicts of the emperor and all subordinate officers of government, many of whom are the persons by whose connivance, and sometimes by whose immediate instrumentality, the trade is carried on. Here we have China and its rulers exhibited in all their weakness, presumption, and corruption, professing strict maxims of virtue, which become strongly contrasted with their gross immorality, affecting high political principle which they do not feel, and thundering forth proclamations which they never expect or wish to see obeyed. The vice of opium-smoking is principally practiced by persons in the higher ranks of life. The palace of the governor of Canton was recently burned down by his secretary having retired to rest with his opium pipe, and so set fire to his apartment. The emperor's eldest son, the heir expectant of the empire, is said to have died from excessive indulgence in its use."

Mr. Auber's account of 'British and foreign intercourse with China,' published in January last, in an octavo of 420 pages, drawn chiefly we presume from official documents, will be found a valuable book for those who wish to learn what the situation of foreigners has hitherto been in this country. The publication of the work is very opportune. One short extract from the 'concluding remarks' will show the style and spirit of the whole: "In contemplating the future, it is impossible not to be struck most forcibly at the entire change about to take place, in the total abandonment of the system under which our intercourse with China has been so successfully carried on. The measure, however, be the results what they may, is the act of the nation; scarcely a voice was to be heard out of the court of proprietors, in opposition to the new system, in which the current of public opinion, and the assumed interests of commerce, have led the nation to embark. * * * If the results prove favorable, and it is fervently to be wished they may, the country will owe them to herself; but, if adverse, she has herself alone to blame."

The writer in the Quarterly comes to the subject with the mingled feelings of wrath and despair. O tempora, O mores! "The deed is done for evil or for good. By the omnipotence of the British parliament, the Yellow sea, which for ages has been, with few exceptions, a *mare clausum*, will become from the 22d of April, 1834, a *mare liberum* to all the world, the ships carrying convicts to Botany bay not excluded." Who the writer of this article is we do not know; "he may or he may not be" suffering severely by the new arrangements; "the old Chinese goose may or she may not have taken wings before he had gathered a sufficient supply of her golden eggs." Be this as it may, he feels intensely and writes keenly. He is grieved at the ignorance of Mr. Marjoribanks; laughs at Mr. Baynes for taking it into his head to bring his wife to Canton, falsely representing him as "narrowly escaping a Chinese cage;" admits that it would be very naughty for the Chinese to worship the devil, but has reason to believe they do not; extolls the veracity of the hong merchants and the goodwill of the local authorities; is horror-struck at the imprudence of the addle-headed politicians, the free-traders; and as for the ill-judged voyage of the Amherst, he laments that men like Lindsay and Gutzlaff, "with talents worthy of a better cause," should have ever engaged in such an enterprise. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that things ought forever to continue as they are, all intercourse strictly interdicted, and the whole commerce confined to one place; "for," says the Reviewer, "we are inclined to think that any port on the eastern coast, if granted, would be found infinitely less accessible, secure, and convenient, than Canton."

In reading the article we marked several paragraphs with the purpose of noticing them separately; but our limits forbid; and one must suffice. "The viceroy of Canton," he says, "being a gentleman, will not deal with such opprobrious and uncalled-for epithets as 'barbarians' and 'devils;' expressions never used in such a sense, and the imputation of which tends only to create unjust, and utterly un-

founded, prejudices against the high officers of the Chinese government." To maintain this position, the reviewer thinks it necessary to write a long philological note, in which he says, '*quei* signifies spirits, or demons, and as they (the Chinese) have both good and evil demons, it is probable enough that they may apply the latter to us (foreigners); but who are they that make use of the expression *fan quei*, foreign spirits—or devils? Not the viceroy of Canton, but the very rabble of that place: we doubt if the expression is even known at Peking.' The 'very rabble' of Canton, who always when speaking of foreigners use the words *fan kwei*, or some other similar term, excuse themselves by pleading the example of their officers, who habitually use the terms *fan kwei*, *kwei tsze*, *hung maou jin*, &c.; and 'Chinese gentlemen,' if the hong merchants may be so named, do the same. Had the writer of the Quarterly taken the trouble to examine the archives of the late emperor Keenlung, he would have ascertained that the 'opprobrious and uncalled-for' epithets are known at Peking; and had he only gone to the custom-house at Canton, he would have there found the 'grand edippo' writing *devil ships*, on the records of his office, imperial edicts to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Westminister Review for Jan. 1834, contains an article on the voyage of the "Amherst," in which the writer gives his opinion concerning free intercourse "with this vast portion of the globe, which for exactly two centuries has been locked up in disgraceful thralldom." "British trade and enterprise," he says, "which have been poured into India, during the last twenty years, overcoming all difficulties, have found their way into China and produced their wonted effects,—increased activity, increased knowledge and liberality." "With respect to the extension of European commerce to other ports than that of Canton, it is very clear that there exists now no obstacle whatever, except what arises out of the fears and jealousy of the Chinese government." "There cannot be the slightest question, but that the free-traders will in a very short time be established in the ports of Amoy, Fuhchow, Ningpo and Shanghai, indeed, along the whole coast, up to the head of the Yellow sea." The gentle writer of the Westminister praises Messrs. L. and G., and likewise 'the projector of the voyage;' but thinks the latter guilty of 'most absurd foolery' for not filling the Amherst with a cargo of opium! He jokes Mr. L. for "packing tea in glass bottles," and finally concludes that, 'the report of the Amherst's voyage, if printed by the dealers in cheap publications, would be almost as entertaining as Robinson Crusoe; and introduced on the stage as a pantomime, might nearly rival in success the heroic drama of the arctic seas.'

The remarks in the Spectator for January 4th, and in Alexander's Magazine for February of the current year, seem to have been called forth by the publication of the orders in council,—touching future intercourse with China; and by the appointment of lord Napier to Canton as chief superintendent. Many of the remarks are unnecessarily severe; and some of them are erroneous. The writer in the

Magazine states, that opium on arriving at Canton occasionally bears as high a price as £500 per chest. Probably not a single chest has borne so high a price for the last ten years. The current prices are now less than \$700. The writer in the *Spectator*, after specifying what he supposes the new authorities will be in China, says: "It will be strange indeed, if all this national parade— diplomatic, fiscal, magisterial, and judicial—does not alarm the already half-frightened Chinese government, and produce in due course as pretty a little quarrel as could be desired; which pretty little quarrel will render eligible the presence of a large fleet and army; which fleet and army will find, first the capture of a town or two, then the occupation of a province, and finally the conquest of an empire, not a difficult and certainly an agreeable employment." A copy of the orders in council is before us; but it appears that a part of them have been 'revoked, rescinded, annulled, and made void.' And as Lord Napier has now arrived in China, we will defer giving any account of the system of superintendence until it is seen in operation.

What course foreigners ought to pursue in regard to the Chinese, is at this moment a question of deep interest. The measures of the British government (the only one which stands forward in this case,) appear to be of a decidedly peaceful nature.. Such surely they ought to be. At the same time, great frankness, boldness, decision, and independence, coupled with good-will and perhaps also a degree of pomp and state, will be indispensable. The exact course which ought to be pursued, however, 'cannot be marked out. The same rules which regulate national intercourse elsewhere, cannot be taken for a standard here. "Is China then," asks the writer in the *Quarterly*, "is China, because she refuses to enter into commercial intercourse with foreigners, to be put without the pale of international law?" No; 'that deed is done,' and 'she has herself alone to blame.' As well might the reviewer talk of putting the monarch of the forest out of the pale of civilized society, as question about placing the emperor of China and his subordinates beyond the influence of international law. As far as it was in their power, the Mantchou conquerors extended their dominions. And it is only because 'foreigners are rude and uncivilized, crafty, perverse and ignorant of reason and propriety, that they do not tremblingly obey the laws and usages of the celestial empire. Rights they have none; and it is solely on account of the boundless favor of the son of heaven that they are not annihilated.' In this way the Chinese reason. And judging of others by themselves, they suppose that if England or any other nation had the power to take possession of this country they would do it. Therefore, knowing something of the strength of Europeans, they fear them and strenuously oppose all attempts to open a free intercourse. Hence it becomes exceedingly difficult to know how to deal with the Chinese. Their minds ought to be disabused; and while they should know that other nations are equal to themselves, they should have the fullest demonstrations that foreigners can be not only just but friendly;—nay, that they are not only able to reciprocate, but ready to communicate.

The forth-coming Commercial Guide contains a paper concerning the 'laws of nations,' which bears forcibly on the question under consideration. It is there shown from Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel; Ward and others, that there are in fact no laws of nations; so called, susceptible of universal application. 'The laws in which the Chinese mind will acquiesce, are a few essential principles of universal equity, and even here it is difficult to get them to agree to a few principles as data, from which to reason. They legislate for foreigners, and act towards them, under the tacit belief that they are *enemies*. Hence even at Canton, any further intercourse of natives with foreigners than is absolutely necessary for trade, is in the eyes of the law, held to be *traitorous*. The pope and his nuncios resemble most the emperor of China and his imperial commissioners, in claiming universality of power and precedence derived immediately from heaven. To consider the *wang* or king of England equal to the *hwang-te* or emperor of China, appears to the Chinese a contradiction in terms. This government will not allow any other monarch to use the term emperor. You might as well have two popes; or two suns in the heavens, as two emperors. As for republic, there is no word in the language to denote such a state, or title for its chief magistrate. "Names and titles are often represented as vain things, not worth disputing about; which would be true if no consequences resulted. But if the Greek calls a man a barbarian, and then treats him as an enemy; if the Turk calls you a dog, and then treats you as such; and if the Chinese call you a tributary, and then deny you all reciprocity of right;—under such circumstances names and titles become of consequence. Contemptuous feelings suggest contemptuous language: the modern *fan kwei*, or foreign devil, with *kwei tow*, 'devil's head,' for a king's profile on a dollar; are only continuations of the *kwei fang*, 'devil's regions,' applied by the sage Confucius to foreign nations of which he was ignorant."

We quote again from Mr. M.'s letter to Mr. Grant. "The changes," says he, "which have now been made in appointing king's instead of company's representatives to Canton will, as far as the Chinese government is concerned, be regarded by them with assumed indifference. But you must not expect that your superintendents, under present circumstances, will be received with any more regard or attention than those previously appointed by the East India company. A proclamation will be issued by the viceroy of Canton, saying, that 'these barbarian foreigners, ever prone to change, have altered their system; that the company is dead, and that king's consuls are hereafter to be responsible persons in China; that the celestial empire regards such changes with indifference, but that the newly appointed foreign devils must tremblingly obey its immutable laws.' These are the terms and conditions on which your king's representative now goes to China."**The mighty changes now determined on—for they deserve the name; when you are about to apply them not only to our intercourse with the Chinese empire, but to Japan and the many other interest-ing nations of eastern Asia—must to a certain extent be the work of

time, and their progress gradual. Many circumstances have, however, been assisting in their promotion. Above all things, our increased knowledge of their languages, and the further instruction of our countrymen in these, will, I trust, receive from you every encouragement;—with a view to a more extended trade it is imperatively essential. An admirable institution was some years ago founded at Malacca by Dr. Morrison, called the Anglochinese college, which from an unworthy jealousy, I fear, of missionary establishments, has never received that encouragement to which it was entitled. About forty Chinese students are annually educated there in all the general branches of useful knowledge. Religion is not compulsory, but voluntary. The sons of a common peasant at Malacca thus receive an education superior to those of the emperor of China. It is, I trust, unnecessary to point out how great the advantage of Chinese so educated, annually returning and mixing with the general society of the empire. The greatest benefit also will result from the efforts of a free press at Malacca, from which have already issued many excellent works in the Chinese language. Let me entreat that your attention be given to these subjects, too long neglected in eastern Asia, but calculated to accomplish greater ends than either our fleets or armies."

Forbidding as the present aspect of affairs may appear in the eyes of some, our own hopes and expectations for the future are high. One and another class of men, or set of measures, may fail; but the cause of right principles does not depend wholly on such contingences. Obstacles and opposition will meet at every step those who seek to open and establish a free and well regulated intercourse with the Chinese. It may be expected as business proceeds, that altercations and collisions will occur; and that seizures of innocent persons will take place, which will lead to violent disputes. And these things may not be confined to Canton, but may be extended to many other places along the coast. To meet and overcome all such difficulties will require no ordinary abilities. The situation of Lord Napier is one of peculiar responsibilities; the British government, perhaps, could assign to no man a more arduous service, and at the same time one which affords greater opportunities of doing good. He has no precedents to follow; and no line of conduct can be marked out which will ensure success. In such an untried field, human strength and human policy alone will be vain: to Him, therefore, that ruleth among the nations, let the whole cause be commended; then the results will be safe and glorious.

ART. VII. *Religious intelligence.* 1. *Malacca*; 2. *India*; 3. *Karens of Burmah*; 4. *controversy*; and 5. *translations of the Scriptures.*

I. *Malacca.* By a letter from Mr. Tomlin, dated May 15th, we learn that his new school, on the model of the British and Foreign school in London, "commenced operations with about seventy chil-

dren, Portuguese and Chinese," and that the "number soon increased to about one hundred, (including an adult class,) made up of four nations, Portuguese, Klings (or Kalings), Malays, and Chinese." Many of the scholars were very young and ignorant, and some of them of a wild untoward spirit. "The school was divided into eight classes, consisting of boys all on a par with respect to the English, each having to begin the alphabet; the head master was consequently destitute of those useful little subalterns, (monitors,) to be found in every school on the British system in England. However, the want of these has been partly compensated by two out of three native teachers qualifying themselves by diligently picking up the English, and getting ahead of the boys, so as to become useful monitors to their own boys at their English lessons. This they have done most willingly without the least solicitation, prompted apparently by an earnest desire to make themselves acquainted with our language, although neither is young, and one of them, the Portuguese teacher, is advanced to grey hairs." Mr. Tomlin's plan, it should be here remarked, includes a large central English school with others subordinate, corresponding to the variety of nations congregated. For the central school a building is in progress, and those now in use need repairs. In stating the aggregate amount of expenditure likely to be incurred, Mr. T. thinks they shall "not be far wrong in fixing the minimum at 900 dollars. Towards this sum, contributions have been made, principally by friends in Malacca, to the amount of \$400. Monthly subscriptions to the amount of ten dollars have also been obtained; but as this sum will be quite inadequate to pay the teachers' salaries, &c., we trust other friends will favor us with their names as monthly subscribers. All persons contributing one or two dollars, will have the privilege of sending their children to be instructed free of any further charge, and of recommending as many native children as they please for admission to the institution."—As the school is to be a *Christian seminary*, that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation will be sedulously inculcated. It will be the teacher's principal and constant aim to teach all the boys to read and understand the Old and New Testaments. Other branches of human science, such as writing, arithmetical, grammar, geography, astronomy and history, will come in their place and order.

2. *India.* We have received the Calcutta Christian Observer, down to June, the Oriental Christian Spectator, and the Evangelist and Missionary Reporter to May; all of them abounding with interesting intelligence. It is difficult not to feel, while perusing those periodicals, that a mighty spirit is abroad on the plains of Hindostan, and that the old foundations of idolatry are breaking up. It seems to us, however, that the number of missionary laborers—preachers and teachers and distributors of Bibles and tracts—is a thousand times too small.

3. *The Karens of Burma & remnant of the ten tribes of Israel.* The Calcutta Christian Observer for May, 1834, contains a communication from the Rev. Francis Mason, in which the writer advances

the opinion that a part of the lost ten tribes of Israel are found in the Kareus of Burmah and Siam. This opinion he supports by the facts that they have a Jewish look, that they generally pluck out their beard while the people around them do not, and that their dress is decidedly that of the ancient Hebrews. The evidence, however, on which he thinks their identity with the ancient Israelites must rest, is found in their religion. 'They worship the eternal God, Jehovah; they have traditions of Old Testament Scripture facts, as the formation of the woman and the fall of man, &c.; they possess the morality of the Scriptures; they are wanderers and consider themselves cursed by God for their disobedience, but were anciently his most favored people, as they believe they are destined to be again; they have been preserved from idolatry, though residing among idolatrous nations and subject to persecution; they are expecting to be restored to a glorious city; they are expecting a king or Savior who will lead them to a high degree of prosperity; and finally, their readiness to receive the gospel is unprecedented in modern times.'

4. *Dispute and controversy.* The following paper has been received, addressed to the Editor.—Sir, In your No. for May, you give with marked approbation the opinions of a missionary concerning the duties devolving upon himself, and his mode of performing them. And he is given us an example. He says "I avoid *dispute* and *controversy*, and preach repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the only hope of salvation." By this, both he and you mean to condemn *dispute* and *controversy*. There may be various reasons for this resolution in the mind of an individual. He may be a very poor reasoner, and therefore it is better to avoid *controversy*. He may love his own ease, and let the world wag as it likes; therefore he will never contend with it. But, if we wish to form our opinions of missionary duty from the Bible, and the experience of all ages, there can be no sentiment less supported than that it is the duty of missionaries generally, to "avoid *dispute* and *controversy*." Did patriarchs or prophets, or the Savior, or his apostles, or the reformers of any age, find it practicable (though they might be the meekest men upon earth,) to avoid *dispute* and *controversy*?

The Scriptures, especially the gospels and the epistles, are replete with *disputation* and *controversy*. But not to multiply witnesses in a case so plain, take the Acts of the Apostles, the memoirs of the first missionaries, men inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit, whose conduct is an example to all the churches, throughout all succeeding ages. And they too were the most successful missionaries. At Ephesus, did not Paul go into the synagogue, and speak boldly for the space of three months, *disputing* and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God," and after that continued "*disputing, daily* in the school of one Tyrannus?" Although he had been shamefully treated at Philippi, was he not at Thessalonica, "bold in his God to speak unto the people the gospel of God, with much *contestation*?" Did Luther and his compeers, effect the glorious reformation

by avoiding disputation? In my judgment an able and zealous disputant, who can distinguish trifles from essentials, and so reason as to convince the gainsayers, is just such a person as every mission should possess. A man like Stephen, who "when the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians and of them of Cilicia and Asia, rose up and *disputed* with him, they were not able to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake." However, Paul's disputing subjected him to mockery and insult; and therefore the missionary who wishes to get along in peace and comfort, may avoid disputes and controversy. But the resolution of a missionary never to dispute, is about as wise as that of a soldier never to fight.

Your's truly, ———.

Note. If others understood our correspondent as meaning "to condemn dispute and controversy" when explained in the words of St. Paul, "disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God," and "disputing daily," in the school of Tyrannus, they mistook his meaning; at least we did not so understand him: *dialegetomenos* means discoursing, preaching, reasoning, arguing; as in the following examples: 'and as Paul was long *preaching*;' and as he *reasoned* of righteousness, temperance, &c.;" 'he *reasoned* in the synagogue every Sabbath day;' 'preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow.' Our correspondent did not, we think, mean to condemn conduct like this, for then he would not have added, "I preach repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the only hope of salvation." "I avoid dispute and controversy" taken alone, might mean all that ———. contends for; but the writer was speaking of "going unadvisedly into their temples, and of crowding himself on the notice of the people when they were displeased with his company;" and he seems to have had in mind, 'perverse disputings' and 'strifes of words whereof cometh envy and railings' and those foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, which Paul commanded Titus to *avoid*. But however poor our reasoning may be, we fear, we are giving too much proof that we are not wholly averse to 'disputing;' the truth is, we agree with ——— in his argument for contending boldly for the truth. The resolution of a man, however, always to dispute, would be as wise as that of the soldier to attack and knock down every one he meets.

5. *Remarks on translating the Scriptures:* from a correspondent. Mr. Editor,—In the Bombay auxiliary Bible Society's fifteenth Report, for 1833, pages 16 and 17, there are a few remarks on the choice of native words for Scripture translations, which I should like to see transferred to the pages of the Repository for the guidance and encouragement of Chinese translators. For there are some persons who magnify difficulties to such a degree, as to insinuate the idea that whatever is imperfect is useless;—a doctrine by the way, which puts a complete extinguisher on all human efforts whatever, excepting indeed the efforts of those who belong to the infallibles. The remarks are these:

"In the translation department, it is evident that all new translations (however great the talents, care, and caution of the translator), may be liable to many imperfections. On this account persons of sound judgment have been of opinion, that the circulation of our earliest translations would be attended with harm rather than benefit, from the mistakes in the choice of words which they contain. But your

committee cannot but think, that supposing the premises to be quite correct, the conclusion by no means follows, that the circulation of the old translation, even with all its imperfections, will be attended with no benefit. On the contrary, the facts related in the course of the present report, and in all former ones, afford most pleasing and encouraging instances of the benefit that has actually resulted from its circulation. With respect to the choice of native words for our translations, it must necessarily happen, that in teaching a totally new science in any country, such as the Christian theology in a heathen land, the terms used often stand in the relation of technical terms; and therefore must be as it were coined for the purpose. In this difficulty the only thing that can be done, is to use the greatest judgment and caution in selecting such words, or modifications of words, as in the native language come nearest to the new idea intended to be conveyed.

"After all, however, it is to be observed, that the choice of these words cannot ultimately turn out of that very great importance which might at first sight appear. For, after all that the translator can do, the meaning of these new words, or which is the same thing, old words in a new sense, must be understood by the native, from the context rather than the text. For if an utterly strange word, or even a known, but ill-chosen word, occurs again and again, always in the same connection, and always with the same meaning, it is surprising how soon the human mind will as it were, lend itself to the meaning intended, so as not to remain long under any serious misunderstanding, except such as is wilful. On this subject, above all others, it may be said, where there is the will there is a way; where there is an honest desire to understand, the mind will not long remain under any material error. But no words, however well chosen, can obviate wilfulness; and in the mean time, lesser mistakes and misapprehensions must be expected, till time has established conventional terms suited to the Christian theology."

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: death by opium, and opium brokers; inundation; new chancellor, and new British authorities in China; fire at Peking; Tibetan convoy; inundation in Keding-soo, and foreigners at Yarkand.*

July 2d. Death by opium. Two young men, Asoo and Achang, the first 25 and the second 24 years of age, put an end to their earthly existence by taking opium. Aid was sought from the gentlemen at the Dispensary, but it was too late; the poison had taken so deep effect as to forbid the application of the stomach pump or any other means for their restoration.

Tuesday 8th. Opium brokers. The Chinese laws against the use of opium, and against the cultivation of the poppy and all traffic in the drug, are it is well known, most severe and explicit. It is equally well known also that many of the dealers in the article carry on their transactions with almost as much publicity as if no prohibitions existed. This is effected by the payment of certain sums to those officers who ought to carry into strict execution the imperial laws; occasionally,

however, there is a difficulty in determining the amount that shall be paid. Such a difficulty lately occurred between his excellency the governor of Canton, and two of the principal brokers Yaoukew (Yeukow) and Gowkwan (Owfoon). More money was demanded than there was a willingness to pay; accordingly the check on the law was taken off, and a detachment of soldiers, two hundred strong, made a descent on the houses of the above named individuals. They fortunately for themselves, had absconded; but their families with all their effects were carried off. Three of the inmates of one of the houses, it is reported, were drowned in attempting to escape in a boat on the river.

Tuesday 15th. Inundation. The effects of the late inundation have proved far less calamitous than was anticipated. Though the water rose eighteen inches higher than it did last year, the damage both to property and to life has been far less than on that occasion. The injury to the fields has not been very great, and the prospect of plentiful harvests is fair. In the western suburbs of this city, a great many houses have fallen, and hundreds of poor people have been driven pennyless into the streets. Some small donations have been made to furnish coffins for those that perished, and food for those that survive.

Monday, 21st. New literary chancellor. Wang Chih, the new literary chancellor, arrived at the provincial city on the 10th inst., and received the seals of his office on the 18th. Kan, who has held the office since the death of Le, set off for Peking yesterday.

Tuesday, 29th. New British Authorities in China. From the Canton Register extraordinary, of the 26th, "published by authority," we make the following extract containing his Majesty's commission to the new authorities.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM the FOURTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the faith, King of Hanover, &c. To our Right trusty and well beloved William John, LORD NAPIER, and to our trusty and well beloved William Henry Chicheley Plowden and John Francis Davis, Esquires, GREETING: WHEREAS by a certain act of Parliament made and passed in the third and fourth year of our Reign, intituled "an act to regulate the trade to China and India," it is amongst other things enacted that it shall and may be lawful for us by any commission: or commissions, warrant or warrants, under our Royal Sign Manual, to appoint not exceeding three of our subjects to be superintendants of the trade of our subjects to and from the said Dominions for the purpose of protecting and promoting such trade; and by any such commission or warrant, as aforesaid, to settle such gradations and subordination among the said superintendants, (one of whom shall be styled the chief superintendant,) and to appoint such officers to assist them in the execution of their duties, and to grant salaries to such superintendants and officers as We shall, from time to time, deem expedient; now We reposing especial confidence in the loyalty, integrity and skill of you the said William John LORD NAPIER, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, and John Francis Davis, do by these presents, in pursuance and exercise of the authority in Us vested by the said act of Parliament, appoint you, the said William John LORD NAPIER, William Henry Chicheley Plowden and John Francis Davis to be superintendants of the trade of our subjects, to and from the Dominions of the emperor of China, for the purpose of protecting and promoting such trade. And we do hereby constitute and appoint you the said William John LORD NAPIER, to be the chief superintendant, and you the said William Henry Chicheley Plowden, to be the second superintendant, and you the said John Francis Davis to be the third superintendant for the purposes as aforesaid.

The commission is dated at Brighton, December 10th, 1833.—His lordship and suite, and lady Napier and family, landed at Macao on the 15th instant. In consequence of the absence of Mr. Plowden from China, the office of second superintendant devolves on Mr. Davis, and that of the third has been accepted by sir George Best Robinson, bart. J. H. Astell esquire is secretary to the superintendants; the Rev. Dr. Morrison, Chinese secretary and interpreter; captain Charles Elliot R. N., master attendant; and Mr. T. R. Colledge is surgeon, and Mr. Anderson is assistant surgeon. The Rev. G. H. Vachell is on his way from England to assume the duties of chaplain to the establishment. The office of private secretary to the right honorable the chief superintendant, is filled by Alexander R. Johnston

esquire. His lordship, the second and third superintendents, the secretaries, surgeons, &c., arrived at Canton early in the morning of the 25th inst., and at daylight the British union jack was hoisted on the flag-staff in front of the dwelling formerly inhabited by the supercargoes of the honorable East India company.

Peking. A fire broke out at Peking, near the end of last May, which continued burning five days and nights: The emperor himself is said to have gone out to assist in extinguishing the flames. Innumerable houses (so the Chinese phrase it.) were burnt, and many lives were lost.—No account of the fire appears in the Peking gazettes to May 30th, or in the extracts which we have received to June 4th. The Chinese, however, believe the account to be true:

Tibetan Envoy. It has been represented to the emperor that a Kanpoo, envoy from the lama of Tibet, proceeding with tribute to Peking had been repeatedly robbed during his journey. His majesty censured the cupidity of the parties for having articles of commerce with them; and considers they suffered from having left the high road to go by more dangerous routes.

Keingsoo. A secret memorial, dated December 24th, 1833, addressed to the emperor by Lin Tsihsen, fooyuen of Keingsoo, has found its way to the public; and seems valued as a faithful patriotic state paper. Lin is an aged man, and esteemed by the monarch for his fidelity, as he has but few friends who tell him the truth. From this document it appears that Keingsoo is a productive province and is severely taxed: for in the most abundant years the farmer has but little left for himself after paying his taxes. It pays to the revenue, taking the same extent of country, as much again as Chekeang; thrice as much as Keingse; and more than ten times as much as Hookwang.

But, there has not been one first rate year of abundance, during the last ten. Every year has been deficient, and twice or thrice they have had such inundations, as not only disabled the people from paying their taxes, but even required help from the government to preserve them alive. So frequently had the local government been compelled to implore a prolongation of time for remitting the revenue, that the government at Peking said in anger, non-payment of taxes had become the rule, instead of the exception; and the state of the finances would not admit of it. While Lin was in the very act of composing a memorial to solicit more time, in consequence of the inundations of last autumn, he received a letter from the emperor in council, and a few sentences written with the vermilion pencil, in his majesty's own hand, censuring and threatening the local government for not collecting the revenue with more severity; and accusing the governors and fooyens of a want of gratitude for the high trust reposed in them. Lin says, when he read this, kneeling on the ground, (according to custom,) he was struck dumb with fright and vexation; but after a while, he resumed his pencil and wrote with tears. To the charge of not caring for the nation, (by which his superiors meant the government,) he argued that the people were the nation; and he who cared for their lives and comforts, could not be regardless of that. All that the government possessed came from the people; and attention to them was the first duty of a statesman. But who could withstand a continued series of natural calamities, such as they had experienced for ten years? All that could be done to spare the imperial exchequer had been done by "admonitory orders" to the rich inhabitants, to subscribe for the poor. In the 3d year of Taoukwang, the province had subscribed one million nine hundred and fifty thousand taels of silver. And in the 11th year, they had subscribed one million four hundred thousand taels. These were years of great calamity: But every year they had subscribed something; their subscriptions, however, the oftener repeated became the less, and attended with more difficulty. Towards the close of the document, the aged statesman, says he, was reduced to a hearty fit of crying; "voice and tears were blended" as he wrote; for he was completely at his wit's end. He could not withhold the truth from the imperial ears.—What reply his majesty made to this rather painful statement does not appear.

Yarkand. The resident at Yarkand has written to the emperor in behalf of foreign traders there who are allowed trade in sheep, horses &c., without paying any duties. The natives of China cheat the foreigners, of which he gives some instances, and desires power to punish offenders, more severely than the letter of the law, as the increasing of foreigners is a more serious matter to the state than one native cheating another.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—August, 1834.—No. 4.

ART. I. *Japan: its geographical situation, extent, and divisions; its mountains, rivers, lakes, climate, and natural productions; origin of the Japanese, their early history and national character.*

The nations of Christendom once maintained an extensive intercourse with the inhabitants of Japan. The Portuguese, the first Europeans who visited that country, were driven thither in a storm when on their way to China in 1542. For nearly a century from that time, they carried on a lucrative trade. The Spaniards, Dutch, and English shared in the same thrifty commerce. The Japanese also, having long since emerged from a state of barbarism; had numerous fleets; and their merchant-men, like those of the Chinese in early times, visited neighboring countries; and even those as far distant as Bengal. The nation had then advanced to a high point in civilization; as far perhaps as it ever could without the peaceful, vivifying, and restraining influences of true Christianity: At this favorable juncture Romanism came in; but it came only to hasten the sad reverses that were coming on the state. Internal discords arose, foreign merchants became jealous and strove to supplant each other; and the Jesuits, accused of forming designs against the state, were proscribed. The English abandoned the country in 1623; the Spaniards were expelled in 1625; and the Portuguese, in 1641. The Dutch, while fattening on the good of the land, dug a pit for themselves; and notwithstanding their utmost endeavors they were soon confined to the little island of Desima, 'the prison which was built for the Portuguese.'

In the mean time all natives were prohibited from visiting foreign countries, and allowed only to make coasting voyages, or to proceed to the isles dependent on the Japanese: This restrictive and exclusive system commenced in 1637: Nangasaki is now the only port open to foreigners, and even that but to three nations and under severe restrictions. The Chinese and the Koreans are each allowed to

go thither with ten junks annually, and the Dutch with one large and two small vessels. Some trade is also carried on with the people of Lewchew, but wholly we believe in Japanese bottoms. Such has been the state of affairs for nearly two centuries; and both the Japanese and their country have gone into oblivion like the kingdoms and the people of other times. Various efforts have been made to reëstablish free intercourse; and now and then a successful interloper has visited the forbidden ground. Such a case occurred in 1797-98, when an English vessel, commanded by an Englishman, carrying American colors with an American pass, actually visited Japan. That vessel was sent thither by the Dutch authorities of Batavia. Europeans who are best acquainted with Japan, are of opinion that the difficulties of opening a free intercourse with that nation will be far less than are generally apprehended. Of the advantages of such a measure, contemplated in whatever light we please, there can be, we think, but one opinion. We do not wonder, therefore, that the attention of enterprising men is turned towards Japan; and we should not be surprised if expeditions were speedily set on foot to visit that interesting but secluded portion of the globe. It is believed by many that the character of the Japanese has been misrepresented; and we doubt not, were the restrictive system abolished, that the people of Japan would welcome the nations of Christendom to their shores. But on this point, we shall be better able to form an opinion after we have taken a nearer view of the country.—And first we will survey it geographically; premising that for all our information we must depend on others. The authors which we shall chiefly consult are Kæmpfer, Golownin, the Jesuits, Klaproth, Siebold, Don Rodrigo, Van Fisscher, and one or two Chinese works.

Japan, comprised within the 30th and 42d degrees of north latitude and the 129th and 143d degrees of longitude east from Greenwich, is an archipelago, of which the principal islands are those of Nippon, Kewsew, and Sikokf. Situated between the Pacific ocean and the sea of Japan, the archipelago is separated, on the west from Corea by the straits of Tsusima, and on the north from the island of Yeso (or Matsmai) by the strait of Tsugar, called also Sangar. In different respects it may be compared, says Kæmpfer, to the British isles, "being much after the same manner, though in a more eminent degree divided and broke through by corners and forelands, arms of the sea, great bays and inlets running deep into the country, and forming several islands, peninsulas, gulfs, and harbors. Besides, as the king of Great Britain is sovereign of three countries, England, Scotland, and Ireland, so the Japanese emperor hath the supreme jurisdiction over three separate large islands."

The largest of these islands has given its name, Japan, or according to the native pronunciation, Nippon, to the whole country. This name is of Chinese origin, and is derived from the words *Jeih pun*, 'origin of the sun,' and hence Japan is sometimes called the country of the rising sun, or literally, *Jeih pun kwō*, 'the country of the origin of the sun.' According to a Chinese writer, Japan was ori-

ginally called Wo; but in the time of the Tang dynasty, and after the inhabitants had formed an acquaintance with the Chinese, they disliked their ancient name, and changed it to Jeih pun, or in their dialect, Niphon. This part of the empire is nearly in the form of a crescent, opening towards the northwest. From its southeastern extremity, Niphon stretches northward about seven degrees of latitude, and westward about ten degrees of longitude. Kewsew is the second island in regard to size, and is separated from the southwestern extremity of Niphon only by a narrow channel: its greatest extent is about four degrees of latitude, and three of longitude. Sikokf, the third and smallest of the three islands, lies south of Niphon and east of Kewsew and contiguous to them both. The borders of the empire, as thus defined, are its rocky, mountainous coasts, and a tempestuous sea, abounding with gulfs and harbors, very few of which have hitherto been surveyed by Europeans. On all these borders there are a great number of islands which are more or less dependent upon the government of Japan. Of some of these we shall speak in the sequel.

The divisions of Japan, which have been caused by civil wars or made for the purposes of government, are numerous, and have been frequently changed. In the first and happiest ages of the Japanese monarchy, according to Kæmpfer's account, every prince enjoyed the government of a province, with which he was entrusted by the emperor, and ruled its inhabitants in peace and tranquillity. The miseries of ensuing times, the frequent quarrels and contentions, which arose among the chief branches of the imperial family respecting the succession to the throne, by degrees involved the whole empire in bloodshed and confusion. Its princes formed parties, collected armies, and every one endeavored to maintain himself in the possession of those lands, the government of which had been entrusted to him by imperial bounty: and those who had not been provided for by the emperor, took care to provide for themselves. The princes divided their dominions among their sons, who inheriting only a part of their father's estate, would not be behind them in the grandeur and magnificence of their courts. No wonder then if the number of principedoms and dominions went on continually increasing.

In giving an account of the divisions of the empire as it exists in modern times, we shall make free use of a paper published by M. Klaproth in 1831, the chief part of which was extracted from Japanese books, and which, consequently, 'must contain unquestionable facts, deduced from sources the authority of which there is no room to doubt.' The empire is divided into eight grand divisions, denominated *do*, or 'ways.' This, if we mistake not, is the same term which was formerly used to designate the provinces of the Chinese empire: and as they correspond in size to the provinces of China, we shall, for convenience employ the word province instead of 'country' or 'way,' as M. Klaproth has done. These provinces are Gokinai, Tokai, Tosan, Fookurooku, Sanin, Sanyo, Nankai, and Saikai. These are subdivided into sixty-eight kokfs, or departments, which

again consist of six hundred and twenty-two kohori, or districts. The word *kokuf*, which Klaproth has translated province, corresponds very nearly with the *foo* of the Chinese, and we, therefore, prefer the term 'department;' the kohori (or kori) is quite similar to the *heñ* in Chinese, and is well translated by the word 'district.' Following this arrangement of the terms, we shall then have provinces, departments, and districts in Japan nearly the same as in China. We will now enumerate the several provinces and their respective departments, omitting the names of the districts but noticing as we proceed the principal cities.

1. *Gokinai* consists of five departments, which compose the peculiar state or domain of the empire: these are Yamasiro, Yamato, Kawatsi, Idsumi, and Sidzu or Sets. This province is situated near the centre of the empire, in the southern part of Nippon: its whole extent is nearly equal to the island of Sikokf; and its two northern departments, Sidzu and Yamasiro, are watered by the Yodo gawa or river of Yodo. *Gokinai* contains two of the principal cities of the empire, Osaka and Miyako; the first, which is situated at the mouth of the river of Yodo, is celebrated for its commerce; the second is the capital of the empire and the residence of the dairi. Miyako is situated on a branch of the Yodo in the midst of a highly cultivated plain. Don Rodrigo who visited the city more than two centuries ago, says, "its walls are ten leagues in circuit," which he certifies from actual observation, having rode round them on horseback; he set out at seven in the morning, and did not reach the point of departure till night! While at Miyako, the Spaniard visited the tomb of Taiko or Taikosama, and a magnificent temple containing a bronze idol, the dimensions of which rendered him mute with astonishment. "I ordered," he says, "one of my people to measure the thumb of the right hand of the idol, and perceived that, although he was a man of large size, he could not embrace it with his two arms by two palms. But the size of this statue is not its only merit: the feet, hands, mouth and eyes, forehead, and other features, are as perfect and expressive as the most accomplished painter could make them. When I visited the temple it was unfinished; more than 100,000 workmen were daily employed upon it. The devil could not suggest to the emperor a surer expedient to get rid of his immense wealth." From various data he estimated the population of Miyako at 1,500,000; and considered it the largest city in the world.

2. *Tokai*, the second province in the empire, is situated due east of *Gokinai* and comprises in fifteen departments the whole of the southeasterly part of Nippon. The names of the departments are Iga, Ize, Sima, Awari, Mikawa, Tutumi, Suruga, Idzu, Kai, Sagani, Moosasi, Awa, Kadzusa, Simoosa, and Fitats. The city of Jedo is the second capital of the empire and the residence of the Seogun, or generalissimo of Japan. It is situated on a large plain, at the head of the gulf of Jedo, in about 35° north latitude. Don Rodrigo's description of this city is far less extravagant than that which he has given of Miyako: he says,...

“ It contains 700,000 inhabitants, and is traversed by a considerable river, which is navigable by vessels of moderate size. By this river, which is divided, in the interior, into several branches, the inhabitants are supplied with provisions and necessaries, which are so cheap, that a man may live comfortably for 3*d.* a day. The Japanese do not make much wheat bread, though what they do make is excellent. The streets and open places of Jedo are very handsome, and so clean and well kept, that it might be imagined no person walked in them. The houses are of wood, and mostly of two stories. The exterior of them is less imposing than that of ours, but they are infinitely handsomer and more comfortable within. All the streets have covered galleries, and are occupied each by persons of the same trade; thus the carpenters have one street, the tailors another, the jewelers another, &c., including many traders not known in Europe: the merchants are classed together in the same way. Provisions are also sold in places appropriated for each sort. I remarked in the market where game is sold, that there was a vast quantity of rabbits, hare, wild boars, deer, goats, and other animals which I never saw before. The Japanese rarely eat any flesh but that of game, which they hunt. The fish market is immense, and extremely neat and clean. I observed more than a thousand different kinds of fish, sea and river, fresh and salt. Large tubs contained besides a vast quantity of live fish. The inns are in the same streets, adjoining those where they let and sell horses, which are in such number, that the traveler who changes horses, according to the custom of the country, every league, is only embarrassed where to choose. The nobles and great men inhabit a distinct part of the city. This quarter is distinguished by the armorial ornaments, sculptured, painted, or gilt, placed over the doors of the houses. The nobles attach much value to this privilege. The political authority is vested in a governor, who is chief of the magistracy, civil and military. In each street resides a magistrate, who takes cognizance, in the first instance, of all cases, civil and criminal, and submits the most difficult to the governor. The streets are closed at each end by a gate, which is shut at night-fall. At each gate, is placed a guard of soldiers, with sentinels at intervals; so that if a crime is committed, notice is conveyed instantly to each end of the street, the gates are closed immediately, and it rarely happens that the offender escapes. . . This description is very applicable to all the other cities in the empire.” Much of this account too, our readers will perceive, is similar to those which have been given, by old writers, of the cities of China. The principal facts may be true, even at the present day; but were the city now faithfully described by an eye-witness, much of the detail, we apprehend, would be found to differ from that given by Rodrigo.

3. *Tosan* is situated north of Tokai, and consists of eight departments, viz. Oomi, Mino, Fida, Sinano, Koodsuke, Simodsuke, Moots, and Dewa. It is the largest province in the empire and includes the whole of the northern part of Nippon. ‘ It is an extraordinary good and fruitful country,’ says Kæmpfer, ‘ and wants

nothing for the support of human life.' Near, the southern extremity of this province, and only a short distance east from Miyako, is the lake Mitsu (written Oits on European maps), which is the largest in the empire.

4. *Fookurooku* comprehends seven departments, and is situated to the northeast of Gokinai and westward from the southern part of Tosan: the names of the departments are Wakasa, Yetsaisen, Yetsew, Yetsingo, Kaga, Noto, and Sado,—this last is an island, the capital of which is Koki.

5. *Sanin* includes the northern part of the western extremity of Nippon; and is divided into eight departments, viz. Tango, Tanba, Tasima, Inaba, Foki, Idsumo, Iwami, and Oki, which consists of two islands.

6. *Sanyo* lies directly south of Sanin, and contains eight departments; namely, Farima, Mimasaki, Eizen, Bitsew, Bingo, Aki, Suwo, and Nagata.

7. *Nankai* has six departments; viz. Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, Tosa, which constitute the island of Sikokf, Awasi, an island which is situated due east of Sikokf, and Kii or Kiinokuni, which lies still farther east and forms the southern extremity of Nippon.

8. *Saikai* comprehends the whole island of Kewsew, and is divided into nine departments; Tsikoozen, Tsikungo, Buzen, Bungo, Fizen, Figo, Fewga, Oumi, and Satsumi. Firando and Nangasaki both belong to this province; the first is well known from its having been one of the first and principal places visited by the Roman catholics; the other is famous for its harbor, being the only one in which foreign ships are allowed to anchor.—The islands Iki and Tausima, between Corea and Japan, are considered by Kæmpfer as kokfs, and complete the number sixty-eight.

The only islands which we shall notice, in addition to those already mentioned, are; Fataisio, a place of banishment, on the south-east of the empire; Tanoga, lying south of Kewsew; and on the north, Jeso or Matsmai, Kunashir, Eetooroop and Sagalien, which Golownin considers as Japanese colonies. The island of Matsmai and the Kuriles deserve farther consideration than we can give them in this article.

Japan is a mountainous and hilly country and its coasts are lined with steep rocks. Nippon is traversed in its whole length by a chain almost of uniform elevation, and in many places crowned with peaks covered with perpetual snow. This chain divides the streams which flow to the south and east and which fall into the Pacific ocean, from those which pursue a northerly course to the sea of Japan. Very many of the mountains of the country are volcanic. A full and, as far as we know, accurate account of these was published by Klaproth in the *Asiatic Journal* for January, 1831. The volcanic chain, of which the first southern links are found in the island of Formosa, extends by the way of the Lewchew islands to Japan, and thence along the Kurile archipelago as far as Kamtschatka. On the great island of Kewsew, in the department of Fisen and south-east from

Nangasaki, is the *Oün-zen-ga-da*, or 'high mountain of warm springs,' which has several craters. In the early part of the year 1793, the summit of the mountain sunk entirely down: torrents of boiling water issued from all the parts of the deep cavity, which was thus formed, and the vapor arose like thick smoke. Three weeks afterwards there was an eruption of the volcano *Bivo-no-kubi*, about half a league from the summit; the flames rose to a vast height: the lava which flowed out extended itself with great rapidity, and in a few days the whole country was in flames for several miles around. A month after this there was a horrible earthquake throughout the whole island, which was principally felt in the district of *Simabara*: the shocks were repeated several times, and the whole ended by a terrible eruption of *Miyiyama*. In the interior of *Figo* is the volcano *Aso*, which emits stones and flames, the latter of a blue, yellow and red color. *Satsuma*, which is the southernmost department of *Kewsew*, is entirely volcanic and impregnated with sulphur. Eruptions there are frequent. In 764 of our era, three new islands arose out of the sea; they are now inhabited. At the south extremity of *Satsuma* is *Ivoosima*, or 'Sulphur island,' which burns incessantly.

The most memorable volcanic phenomenon in Japan occurred in the year 285 B. C. when an immense land-lapse formed, in a single night, the great lake *Mitsu*. At the very time when this took place, *Foosi*, the highest mountain in Japan, rose from the surface of the earth. *Foosi* is an enormous pyramid, covered with perpetual snow situated in the department of *Suruga*, and near the borders of that of *Kai*. It is the largest and most active volcano in Japan. There was an eruption of it in 799, A. D., which lasted thirty-four days: it was frightful; the ashes covered the whole base of the mountain, and the streams of water in the vicinity assumed a red hue. The eruption in the year 800 was without earthquakes, which preceded those in 863 and 864. The latter was most violent; on all sides of the mountain the flames rose high, and were accompanied with the most frightful reports of thunder. Three several shocks of earthquakes were felt, and the mountain was on fire for ten days, till at length its lower part burst; the explosion was tremendous; the devastation extended over a space of thirty leagues, and the lava ran to a distance of three or four, principally towards the frontiers of *Kai*. Again in 1707, on the night of the 23d day of the 11th moon, two violent shocks of an earthquake were felt: mount *Foosi* opened, vomited flames, and hurled cinders to the distance of ten leagues. Next day the eruption ceased; but it was revived with greater violence on the 25th and 26th. Enormous masses of rock, sand reddened by heat, and an immense quantity of ashes, covered all the neighboring plateau. The ashes were driven to a great distance, and fell several inches thick at *Jedo*.

Another volcano, called the *Sirayama*, 'white mountain,' and covered with perpetual snow, is situated in the department of *Kaga*, about a degree and a half north of *Miyako*. Its most remarkable eruptions took place in 1230 and 1554. Another, and a very active

volcano is Asama, which is situated in Sinano, near the centre of Nippon. It is very high, burning from midway to the crest, and throws out an extremely dense smoke. It vomits flames and stones, and frequently covers the neighboring country with ashes. One of its last eruptions was that of 1783, which was preceded by an alarming earthquake. A vast number of villages were swallowed up by the earth, or burnt and overwhelmed by the lava. The number of persons who perished by this disaster it is impossible to determine; the devastation was incalculable. Yake, in the department of Moots, is the most northern volcano in Japan. The lofty mountains between Moots and Dewa, likewise contain several volcanoes.

There are among the volcanic mountains of Japan a vast number of warm springs. Many of these springs are found in Sinano. In the department of Yetsingo, situated to the north of Sinano, there is, near the village Kuru-gawa-mura, a well abounding with naphtha, which the inhabitants burn in their lamps. In the district of Gazivara there is a spot, the stony soil of which exhales inflammable gas. The natives make use of this gas, by running a pipe into the earth, and lighting the end like a torch. Klapproth, in concluding his paper on this subject, remarks that six of the volcanoes of Japan and four of the mountains from whence issue warm springs, are, according to the Japanese, the ten hells of the country.

Of the rivers and lakes of Japan we can say but little. None are remarkable for their size. The rivers seem to be numerous, and most of them rapid in their course. The river of Yodo has already been sufficiently described. The Tenriogawa, or river of the heavenly dragon, takes its rise in Sinano, and passing through Tootomi disembogues itself by three mouths into the sea. The sources of the Ara are in the mountainous country between Kootsuke and Musasi. It flows through the latter, and soon separates into two branches; the western, receiving the name of Toda, falls into the gulph of Jedo, to the eastward of the city of that name, which is watered by branches and canals from the Toda. Upon one of these canals is the celebrated *Nippon bas*, or bridge of Japan, from whence distances are computed throughout the empire. Over some of the rivers bridges have been built; there are others which are passed by boats; others are forded.—The lake Mistu, or Oits, already noticed as the largest in the empire, is only about seventy English miles long and twenty-two broad.

The climate of Japan is healthful. In winter the north and north-west winds are exceedingly sharp, and bring with them an intense frost. The summer heat is frequently alleviated by sea breezes; and throughout the whole year it rains frequently: the most abundant rains are in June and July, and hence they are called the 'water months.' In winter, snow frequently falls, and sometimes lies several days, even in the southern part of the empire. Thunder is often heard during the hot season; and storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes are frequent. Golownin, 'who it is true, never visited Nippon,' gives Japan a gloomy aspect, and thinks it truly an empire of fogs. 'In

the summer months,' he says, 'the fog often lasts three or four days without interruption, and there seldom passes a day in which it is not, for some hours, gloomy, rainy, or foggy. These fogs and this gloomy weather make the air cold and damp, and hinder the beams of the sun from producing so much effect as in other countries, which enjoy a clear sky.'

The natural productions of Japan are rich and abundant. In the mineral kingdom there are found rock-crystals, diamonds, amber, topaz, iron, lead, tin, copper, silver and gold; also coal, lime, saltpetre, salt, and sulphur. The greatest part of the sulphur is brought from Satsuma, or rather from the sulphur island adjoining that department. 'It is not above one hundred years' says Kæmpfer, who published his work more than a century ago, 'since the Japanese first ventured thither. Before that time the island was thought to be wholly inaccessible, and by reason of the thick smoke, which was observed continually to rise from it, and of the several spectres, and other frightful apparitions, people fancied to see there chiefly by night, it was believed to be a dwelling place of devils; but at last a resolute man obtained permission to go and examine it. He chose fifty bold fellows for this expedition; upon going on shore they found neither hell nor devils, but a large flat piece of ground at the top of the island, which was so thoroughly covered with sulphur, that wherever they walked, a thick smoke issued from under their feet. Ever since that time this island brings into the prince of Satsuma about twenty chests of silver per annum.' Gold is found in several parts of the empire; some of it is washed out of golden sand; but the greatest part is obtained from ore. Silver is found chiefly in the north, and seems not to be very abundant. Some of the Japanese copper is the best in the world. The tin is exceedingly fine and white. Brass is scarce and dear. Iron is found in large quantities. In Kæmpfer's time an extensive trade was carried on in pearls and other sea shells; and every body was allowed to fish for them. The Chinese were the chief purchasers of these articles. All sorts of submarine plants, corals, &c., are found in the Japanese seas, no ways inferior to those found on the Spice islands and Amboyna.

Writers on Japan have described its vegetable productions as being rich in kind and almost infinite in variety. Of forest trees there are found the oak, walnut, chesnut, maple, and fir; there are also mulberry, varnish, paper, camphor, cinnamon, fig, quince, peach, pear, plum, and cherry trees. Oranges and lemons grow plentifully and of different sorts. They plant but few vines; and their raspberries, strawberries, &c., are very insipid. The tea shrub is cultivated, but not extensively: the bamboo is common and is applied to a great variety of uses. Hemp and cotton are cultivated; and likewise rice, corn, wheat, buckwheat, peas, pulse, potatoes, turnips, yams, melons, ginger, ginseng, mustard, tobacco, &c. There are several varieties of rice, and some of them very excellent. The people of Japan imitate the Chinese in agricultural pursuits. Not only their fields and flat country, but their hills and mountains, are made to produce

grains and edible plants. Every inch of ground is improved to the best advantage. Low lands are ploughed with oxen, steep and high ones by men; and 'whosoever doth not cultivate his ground for the term of one year, forfeits his title to possession.'

Of beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects, the Japanese have long catalogues, including some which are 'merely chimerical, not existing in nature, nor yet invented by themselves, but borrowed from their neighbors the Chinese.' Those who wish for an account of these 'chimeras' must go to Kæmpfer, where they will find full descriptions illustrated with plates. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls being received almost universally, so says the writer just named, the natives eat no 'flesh-meat;' and living as they do chiefly on vegetables, they know how to improve the ground to much better advantage, than to turn it into meadows and pastures for breeding cattle. Horses are used for riding, and for carriages and ploughing; buffaloes, oxen, and cows are employed only for the two latter purposes. Of milk and butter the Japanese know nothing. They have no asses, mules, camels, or elephants. Sheep and goats were kept formerly by the Dutch and Portuguese at Firando, and might be bred in the country to great advantage. Of swine they have very few; but of dogs and cats they keep an abundance. Among their wild animals are deer, bears, hares, and foxes.

The principal fowls in Japan are ducks, geese, herons, pheasants, woodcocks, pigeons, cranes, storks, falcons, hawks, ravens, snipes, sparrows, swallows and a few tame fowls. The common European crows and parrots are said not to be found in that country. Of fish, the Japanese have almost every kind that can be mentioned. The first and most mischievous of reptiles, according to Kæmpfer, are the white ants; next are the millipedes, which are more venomous than the scorpion. Snakes are not common in Japan. Of the flying insects there are among others, bees, wasps, gnats, beetles, bugs, butterflies, and a singular kind of night-fly, 'which by reason of its incomparable beauty is kept by the ladies among their curiosities; it is about a finger long, slender, round-bodied, with four wings. The following fable owes its origin to the unparalleled beauty of this little creature. They say that all other night-flies fall in love with it, and that to get rid of their importunities, it maliciously bids them (for a trial of their constancy,) to go and fetch fire. The blind lovers scruple not to obey the commands, and flying to the next fire or candle, they never fail to burn themselves to death. The female is not near so beautiful as the male, but grey, ash-colored, and spotted.'

The origin of the Japanese is a subject about which historians have differed exceedingly; the question still remains unsettled. Kæmpfer, Siebold, Golownin, and Klaproth agree in the opinion that the people of Japan did not derive their origin from the Chinese. Siebold thinks that they derived their pedigree from the Tartars inhabiting the north-eastern part of the continent of Asia: Klaproth, Kæmpfer, and Golownin dissent from this opinion. The last named writer thinks their origin is buried in the obscurity of the remotest anti-

quity; but maintains "that the Japanese and Kuriles once were one and the same nation, and are descended from the same stock." To Kämpfer, it seems the most probable conjecture, "that they are descended from the first inhabitants of Babylon, and that the Japanese language is one of those, which the all-wise Providence hath thought fit, by way of punishment and confusion, to infuse in the minds of the vain builders of Babel." He gives reasons which induced the Japanese to travel eastward, and marks out the course by which they passed across the continent to the country of the rising sun: he shows at the same time also, that at different periods, Chinese and other people have come in and settled among them. Klaproth is, likewise, of the opinion that if any people have a title to be considered as aborigines, the Japanese have, and that they have been civilized by colonies from China. We will here introduce his views of the subject, and nearly in his own words.

At first sight, the Japanese seem greatly to resemble the Chinese in form and exterior. In carefully examining their characteristic features, however, and comparing them with those of the Chinese, it is easy to perceive a difference between them. The eye of the Japanese, although placed almost as obliquely as that of the Chinese, is wider near the nose, and the centre of the lid appears drawn up when opened. The hair of the Japanese is not uniformly black, as with the Chinese, but of a deep brown hue. In children below the age of twelve, it may be found of all shades, even to flaxen. There are also individuals to be met with who have their hair completely black, and almost crisped, with eyes very oblique, and a skin extremely dark. The complexion of the lower orders appears yellowish; that of the inhabitants of the towns is diversified according to their mode of life; while in the palaces of the great may be seen complexions as fair and cheeks as ruddy as those of European females. The vagabonds in the high ways, on the other hand, have a skin of a color between copper and a brown earthy hue. This is the prevailing complexion of the Japanese peasantry, of those parts of the body particularly which are most exposed to the sun.

The distinct origin of the Chinese and Japanese is completely established by the language of the latter, which is wholly different, in respect to radicals, from that of all the nations in the vicinity of Japan. Although it has adopted a considerable number of Chinese words, those words do not form a radically integral part of the language; they have been introduced by Chinese colonies, and principally by Chinese literature, which has formed the basis of that of Japan. The Japanese radicals have a little resemblance to those of the Korean tongue; they are equally alien from the dialects of the Kuriles or Ainos, who inhabit Jesso; neither has the Japanese language any affinity to the dialects of the Mantchous and the Tougousses, who inhabit the continent opposite to Japan.

The Japanese regard Sinmoo, as the founder of their empire. He came, *b. c.* 660, from the western part of their country, to conquer the island of Nippon. It is extremely probable that he was of Chinese

origin, and that his family had fled from China during the disorders which agitated this country under the Chow dynasty, and that he took refuge in a country farther to the east. This conjecture seems more probable from the fact, that the Japanese know positively nothing of the occurrences in their own country prior to the epoch of Sinmoo. This conqueror found Nippon already peopled, and only settled in it. Hence it appears that, at that period, the whole of the island was occupied by the ancient aborigines, who as civilization spread in the western portion, were gradually impelled towards the east, and for that reason received the denomination of *Atsumayebis*, or eastern barbarians. These people maintained themselves for a considerable time in the north-west of Nippon, principally in the *kokf* or department of *Moots*. They were not completely dispersed and blended with the other Japanese till the eleventh century of our era. If it be admitted that Sinmoo was of Chinese origin, it is not, therefore, necessary to suppose that he came direct from China to Japan. The Chinese annals inform us that the most eastern countries of Asia were at a period much more remote, peopled by Chinese; for in the year *b. c.* 1195, the inhabitants of the eastern parts of China, oppressed by the tyranny of the emperor *Wooyeih*, embarked in vast numbers, men, women, and children, and sought the neighboring islands, where they founded colonies. After the time of Sinmoo, other Chinese settlers arrived in Japan, and particularly an expedition consisting of three hundred couples of young people, sent by the emperor *Che Hwangte*, across the eastern sea, in search of the liquor of immortality! According to the Japanese annals, having sought the drug in vain, the young party, under the direction of *Seufuh*, a skilful Chinese physician, arrived in Japan *b. c.* 209, and landed at *Kuma* in the southern part of Nippon. The leader, after having introduced among the natives, arts and sciences which were unknown there before, died on mount *Fosi*, and to this day the Japanese pay him divine honors.

In proceeding to speak of the early history of the Japanese, a few short paragraphs, in addition to what we have said concerning their origin, must suffice. It has already been remarked that, anterior to the time of Sinmoo, the Japanese themselves knew nothing of their history. They have however their mythological records, which trace their descent directly from the gods. "At first," so say the Japanese, "the heavens and the earth were not separated; the perfect principle *me* (in Chinese *yang*) and the imperfect principle *o* (in Chinese *yin*) were not disjoined; chaos, under the form of an egg, contained the breath or vapor (self-produced) which included the germs of all things. Then what was pure and perfect ascended and formed the heavens or sky; whilst what was dense and impure coagulated, was precipitated, and produced the earth. The pure principle formed whatever is light, whilst whatever was impure and dense descended by its own gravity; consequently the sky was formed prior to the earth. After the completion of heaven and earth, *kami*, a divine being was born in the midst of them. Hence it has been said, that

at the reduction of chaos, an island of soft earth emerged, as a fish swims upon the water. At this period, a thing resembling a shoot of the plant *assi*, the *eryanthus Japonicus*, was produced between the heavens and the earth. This shoot was metamorphosed and became the god who bears the title of *kooni toko kootsi no mikoto*, i. e. 'the venerable one who constantly supports the empire.' Thus arose the first order of celestial beings; they were seven in number, and ruled for an incomprehensible series of centuries. The last of these seven and his wife are held in high veneration by the Japanese, who regard them as the progenitors of another order of superhuman beings, five in number, of whom descended a third race—the present inhabitants of Japan.

Sinmoo, in Chinese, *shin woo*, the 'divine warrior,' who stands as head and founder of the nation and the present line of monarchs, is, according to the Japanese, the lineal issue of *ten si o dai six*, who in his turn stands at the head of the second order of beings mentioned above, and who moreover, is the legitimate descendant of *kooni toko kootsi no mikoto*, the first of the first order of the celestial gods. Thus, on account of their being supposed to derive their origin from the ancient divinities of the country, *Sinmoo* and his successors to the throne of Japan, are denominated *ten si*; but in conversation they are more commonly called *dairi*: *ten si* is the same as the *teen tsze*, or son of heaven, of the Chinese; *dairi* signifies 'the court,' or 'the interior of the palace,' and is employed to denote the emperor, because his subjects are forbidden to utter his name, of which in fact, they are generally ignorant. The *dairi* are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and 'as popes by birth.' When the throne becomes vacant, the nearest heir, without regard to age or sex, is by the great ministers of the state raised to the rank of *dairi*. Sometimes, while the incumbent is yet alive, the crown is bequeathed to some one of the imperial family, that the succession may be effected without disturbance. The transfer is always made in the most secret manner possible. Yet there have frequently been those of imperial blood who have disputed the right of succession, and who have endeavored by force of arms to drive the *dairi* from his seat. Hence there have been wars and contentions. Princes have taken the field; and their quarrels have seldom ended except with the entire destruction of one of the contending parties.

During the period of almost twenty-five hundred years, since 'the divine warrior' laid the foundations of the empire, the number of successions to the throne has been one hundred and twenty-one. To recount the names and exploits of so long a series of monarchs; to mark the years of their births and deaths, and describe the wars, rebellions, earthquakes, fires, famines, plagues, &c., which occurred during their successive reigns; and to notice the introduction of new religions, priests, idols, and the building of temples, with numerous festivals in honor of gods, saints, and heroes, would require a volume; but if such a work was well done, the 'history of Japan' would be one of the most interesting and instructive books in the world. The

Japanese have two principal eras. The first and most common begins with the reign of Simmoo B. C. 660; and is called *nin o*. The second era is called *nen go*, and was introduced A. D. 650. It includes a period of only a few years, commonly less than twenty, and is made use of in almanacks, orders, proclamations, journals, letters, &c. In printed books, such as relate to history and chronology, the current year of the first era, *nin o*, is added to the *nen go*. The present year of the Christian era, 1834, is the 2494th of the *nin o*, or common Japanese era.

Simmoo having established himself in Japan, proceeded immediately to civilize the inhabitants. He reformed the laws and government of the people, and introduced among them a system of chronology, dividing the time into years, months, and days. He took the title *nin o*, 'the supreme of all men,' which is perpetuated in the name of the Japanese era noticed above; and having reigned seventy-nine years and secured the throne to his posterity, he died in the 157th year of his age, B. C. 581. His third son succeeded to the throne, which he occupied thirty-three years. It was during his reign that the Chinese philosopher Confucius appeared, whose fame soon spread even to Japan, where after his death temples were erected to his memory. Kosio was the fifth emperor of Japan; ascended the throne B. C. 476; and in the fifth year of his reign a war arose between two of the provinces of the empire, which is the first war mentioned by Japanese historians. In these early times the emperor was 'obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the crown on his head, without stirring hands or feet, head or eyes, or indeed any part of the body, because by this means it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if unfortunately he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune, was at hand to desolate the country.' Kosio having thus *sat* on the throne during a period of eighty-three years, died aged 115.

Sewsin, the tenth emperor from Simmoo, came to the throne B. C. 97; and in the eleventh year of his reign erected the office of *seogun*, or generalissimo; and conferred this title on one of his sons. Shortly after this, merchant-ships and men-of-war began to be built in Japan. The successor of Sewsin, who was his third son, held the reigns of government 98 years; which period is memorable for several occurrences in Japan; on one occasion it rained stars from heaven; and on another, a celebrated personage arrived from the Indies, riding on a white horse, and bearing in his hands a sacred book. This emperor died A. D. 70, and in the 140th year of his age.

The successor of the fourteenth *daïri* was 'the deceased emperor's relict.' She carried on war against the Coreans, and marched a numerous army into their country, commanding the expedition in person. She died after a glorious reign, aged 100 years, and was ranked among the goddesses of her country. Her son and successor was a hero; and in peace and war he was the true father of his people. He

too died at a great age; and was numbered among the gods with the title of *fatzman*, or 'the Mars of Japan.' One of the most cruel and barbarous of all the Japanese emperors was Buretz, who came to the throne A. D. 499. He took great delight, 'in cutting off people's heads. With his own hands, he ripped open the bellies of women with child; on which occasion, it is said, that fire fell from heaven, and that the emperor, to guard himself against it, caused a room to be built all of stone.' He inflicted many other cruelties on his subjects. Some he tortured by plucking out their nails; others he commanded to climb high trees and then he would shoot at them. In this manner he reigned 80 years. During these times the worship of idols greatly increased in Japan; and idols, and idol-makers, and priests went thither from beyond sea.

Many of the Japanese emperors, as we may conclude from the instances already cited, lived to a very old age; not a few of them, however, have died early; and some have come to an untimely death by the hands of their enemies. In numerous instances females have held the reigns of government; and there are not wanting cases in which the lords of creation have exchanged the imperial court for a monastery. While Japan was agitated by many internal strifes, it was not free from foreign influence: nor were its foreign wars confined to the Coreans and Chinese. In the year A. D. 788, a foreign and strange people came against Japan; and so bold and valiant were they, and so constantly strengthened by recruits, that eighteen years elapsed before they were overcome and driven from the country.

The reign of Gotoba, who came to the throne A. D. 1184, is memorable for civil wars and the extension of the power of the seogun. Joritomo, the first individual who became in a measure independent of the emperor, was born at court, 1152. The supreme and unlimited authority of the daïri had then begun to decline. The princes of the empire, governed by ambition, jealousy and envy, abandoned by degrees the duty and allegiance which they owed to their sovereign; assumed an absolute power in the government of their dominions; entered into alliances for their own defense; and carried on war against each other, to revenge the injuries they had received. In this state of affairs, Joritomo was sent by the emperor, at the head of a numerous army, with absolute power, to adjust the differences and put an end to the wars between the princes of the empire. Men entrusted with power seldom care to part with it. So it was with Joritomo. Seizing the favorable opportunity now put into his hands, he espoused the interest of those of the contending parties, whom he thought the most likely to support his own, and in this way increased his power to such a degree, as not only to arrogate to himself absolute authority, but to leave to his successors a plausible pretext to claim the same. Thus by the quarrels and disobedience of the princes, the power of the emperor, received a fatal shock, 'though without prejudice to his dignity, rank, and holiness.' From that period down to the present, these two branches of authority—one belonging to the emperor, the other to the seogun—have continued distinct.

This sketch of the early history of the Japanese, will afford us a part of the data upon which we must form our opinion of their national character; at the same time, we must avail ourselves of the testimony of those who have visited the country since it became known to Europeans in the sixteenth century. Granting it to be a fact, as it seems most probable, that the Japanese are not descendants of the Chinese; yet having been civilized by that people, and having derived from them no small part of their laws, literature, and religion, it is not strange that they should bear a very striking resemblance to the Chinese. This resemblance of course is not so visible in their form and features, as in the great outlines of their national character. Pride and arrogance are the distinctive traits of the Japanese of all classes. They look down with scorn upon all their neighbors, not excepting even the Chinese. Those who are in authority are fond of pomp and show; and whenever they appear abroad are accompanied by a retinue, and always exact from their inferiors the same respect that they themselves pay to the emperor. As to the courage and bravery of the Japanese, writers are not agreed; but in these qualities they would be found, we apprehend, if put to the test, not very unlike the Chinese.

Van Overmeer Fisscher, who resided in Japan from 1820 to 1829, and visited the court of the seogun at Jedo in 1822, has published to the world the results of his observations in that country. The most prominent trait in the character of the Japanese, he says, is ambition. 'The princes voluntarily make the greatest sacrifices in order to obtain from the seogun new titles and more elevated rank; and their vassals likewise, in their turn, employ every expedient to procure honors and advancement from them. The superior classes alone have a right to be carried in a closed palanquin; those of the inferior ranks can use only a kango, a kind of sedan. Etiquette is rigidly observed in every thing, and no one dare to refuse to a person of superior rank the honors due to him. Notwithstanding the wealth of the mercantile class, traders are held in no esteem; they therefore strive, by rendering financial services to the princes and grandees, to obtain some post in their suite, which gives them a title to wear distinctive signs.' Mr. Fisscher, though evidently disposed to eulogize the Japanese, acknowledges, with all others that have visited their country, that there are usages among them which "cannot fail to shock even European ideas." Additional light will be thrown on the character of the Japanese when we come to speak (as we intend to do in our next number,) of their government, their literature, religion, manners, customs, and intercourse with foreign nations. Captain P. Gordon, who visited Jedo in 1818, says he never was in a country, 'the inhabitants of which conducted themselves with so much propriety as the Japanese; they were not only polite and affable towards him, but invariably so towards each other.' The captain here speaks of the *people*; and there is no reason to doubt, that were they free from the restraint of their rulers, they would, like the *people* of China, welcome foreigners to their shores.

ART. II. Mohammedanism; its present attitude in eastern and western Asia, with an outline of a defense of the gospel against the Malayan Mohammedans.

A correspondent, who has long been familiar with the Malays, has forwarded to us a paper containing an epitome of a work now publishing in the language of that people. It is entitled 'a Defense of the gospel against Mohammedan objections;' and is a curious and interesting work, and will prove instructive and convincing to Mussulmen. It seems to have been called forth by the present circumstances of the Mohammedans in the Malay states. The religious tenets of the Turk and Malay, derived from the same source and cherished for several centuries, have given to them a degree of similarity in their national character. Though the Turk is possessed of more political power than the Malay, yet he scarcely exceeds him in those qualities which have rendered them both alike formidable to their enemies,—and all are their enemies who are not with themselves worshipers of the false prophet. In the administration of justice the Malays are lax in every respect; but generally heavy armed to enforce their haughty claims. In some of the settlements, every man has a sword, a creese, sometimes two, and frequently two or three spears: The latter might rather be termed javelins, being very heavy, and are thrown so exact, that at the distance of ten or twelve paces, they will pass through the body of a man: The Malays who are trained and armed in this way are usually proud idlers, and are frequently engaged in deadly quarrels. But the gospel of God is destined to subdue and triumph over all the bad passions of these men; and already the circulation of Bibles and Christian books among them and their neighbors has roused many of the Malays to search the Scriptures, and to compare them with their own creed,—the doctrines of the Koran.

In western Asia, Mohammedanism has heretofore exhibited a stiff more imposing aspect. "Its laws have ever imposed tribute, or the forfeiture of life, upon unbelievers, and denounced inevitable death upon apostates. Its professors have long held at the disposal of their arbitrary will, large bodies of subjugated Christians; they once triumphed over the chivalry of Europe; and their sovereigns sat upon the subverted throne of the Cæsars." But changes have taken place even in Turkey—the very seat of the monster; changes which tend to liberalize and humble the disciples of the Arabian conqueror. By his recent adoption of Christian improvements, the sultan, the viceroy of Mohammed, has broken the spell which bound to him millions of loyal subjects. To that religious fanaticism which has ever been the strongest principle of obedience in the Turkish vassal, and of bravery in the Turkish soldier, he can no longer appeal. Once he had only to impose the ban of empire upon the famous Ali Pashá of Yoanina, and the head of the outlaw soon graced the portals of

the seraglio. Now the same interdict is issued against Mohammed Ali of Egypt, and his victorious army only marches the bolder towards the walls of the capital. The late Russian war and the battle of Navarino, with other cases, have shown the Mohammedans of the Turkish empire that they are but men—men too who have their equals. The consequence is, that the improvements of modern Europe can now be introduced, and will probably soon spread, throughout western Asia. By some such means, doubtless, a way will be opened for the introduction of the same improvements among the inhabitants of eastern Asia. The Mohammedans that are found in China, have lost much of their characteristic pride, by the endurance of the still greater haughtiness of their masters. The Turk adds to his spirit of domination great strength and boldness; the Chinese has indeed the haughtiness, but not the nerve and daring of the Turk. On every side, therefore, we see reasons for encouragement. In the Malay states, the spirit of inquiry is waking up, and search is being made for the truth. In western Asia, the glory of the sultan is waning, and the pride of his subjects is brought low.—But we must return to the paper before us, which we give in the words of our correspondent, only ‘curtailing’ some parts of it, agreeably to his suggestion.

The first chapter commences with an account of the sacred oracles, and produces many passages out of the Koran in praise of the Old and New Testaments, pointing them out as the fountain of truth, and the sure directory in matters of faith and practice. It then shows the attempt which Mohammed made to establish the truth of his own mission by an allusion to the sacred books of the Jews and Christians, and how he told his followers to go and ask those religionists whether the law and gospels did not contain prophecies respecting himself; but supposing (as well he might) that the Jews and Christians would not bear him out in his claims, he further enjoined it on his followers not to give heed to what those religionists should say. Finding at length that the Jews and Christians would have the best of the argument with him, and be enabled to convict him of advancing unfounded assertions, showing from their books, that no such things were prophesied of him as he pretended, he then sought to shelter himself under the assertion that the Jews and Christians had struck out or altered all those passages which referred to himself. Various passages from the Koran and other Arabic writers are then quoted, in which Mohammed brings forward this charge; and one passage in particular is adduced, which Mohammed affirms in his Koran referred to himself, and which the Jews and Christians had struck out of their writings. This is the well known passage in the 61st ch. of the Koran; “and Jesus the son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be *Ahmed*.” But this passage, it is shown, never was uttered by Jesus, and is to be found in no gospel, either authentic or spurious, now extant. The reply to this, that the

passage being not now found in the gospels, is no proof that it never was there, is then discussed, and the proofs brought forward that the sacred Scriptures, as they now exist in the hands of the Jews and Christians, are unaltered and unadulterated, and remain the same as they were when they proceeded from the hand of the prophets and apostles; and since the Mohammedans ground the controversy on the assertion that our sacred Scriptures have been altered, if we can show that they have not been altered, then the main argument of the Mohammedans falls of itself to the ground.

The second chapter goes largely into the proof of the point that the sacred oracles have not been falsified or changed. In order to this, it is shown that the Scriptures held sacred by the Jews and Christians consist of two parts, the Old and New Testaments; of these the Jews acknowledge only the first, but the Christians, both the first and second. With respect to the Old Testament it is shown that the whole work was not written at one time, or by one individual, but that it is divided into various sections which were written partly by Moses and partly by other prophets; and as these prophets were not contemporary, their writings were published at different intervals. Further it is observed, that the sacred writings were not sent down ready made from heaven, but were written by human pens, while the authors were under the influence of the Spirit of God, by which means they were kept from error, and wrote only those things which were agreeable to the mind of God. The various dates and authors of each of the sacred compositions are enumerated, and it is then shewn that about 400 years before the coming of Christ, the whole of the sacred books of the Old Testaments were collected into one volume which from that time to the present has been carefully guarded and highly esteemed by the Jews, who use it in their synagogues, read it in their dwellings, place their whole confidence in it, and would rather die ten times over than let it go out of their hands. They have even counted the number of words, letters and points in this book. Indeed so very particular are they, that if a letter is wanting or even written awry in any sheet, they instantly reject it. From these things it is inferred, that the Jews would on no account presume to alter their sacred writings, and should one individual dare to do it, the whole nation would rise against him and condemn him. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek, about three hundred years before the coming of Christ, is then alluded to, the causes which led to it, the way in which it was executed, and the use it was of both to Jews and Greeks, among whom it was widely spread; all this occurred about a thousand years before the coming of Mohammed; it is therefore argued that, if the Jews in the time of Mohammed should have thought of altering the Hebrew Bible, they would not have been able to alter the Greek translation, that having been made a thousand years before, and carried round to countries 1000 miles distant; and if they had altered the Hebrew Bible only, and not the Greek translation, then the latter would have falsified the former; and a great discrepancy would have appeared between them;

but on examination no such discrepancy is found ;—the inference therefore is, that neither the one nor the other have been altered.

It is next shown that no part of the N. T. was written by Jesus himself, or during his lifetime, but by his apostles and first disciples after his ascension, who going about from place to place preaching the word and establishing churches, were required to write some account of what they had heard and seen, and to correspond with the various societies of Christians established by their instrumentality on the subject of the religion they professed : thus the gospels and epistles were written at various times, by eight different individuals, from ten to sixty years after Christ's ascension. The miracles wrought by the writers of the New Testament are then spoken of, as credentials, proving the divine origin of their mission, and the high authority of their writings ; on this account their publications were received by the Christians of that day, as of binding obligation in the church of God. Each society of Christians obtained one or other of the gospels or epistles, which they carefully preserved and communicated to others of their brethren, till within a short time after the death of the last of the apostles, when the whole were collected into one volume and called the New Testament.

Had the autographs of the apostles been preserved to the present day, and could they be produced, the controversy would have been set completely at rest. These being however lost through the long lapse of ages, recourse must be had to manuscripts taken from them, and copied after them : of these, numbers are preserved, which are thought to be, more or less, 1200 years old. Proofs are then brought forward of the antiquity of such manuscripts in something of the following order. Books in the present day are printed, but printing has not been invented above 500 years ; thus if any one should bring us a printed book, we might certainly know it to be no more than 500 years old ; but if he should produce a manuscript, we might consider it to be more than 500 years old, because people would not take trouble to multiply copies of a work by writing, when they could do it much more easily by printing. Again, we now use paper to write on, but paper has only been invented 1000 years ; if one should bring us a book written on paper, we might know it to be less than 1000 years old, but if he should bring us a book written on parchment, and not on paper, we might judge it to be more than 1000 years old, because people would not write on dear parchment when they could get cheap paper. Moreover the Greeks have been in the habit of using two kinds of letters, large and small, but the small letters were invented 1200 years ago ; if therefore a person should produce a book written in small Greek letters we might know that it was less than 1200 years old ; but if he should produce one written in large Greek letters, we might conclude it to be more than 1200 years old, because people would not write in large letters which occupy much space, when they were acquainted with small ones which would come in a less room. Besides this, we may judge of the age of a manuscript by examining the condition of the paper or parchment

on which it is written, and the color of the ink employed. If the former exhibits marks of decay, and the latter is turned pale, or yellow, we may then know that the manuscript is old. Something also may be gathered from its history, and if according to authentic records it has been handed down from high antiquity, we may arrive at a degree of certainty respecting the age of the manuscript.

An account is then given of some of the most ancient and celebrated manuscripts, with a short description of their age, history, present condition, and where they are to be found; viz. the Alexandrian, the Vatican, the Cottonian, the Colbertensian, the Cesarian, and the Bezan; most of which are considered to be 1200 and 1300 years old, or even more; besides these, six more from 1000 to 1200, and 469 nearly 1000 years old. Allusion is then made to the ancient versions, such as the Coptic, the Syrian, the Abyssinian, the Vulgate, the Persian and the Armenian; some of which were made within a century after the apostolic age, and some later, and all of which are in a good state of preservation to the present day. It is then shewn that all those manuscripts and versions have been carefully examined, and diligently compared, both with each other, and with the received text of the present day; and this has been done by men of wisdom and skill, as well as of probity and good report, who have given their undivided attention to the subject for years together, and some during the whole of a long life, and who are therefore entitled to our regard and confidence.

Something is then said about the liability to error in all human productions, and that there probably never was a copy of any thing made, which in every letter, stroke, and dot, followed the original. The prophets and apostles wrote indeed as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and therefore all their writings were correct; but when their books were copied or translated by uninspired men, it was to be expected that faults would appear, not important ones, such as would affect the sense, but trifling discrepancies in letters, points, &c. It is then suggested that even in the Koran varieties appear between different copies; for in the time of Mohammed the different chapters of the Koran were published by piecemeal, and deposited in a chest one by one, just as they were issued, until the death of Mohammed, when the whole were collected and arranged by Abu Beer. In the mean time, however, others had recollected various passages, which they had committed to writing from memory, and thus discrepancies arose; so that there are now seven separate versions of the Koran, all of which differ from each other, in the number of the verses, and in other not unimportant particulars. So that the Koran of the Persian, differs from that held by the Turks, to such a degree that a copy of the Koran brought from Bagdad would not be received at Constantinople, and one from the latter city would not be acknowledged at the former: while both Persians and Turks think with themselves that they severally possess the true Koran.

It is acknowledged, that inasmuch as all copies differ in some respects from their originals, so the copies of the Old and New Testa-

ment, as well as the Koran, exhibit slight discrepancies; but if any should say that the sacred books were altered on purpose, in order to establish one religion and falsify another, we can then affirm that it is not true; and we may safely demand proof from those who make the assertion that the law and the gospels are falsified, which proof being wanting, their assertion must of course fall to the ground. It is then shown what kind of proof would be available in order to establish the assertion, and without which the saying will not stand; viz. they must first bring copies of the law and gospels older than the time of Mohammed, which according to them have not been falsified, in order to compare with the ancient copies in our possession, which they say have been falsified: secondly, the copies which they thus bring must be more ancient and more numerous than those which we can bring, if not, it would be our duty to reject the copies which are few and modern, and to adopt those which preponderate on the side of number and antiquity: thirdly, they must point out the places in which the sacred books have been altered, and bring the true readings to insert instead of the spurious ones: and if they can do neither of these things we may then see that their assertions are but wind.

Proof being wanting on the part of our antagonists, it is then shown, that proof can be brought forward by us, to establish the truth that the law and the gospels have not been falsified. First, there are now in Europe fourteen manuscripts older than the time of Mohammed; these have been accurately and carefully compared with the received texts of the Old and New Testaments, and no difference has been found to exist between them, except in a few unimportant particulars, which may be ascribed to the carelessness of transcribers. Secondly, it is seen that all men are very careful of their sacred books, as being the standards of faith and practice, and the basis of their best and dearest hopes; if a controversy arises they appeal to their Scriptures, and the matter is at once decided; it follows then that if the Scriptures are falsified all will be uncertain; hence men of every religion have been attentive to the preservation of their sacred books, that they may be kept free from alteration while they live, and be handed down unadulterated to their posterity when they die. Thirdly, every thing done by reasonable men must be done from some motive, and without a motive no one would act; thus we may infer, that without a motive urging them to the act, the Jews and Christians would not alter their Scriptures. If any should say, that this was done out of envy and spite against Mohammed, we might reply, that Mohammed was an Arab, and as long as he lived did not spread his religion beyond the confines of Arabia: but the Jews and Christians of that age were spread abroad throughout all Europe, and the greater part of Asia and Africa, the most of whom never heard the name of Mohammed, and for hundred of years knew nothing about him; thus it was impossible that they should either envy or hate him, and if they did not envy or hate him, then they never could have altered their Scriptures out of envy or hatred. Fourthly, if the Jews

and Christians had hated Mohammed, and if they had sought to alter their Scriptures, they would not have been able to effect it on account of its difficulties; for if they had altered one copy, they must have altered all, otherwise their alteration would have been of no use; for if one copy had been altered, and the whole had not been altered in like manner, then the one altered copy would have been condemned by the united voice of the whole. Now in the time of sultan Othman, half the followers of Islam made use of the version of the Koran, which had been arranged by Abu Beer, which was in the hands of Haphsa, and half made use of the version which was received from the mouth of Mohammed himself, so that there was a discrepancy between them. On this account sultan Othman issued an order, that all the other copies should be collected and burnt, and that a number of new copies should be made according to the version in the hands of Haphsa; thus all the copies of the Koran were made nearly alike, with only a few verbal discrepancies between them. Now this was comparatively easy, because Othman was a sultan, governing the whole of Arabia, and the koran was written in Arabic alone, and had not yet reached to foreign countries: but with respect to the altering of the law and gospels, great difficulty would have been experienced, for in the time of Mohammed, the Old Testament had been published 1000 years, and the New, 600; thousands of copies had been taken of both these works, they had been dispersed through hundreds of countries, and translated into scores of different languages; therefore if any one had wished to have altered these books, he must have sought for these thousands of copies, and traveled to those hundreds of countries, and have learned those scores of languages; further he must have burnt all the former copies, and have made a complete set of new ones, a work of no small difficulty, and beyond the compass of human effort. Fifthly, we may ask, if the law and gospels are falsified, by whom was it done? Whether by one man alone or by all together? If it is said, by one man, we may reply, that is impossible as is above shown. If it is said by all together, we may reply, that is impossible also; for if a few Jews had taken it into their heads to alter the law, and a few Christians to alter the gospel, the whole body of Jews and Christians would not have acceded to it, and if all the Jews had agreed to alter the law, and all the Christians to alter the gospel, these two bodies of people would not have come to terms about what was to be altered, because they were enemies to each other, and if the Jews had dared to alter their Scriptures, the Christians would have condemned them.

The third chapter treats of those passages of our Scriptures which are quoted by Mussulmen in favor of their prophet. It commences with saying, that since many Mussulmen, more intelligent than the rest, have found that the proofs brought by Christians in favor of the genuineness of their Scriptures are unanswerable, and since they find that the Scriptures held by the Jews and Christians have not been altered, they take up the law and gospel as they stand and examine them, to see if they cannot find some expressions which refer to Mo-

hammed in the said books. Thus by diligent seeking, they have succeeded in selecting a few passages which, according to them, do refer to Mohammed and Islamism; it is necessary therefore to consider such, in order to see whether they do indeed refer to Mohammed. First, Mohammedans bring a passage out of Deuteronomy, ch. 33, v. 2, which reads thus, "The Lord came from mount Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them, he shined forth from mount Paran," which they thus explain: "The Lord came from mount Sinai," intimates that God gave the Law to Moses on mount Sinai. "He rose up from Seir," intimates that God gave the gospel to Jesus, who came out of Seir or Nazareth, from which circumstance the Christians are called Nazarenes. "He shined forth from mount Paran," intimates that God gave the Koran to Mohammed, for Paran is a hill near Mecca. In addition to this, the Mohammedans quote Habakkuk ch. 3, 3. "God came from Teman, the Holy One from mount Paran, his glory covered the heavens and the earth was full of his praise." Now Teman they say, is in Arabia, and Paran is Mecca, and praise is the same with Mohammed, which means in the original 'praise;' "the earth was full of his praise," therefore means the earth was full of the religion of Mohammed. To all this we may reply, that when any wish to establish the proofs of a religion, it is not sufficient to bring intimations and suppositions; for we may suppose these expressions to refer to Moses, and Jesus, and Mohammed, when they neither refer to one nor the other, and so the whole supposition falls to the ground. That the law was given to Moses on mount Sinai is true, but that Jesus sprung from Seir is not true, for Jesus was brought up in Nazareth in the land of Galilee to the north of Judea, while Seir is in the land of Edom, to the south of Judea, which latter place Jesus never visited, and therefore could not spring from thence. Moreover, mount Paran is not near Mecca, but forty days journey distant therefrom, and Mohammed never went to that mount, neither did his religion spring from thence. Now if any should wish to know the meaning of the passage quoted, he may read the whole chapter from which this is taken, and thus he will see that the sacred writer is not speaking of the origin of various kinds of religion, but is praising the Lord for all the goodness shown to the Israelites when they came out of Egypt, and traveled through the wilderness to the promised land; thus he said, the Lord came from mount Sinai, where he proclaimed the ten commandments, and he rose up from Seir, where he displayed many signs and wonders in the sight of the people, and he shined forth from mount Paran, where he wrought greater miracles by the hand of Moses. These three places are the halting places of the Israelites during their journey; and as the power and glory of God were more and more displayed, the farther they went, thus there is a climax in the expressions, for it is first said, he came, then he rose up, and then he shined forth. With respect to the quotation from Habakkuk, we may reply, that Teman is in the land of Edom, and not in the province of Hedjaz, where Mohammed was born, and Pa-

ran is nearer to Judea, than to Mecca. But because many Mussulmen boast themselves that the name of Mohammed is contained in the expression, 'the earth was full of his praise,' we may reply, that the word employed means 'hymns of praise,' and not simply 'praise,' and if one will take the trouble to examine the Arabic version of the Bible, he will not find it written that the earth was full of his *ahmed*, or praise, but the earth was full of his *tasbihat*, or hymns of praise. Thus even this vain supposition falls to the ground. [Twelve other passages are taken up and examined by our correspondent in the same manner as the preceding.]

The fourth chapter is devoted to the consideration of certain passages quoted by Mohammedans, as if from our Scriptures, but which are not to be found therein. The fifth, consists of inferences drawn from the preceding chapters.

The sixth contains an account of those prophecies found in the Scriptures, which are supposed by most wise and good men to refer to Mohammed and his religion. First, the 8th chapter of Daniel is taken and explained, particularly with reference to the little horn which is supposed to allude to Mohammed. This supposition is grounded on its *origin*, springing up out of one of the four kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was divided; for the kingdom of Egypt which was towards the south, included part of Arabia, and particularly the province of Hedjaz, where Mohammed was born. Further, on account of its mean appearance, and subsequent prosperity, being at first a little horn, and afterwards a mighty empire; for the power of Mohammed was in the beginning small, being himself in his youth a poor orphan, and having at the first establishment of his religion, no more than his wife, his slave, his disciple, and his friend, for followers. But afterwards he became very great towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land. For when he found that he could not prevail by persuasion, he drew the sword, and declared war against the unbelievers, from which time he waxed exceeding great, toward Arabia in the south, Persia in the east, and Judea, "the pleasant land"—the capital of which was taken in the 15th year of the Hedjra. The little horn may be shown to be Mohammed, on account of his *success* against the ministers of the Gospel, for he cast down some of the host of heaven, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them: and thus we find that Mohammed did prevail against many of the servants of Christ, partly by his wiles in inducing them to apostatize, and partly by violence, crushing them when obstinate. The little horn may be said to typify Mohammed, on account of his exalting *himself* at the expense of the Savior: for he magnified himself even to the prince of the host: placing himself on an equal or even higher rank than the son of God. The angel Gabriel has likewise told us that this power, should be a king of fierce countenance, which exactly suits Mohammed; who propagated his religion by the sword, and who was called the prophet of the sword, and the slaughterer. It is also said, that he should understand dark sentences, and in the 12th chapter of the Koran,

Mohammed speaks of having had a sacred history revealed to him, while the mystical letters at the commencement of several of the chapters of the Koran, which Mohammed affirms no one knew the meaning of, except himself, may also be considered among the dark sentences which this king should understand. Gabriel has also told us, that his power should be mighty, but not by his own power; accordingly we find that the influence of Mohammed was great, but that he prevailed not so much by the solid weight of his arguments, as by the sharpness of his sword; and that his logic would not have been so successful, had it not been for his skill and courage in war. Gabriel has assured us further, that through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand. The craft in his hand is doubtless the book which he assumed to be of heavenly origin; but which would not have been received as such, nor the invention prospered, had not policy been employed. Now the policy was, giving himself out as the illiterate prophet, and yet producing a book superior to all the productions of the age. That such a craft was to be found in his hand is not to be wondered at, when we remember what Mohammed himself has said in his Koran, 66 chap. "God hath allowed you the dissolution of your oaths;" now if a man will not only break his oaths, but give out that God has allowed him so to do, it is but natural to expect craft in his hand. Finally, Gabriel has foretold, that he shall be broken without hand. That is, the system which he has founded shall be overthrown, not by the power and policy of man, by means of which it was set up, but by the mighty energy of the Holy Spirit, through the preaching of the everlasting gospel.

The second prophecy, is that contained in the 9th chapter of Rev., where the locusts of the bottomless pit, and the Euphratean horsemen are supposed to refer to the Mohammedans. The star falling from heaven, who opened the bottomless pit, and let out the smoke, doubtless referred to Arius, or some archapostate from the orthodox faith of Christ, who by the broaching of heretical opinions, darkened the atmosphere of the Christian world, and made way for the diffusion of the pernicious tenets of Islamism. These tenets, and those who spread them, are compared to locusts, with which it is known that Arabia abounds: these locusts were commanded not to hurt any of the real servants of God, who are compared to grass and trees, but those only who had not the seal of God in their foreheads; hence we see that the arms of the Saracens did not prevail so much against those Christians who remained faithful to their Lord, as against those who became corrupted by the poison of Arianism. Further, the shape of these locusts was like wild horses prepared unto the battle; no country is so celebrated for war horses as Arabia: on their heads were, as it were, crowns of gold, which may refer to the turbans worn by the Arabs, which were frequently adorned with gold: their faces were to be as the faces of men, with long beards and fierce aspects; but their hair long like the hair of women, which the Arabs were accustomed to wear loose and disheveled when rushing on to battle, but tied up and plaited, when in peace and at home. Their tails being

like scorpions, and their having stings in their tails, may refer to the tenets of their religion, which at first appear plausible, but afterwards occasion remorse. The time fixed for the duration of their successes is five months or 150 years; so from the year 612, when the Hedjra commenced, to the year 762, when Bagdad was taken, and the wars of the Arabs there terminated, is exactly 150 years. These locusts had a king whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, or the Destroyer, which name suits no one so well as Mohammed, the prophet of the sword. The prophecy goes on to speak of the four angels bound in the river Euphrates, by which are supposed to be meant the four sultans of Persia, Kerman, Syria, and Roum, who were restrained for a time by the wars of the Christians in Syria, but at the termination thereof were loosed, and thus the hordes of the Turks were let loose to carry war and bloodshed all around. The time of 301 years is then specified as the period which the Turks should prevail; and accordingly we find that the first victory obtained by the Turks was in 1281 and the last in 1672. The immense number of the horsemen intimates hosts of cavalry, which they would bring into the field; their breastplates of red, blue, and yellow, prefigured the precise colors under which the Turks fought as the banner of their faith; and the fire, smoke, and brimstone, issuing out of their mouths, may allude to the use of gunpowder, which was employed by the Turks in the siege of Constantinople. From all these things it appears, that the affairs of Mohammed, and of the Arabs and Turks are prophesied of in the word of God; insomuch that if any one should read those prophecies with attention, and should compare them with the histories of the periods referred to, he could not fail to be filled with astonishment at the power and wisdom of God; and to conclude that the rise and progress of Mohammedanism are not the result of chance, but were foreordained of God, and permitted by him for the punishment of careless and lukewarm Christians, and for the trial of the faith of those who really fear God; which end once obtained, the system of religion thus strongly fortified, and widely spread, will be broken without hand.

The above is a general outline of the Defense of the Gospel against Mohammedan objections; the whole work in the Malayan language occupies about 150 pages. The books consulted in its composition were Maracci's preface to his refutation of the Koran, Horne's introduction to the study of the Scriptures, and Bush's life of Mohammed. Should it be read with attention, and the arguments followed out to their conclusions, it may, under the divine blessing, prove useful in combatting the prejudices which Mussulmen have conceived against our Scriptures, and in rebutting the charge so frequently brought, of their interpolation and corruption. When once the Scriptures are received as the word of God, and as the final appeal in religious differences, the battle with Mohammedan objections is half-won; and the first of John, with the second of Philippians, may be thus brought to bear with their full force against these stout-hearted deniers of our Lord's divinity.

ART. III. *Jews in China: notices of those in the east by Josephus, Peritsol, Benjamin of Tudela, Manasseh, and the Jesuits.*

Were we permitted to travel through the provinces of this empire, we might, allowing what is generally believed, that there are Jews in China, very soon ascertain their character and circumstances; but as now situated we can affirm nothing concerning their present condition. A few well-attested facts, however, respecting them in former times, can be cited. Five hundred and thirty-six years before our era, and seventy years after the Jews had been driven eastward from their own country, king Cyrus published an edict throughout his empire, which then included 'all the kingdoms of the earth,' declaring that 'all the people of the God of heaven' might return to the land of their fathers. But many of the Jews preferred to continue their residence in the east. These according to Josephus amounted to many thousands in number. Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, opposed the Jews, and disputes arose between them and the Persians. An appeal was made to their new king, and Ahasuerus commanded the edict of Cyrus to be brought from Ecbatana where it had been lodged, and to be proclaimed anew throughout all his wide dominions, from Ethiopia to India; hence Josephus, and with him Orosius and other Christian writers, have supposed that the Jews were scattered throughout the east.

Peritsol, an Italian Jew, who lived about two centuries ago, asserts that the Jews were once numerous and powerful in India and China. Some of his countrymen he places in the deserts of Chabor, where 'they neither dwell in houses, till the ground, nor drink wine.' To remove all suspicion from his narrative, he marks out the route which we must take to reach that country; 'double the Cape of Good Hope,' says he, 'enter the Indian ocean, make the continent of Asia, and you will find Chabor.' He also peoples Ceylon, the Philippines, and other islands, with Jews.

The rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a celebrated traveler of the twelfth century, visited several eastern countries for the express purpose of ascertaining the situation of the dispersed tribes. From Babylon he took a northerly direction, and after traveling twenty-one days, through a desert, he reached the kingdom of the Rechabites. Two brothers, who traced their descent from David, by records which were kept with great accuracy, governed different parts of this country. One of them ruled over a kingdom whose capital was called Thema; his subjects paid tithes to the rabbins, and supported a body of men like monks, who dressed in black and lived in caverns. Colleges were established among them. While speaking of Persia, rabbi Benjamin turns, 'all of a sudden,' to Samarcand, in which city he affirms there were fifty thousand Israelites; he mentions also Tibet and China.

Some writers have supposed that the ten tribes went to Tartary; this opinion they support by 'apparent vestiges' of Judaism which

they find in that country. Manasseh, one of the most learned Jewish doctors, adopted this opinion. He relates that a part of the ten tribes crossed the great wall, which divided China from Tartary, and settled in the former country. He believes that the Scriptures clearly refer to this emigration of the dispersed tribes, and he applies the words of Isaiah, 'the people shall return from the country of the Siniens (Sinim,)' to those who entered China. He observes, that it is not surprising that the ten tribes should pass from Assyria into Tartary, when the distance was so short from the former country to the latter. But, says Basnage, 'it can be clearly shown that the Tartars are not descended from the ten tribes,' and to support this opinion he goes into particulars, but we need not follow him in his argument. "It has been plausibly maintained," Basnage remarks in another part of his work, "that the ten tribes retired to the East Indies and China. The Jews were acquainted with these countries in the time of Solomon. This prince formed an alliance with the king of Tyre and they sent their fleets to Ophir to obtain gold and ivory."

The Romish missionaries, soon after they entered this country, found a synagogue of Jews in some of the northern provinces. "Father Ricci who made this discovery," says a writer in the Asiatic Journal, "was not able to draw from it those advantages which he had desired. Confined to the city of Peking, by the duties of his mission, he could not undertake a journey to Kaefung foo, the capital of Honan, which is distant therefrom about two hundred leagues. He contented himself with interrogating a young Jew of this synagogue, whom he met at Peking. He learned from him, that at Kaefung foo there were ten or twelve families of Israelites; that they had come thither to rear again their synagogue; and that they had preserved, with the greatest care, for five or six hundred years, a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch. Father Ricci immediately showed to him a Hebrew Bible. The young Jew recognised the character, but could not read it, because he had devoted himself solely to the study of Chinese books, from the time that he aspired to the degree of a scholar. The weighty occupations of father Ricci did not permit him to add to this discovery. It was not until after the lapse of three or four years that he obtained the opportunity of sending thither a Chinese Jesuit, with full instructions to investigate what he had learned from the Jewish youth. He charged him with a Chinese letter, addressed to the chief of the synagogue. In this letter, father Ricci signified to him, that besides the books of the Old Testament, he was in possession of all those of the New, which testified that Messiah whom they were expecting, was already come. As soon as the chief of the synagogue had read the part of the letter, which related to the coming of the Messiah, he made a pause, and said, it was not true, as they did not expect him in less than ten thousand years. But he intreated father Ricci, whose fame had apprised him of his great talents, to come to Kaefung foo, that he might have the pleasure of surrendering to him the care of the synagogue, provided he would abstain from the meats forbidden to the Jews. The great age

of this chief, and the ignorance of his successor, determined him to make these offers to father Ricci. The circumstance was favorable for obtaining information of their Pentateuch; and the chief readily consented to give them the beginning and end of every section; they were found perfectly conformable to the Hebrew Bible of Plautin, except that in the Chinese copy there were no vowel points.

"In 1613, father Aleni who, on account of his profound knowledge and great wisdom, was called by the Chinese themselves, the Confucius of Europe, was commanded by his superiors to undertake a journey to Kaefung too for the purpose of ascertaining what could be gained from this discovery. He was the fittest man in the world to have succeeded in it, being well skilled in Hebrew. But times were changed. The old chief was dead. The Jews with readiness showed to father Aleni their synagogue, but he never could prevail on them to show him their books. They would not even so much as withdraw the curtains which concealed them. Such were the feeble beginnings of this discovery, which fathers Trigault and Seme-do, and other missionaries, have transmitted to us. Learned men have often spoken of them, sometimes very incorrectly, and have always expressed a desire of further information.

"The residence afterwards established by the Jesuits at Kaefung too excited fresh expectations. Nevertheless fathers Rodriguez and Figueredo wished in vain to profit by this advantage. Father Gozani was the first person who was at all successful in his endeavors. Having an easy access, he took a copy of the inscriptions in the synagogue, which are written on large tablets of marble, and sent it to his superiors at Rome. These Jews informed him, that there was a Bible at Peking, in the temple, where were kept the king, or canonical books of strangers. The French and Portuguese Jesuits obtained permission from the emperor to enter the temple and examine the books. Father Parennin was present. Nothing of the kind was found. Father Bouvet said, that they saw some Syriac letters, and had every reason to believe that the master of the pagoda gave bad information to the Jesuits in the course of their search. It would now be very difficult to obtain admission into this library; and every attempt hitherto made by father Gaubil has been unsuccessful. He never could understand what these Hebrew and Syriac books were. In the interim, a Tartar Christian, to whom he had lent his Hebrew Bible, assured him also that he had seen books written in the same character; but he could not tell him what these books were, nor what might be their antiquity. He only declared to him, that it was a *thora*, that is to say, a book of the law. While the Jesuits were making these fruitless researches in Peking, the Jews, less reserved than the Chinese, gave voluntary information of their different customs to father Gozani; and by the beginning of the century, he was enabled to publish an account as circumstantial as could have been expected from one who was not acquainted with the Hebrew language. This account is published in the eighteenth volume of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.*"

In a letter to a member of the society of Jesuits, dated at Kaefung foo, in Honan, Nov. 5th, 1704, J. P. Gozani thus wrote:—

“As to what regards those who are here called tiao-kin-kiao, (tenou kin keaou, or ‘the sect that plucks out the sinew,’) two years ago I was going to visit them, under the expectation that they were Jews, and with a view of finding among them the Old Testament. But as I have no knowledge of the Hebrew language and met with great difficulties, I abandoned this enterprise for fear I should not succeed in it. Nevertheless, as you remarked to me that I could oblige you by obtaining information concerning this people, I have obeyed your orders, and have executed them with all the care and precision of which I was capable. I immediately made them protestations of friendship, to which they readily replied, and had the civility to come to see me. I returned their visit in the li-pai-sou, (le pae sze,) that is in their synagogue, where they were all assembled, and where I held with them long conversations. I saw their inscriptions, some of which are in Chinese, and the rest in their own language. They showed me their books of religion, and permitted me to enter even into the most secret place of their synagogue, where they themselves are not permitted to enter. There is a place reserved for the chamkias, (chang keaou,) or chief of the synagogue, who never enters there unless with profound respect. They told me that their ancestors came from a kingdom of the west, called the kingdom of Juda, which Joshua conquered after having departed from Egypt and passed the Red sea and the desert; that the number of Jews who came out from Egypt was about six hundred thousand men.

“They assured me, that their alphabet had twenty-seven letters, but that they commonly made use of only twenty-two; which accords with the declaration of St. Jerome, that the Hebrew has twenty-two letters, of which five are double. When they read the Bible in their synagogue, they cover the face with a transparent veil, in memory of Moses, who descended from the mountain with his face covered, and who thus published the decalogue and the law of God to his people. They read a section every Sabbath day. Thus the Jews of China, as the Jews of Europe, read all the law in the course of the year. He who reads, places the *ta king* on the chair of Moses. He has his face covered with a very thin cotton veil. At his side is a prompter, and some paces below a *moula*, to correct the prompter should he err.—They spoke to me respecting paradise and hell in a very foolish manner. There is every appearance that what they said was drawn from the Talmud. I spoke to them of the Messiah, promised in the Scriptures. They were very much surprised at what I said to them; and when I informed them that his name was Jesus, they replied to me, that mention was made in the Bible of a holy man named Jesus, who was the son of Sirach; but they knew not the Jesus of whom I spake to them.”

A few remarks concerning Jews now in China, may be found on pages 8 and 44 of our first volume. The great probability that the Karens of Burmah are a remnant of the ten tribes of Israel, will excite new interest on this subject and lead to further research.

M. S.

ROBERTI MORRISON, D. D.

VIRI

ACERRIMO AD MAGNOS LABORES SUBEUNDOS

INGENIO PRÆDITI,

QUI LINGUÆ SINICÆ THESAURUM,

INGENS OPUS,

DECEM POST ANNOS COMPLEVIT.

MORIENSQUE RELIQUIT,

PATRONIS HONOREM, PATRIÆ DECUS,

GENTI HUMANÆ LUCRUM.

VERSIONEM NECNON SANCTORUM SCRIPTORUM,

ADJUVANTE GULIELMO MILNE, D. D.

IN USUM SINENSIVM PERFECIT.

ANNOS CIRCITER LII VIXIT.—MORTEM OBIIT

DIE PRIMO MENSIS AUGUSTI,

A. D. MDCCCXXXIV.

HÆ TIBI ERUNT LAUDES, SINE PATEFACTA BRITANNIS

LINGUAQUE, MENSQUE SIMUL—VITA SACRATA DEO.

NOTE. The above epitaph was shown to us in manuscript, and we are happy in giving it publicity in connection with our own remarks concerning him whom it commemorates.

ART. IV. *Obituary notice of the Reverend Doctor Morrison, with a brief view of his life and labors.*

Died at Canton, at 10 o'clock on Friday night, August 1st, 1834, the Reverend Robert Morrison, D. D., in the 53d year of his age.

Our hearts are touched with grief at the departure of this eminent servant of God. Though accustomed for months past to hear him say, 'My work is done,' we were yet slow to regard the words as prophetic of his speedy removal from this world. Pain and weariness had been his constant portion for many days, the result in part, of his multiplied labors and his early habits; yet the announcement of his death fell on us almost as though he had been cut down at once to the grave. His alarming debility and prostration of strength, during the past and present summers, had forewarned him that the close of his earthly labors was near; but no decisive symptoms of immediate danger alarmed his friends, till the day, and almost the hour of his dissolution.

The disease which had preyed on his frame, had unobservedly undermined his constitution, and irritated probably by exposure to rain and heat on his passage from Macao to Canton, removed him; as in a moment, from our sight. After his arrival at this place about a week previous to his decease, he left his house but two or three times, though he continued to attend to his official duties, almost till the day of his death. While suffering great weakness and pain, his mind was graciously kept clear and calm; his hope in the Lord whom he had served was steadfast; and his faith in the words of Scripture; which he often repeated, was firm to the last. A few hours before his death, he was engaged in fervent prayer to God for himself, that his faith might not fail; for his absent family, that they might be provided for and blessed; and for the Chinese mission, that double grace might rest on his younger brethren, and success attend their work. While means were devising for his return to Macao, on the morrow, an earlier release was, by the all wise God, destined for his servant;—that night he was gently removed from the ills of life, and for evermore exempted; we trust, from sorrow and pain.

His mortal frame, which for some days had been rapidly but almost imperceptibly sinking, thus suddenly gave way under the heavy load of suffering and pain by which it had for weeks been racked. Hitherto no very alarming symptoms had appeared; and even the outward glow of health had continued. In the course of Thursday night; indeed, he had felt a shortness of breath, which seemed for a time to threaten speedy dissolution; but from this he recovered. Throughout the whole of Friday, he labored under a high fever. In the evening, while the physicians were yet around his bed, the last ebb of life was apparent. Death laid his cold hand upon him, but the sting of death had been removed; and after about

twenty minutes spent in silent efforts to restore declining animation, his spirit returned to God who gave it.

The next day at evening, his body was carried from his house in Canton to the the river-side, followed by lord Napier and the resident foreigners. From thence, attended by his eldest son, Mr. John Robert Morrison and a few of his friends, it was conveyed to Macao, where it was interred on the fifth. The burial was attended by all the foreign gentlemen of that place and a few native Portuguese. The service of the episcopal church was performed on the occasion by the Reverend Edwin Stevens, seamen's chaplain in the port of Canton. His remains now rest beside the sleeping dust of Mary, his first wife, whom he had laid there thirteen years before.

We mourn in him the loss of a good man, who has worn out his life in labors for the good of his native country, of China, and the world. We mourn the loss of a man of stern integrity, and public spirit, a tried and faithful friend; and more than all to us, the first and most experienced of protestant missionaries to China. But the church of God and the friends of the gospel which he served during life, are not alone in their regrets for his departure. It was not, however, his disposition to seek, nor his lot to gain, the favor of the world, farther than it was secured by his uniform good will, his undoubted integrity, and his indispensable usefulness. His talents and great industry need no eulogy from partial friendship; for his works praise him. In extent of knowledge, he was undoubtedly the first Chinese scholar living; in efforts to make this language known to foreigners and chiefly to the English, he has done more than any other man living or dead; and in making known our holy religion to the Chinese, no one has done more. He lived to see all the chief objects on which were spent his labors and life, either accomplished or in the way of accomplishment, and was then taken away. In the midst of his life, but not of his works, he was called hence; his plans were completed, though his days were not full.—The termination of his earthly course naturally suggests that we cast a glance at the beginning and progress of the race which our departed friend has run. It may and it must encourage a similar spirit in others, who are depending on God and the talents which he has given them, to behold the very successful course of one who in early life was unknown and unpatronized as themselves.

A Robert Morrison was of Scottish descent, but born at Morpeth in the north of England, on the 5th of January, 1782. He was blessed with pious parents who early instilled into his mind the principles of that religion which was his guide and joy in life, and his hope in death. He appears however, to have lived nearly sixteen years, without hope and without God in the world. But about the age of fifteen, his mind became deeply impressed with religious sentiments, which led him to reading, meditation and prayer. After alarming convictions of his sin and fear of the wrath to come, he was brought to rest his soul in Jesus Christ for salvation. He then found inexpressible happiness from committing to memory daily one or more

sentences of the Scriptures; so early did the all wise God, foreseeing in him the future translator of the Bible, begin by this bias to prepare him to relish that holy but laborious task.

He united himself with the Scottish church in the year 1798. From this time he seems to have been constantly animated with that unconquerable spirit which raised him above a thousand early difficulties, and characterized his subsequent life. Hitherto he had followed the humble occupation of his father, that of a boot-tree maker in New castle upon Tyne. But about two years after his conversion to the Lord, prominent marks of the genuineness of that change began to appear. He felt springing up in his heart new and ardent desires to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and promote the best interests of his fellow men. These desires he indulged till they became a part of his existence, ripening into a design so fixed, that neither the dissuasions of friends nor the impossibility of marking out any definite way of its accomplishment, could divert him from his purpose.

To compass this design of being useful, he saw it was necessary first to get knowledge; but his resources were small, his days were spent in manual labor, and his first application for instruction was discouraged by the clergyman to whom he applied. About 1801, he placed himself under the private instruction of the Rev. Mr. Laidler, of Newcastle, to acquire the Latin language. To this pursuit he devoted his mornings before six o'clock, and his evenings after seven or eight; and this course he continued for fourteen months. In the beginning of 1803, his situation was changed so as to promise the attainment of his wishes—he was received into the theological seminary at Hoxton on the north of London, where he spent a year and a half assiduously pursuing his studies. At this time, the first desire of his heart which had long been concealed from others and had scarcely been owned to himself, was declared;—this was to become a missionary of the gospel. The thought ever dwelt on his mind; he endeavored to weigh every side of the question; proposed it to his friends, but they pressed him to stay with them; his father wept and prayed over him, unwilling to part with him, yet afraid lest he was doing wrong in opposing his departure. Robert was his youngest child, the joy and rejoicing of his heart, and he lived to see him honored among the churches of Christ. But after the death of his mother, Robert obtained his father's consent to his wish. Accordingly he now determined in the strength of the Lord to surrender himself to his service, was accepted by the London Missionary Society, and in 1804, at the age of twenty-two, was removed to their seminary at Gosport. There he continued under the instructions of that eminent man of God, the Rev. David Bogue, till January, 1807, when he was ordained as a missionary to China.

Many and many an age had the millions of this empire appeared on the stage of life, and groped their dark and cheerless way down to the gates of death, "having no hope, and without God in the world." Generation after generation here had risen, flourished, and passed away quite unknown to the western world. Their exploits were re-

corded indeed, and their maxims treasured up, but in an unknown tongue. So distant and distinct seemed they, that one could scarcely avoid imagining them the fabled inhabitants of another world, or of some fairy land. But the spirit of primitive missions was returning to the western churches, and enlightened Christians could not rest satisfied while the divine Revelation was withheld from the first and the greatest of nations. The benevolent spirits of that day, who projected this mission, and most of whom now rest from their labors, did not suffer the general ignorance respecting China, nor the prevalent prejudices against missionaries, to divert them from their purpose, till they succeeded in planting their agent in Canton. The following extract from his instructions, dated London, Jan. 20th, 1807, will exhibit the leading object of the Missionary Society in this enterprise.

"We trust that no objection will be made to your continuing in Canton, till you have accomplished your great object of acquiring the language; when this is done, you may probably soon afterwards begin to turn this attainment into a direction which may be of extensive use to the world; perhaps you may have the honor of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one; or the still greater honor of translating the sacred Scriptures into a language spoken by a third part of the human race."

This extract records the origin of the first British establishment in China for religious and literary purposes; it was unofficial, voluntary, noiseless, devised and executed by a few pious and enterprising individuals. On the 31st of January, 1807, Mr. Morrison embarked for China by way of America, where he stayed twenty days, and then re-embarked alone in the American ship *Trident* for Canton. During that brief stay, he made the acquaintance of some active Christian friends; which together with his subsequent correspondence, contributed to that lively interest ever felt for him in America. He received from Mr. Madison, then secretary of state, a letter of introduction to Mr. Carrington, American consul at Canton, requesting for him all convenient aid in his literary pursuits. On the 4th of September he reached Macao, but had no sooner landed than he was ordered away by the Portuguese, through the jealousy of the Roman Catholics. Compelled to come to Canton at once, the letter alluded to procured him attentions from Mr. C., and several other gentlemen; and he was received into the factory of Messrs. Milner and Bull of New York. His first appearance in Canton though not, cited for imitation, cannot be uninteresting to all who knew him. At first he ate in the Chinese fashion, became an adept with the chopsticks, dining with his native teacher. He imitated the native dress also, let his nails grow long, cultivated a cue, and walked about the-hong in a Chinese frock and thick shoes. His mode of living too, was rigidly economical; he lived in a go-down, which was his study, dining, and sleeping room; an earthen lamp gave him light, and a folio volume of Henry's commentary set on end, screened this lamp from the wind. Here he studied day and night at the language, but having little help from teacher or books, with success not proportion-

nte to his toil. His Chinese habits were soon laid aside; for though he meant well, yet as he often afterwards said, he judged ill. At the close of 1808, with all the British he was obliged to go to Macao, in consequence of the arrival of troops from Bengal. Here he was so unwilling to expose himself to public notice that he never walked out; in consequence of which his health began to suffer. The first time he ventured into the fields was by moonlight, under the escort of two Chinese. Yet during all this time he was silently studying the language: and so anxious was he to acquire it, that his secret prayers to the Almighty were offered in broken Chinese.

From the commencement of 1809, his circumstances were materially changed; on the 20th of February, he was married to Miss Mary Morton, eldest daughter of John Morton, esq. The same day he accepted the appointment of translator to the East India company, as assistant to sir G. T. Staunton, to whom he had been introduced by a letter from sir Joseph Banks. This arrangement secured for him a permanent residence in China, contributed to his own pecuniary support, and enabled him to devise liberal things for charitable objects, and public institutions. Henceforward his life and actions have been so public that little remains unknown, and withal so even and uniform as scarcely to leave any other marks of the lapse of time, than those made by some domestic occurrence, or the publication of some new work.

The vicissitudes of domestic joy and sorrow fell to the lot of Dr. Morrison. With a heart eminently fitted to find happiness in the bosom of his family, he was for months annually separated from them, it being often necessary for him to be in Canton, while his family remained at Macao. Death early entered his family; in 1811, he buried his firstborn child on the day of its birth. He had to dig the grave with his own hands on a hill on the north of Macao, in doing which he was at first forcibly interrupted by the Chinese. In 1815, Mrs. Morrison was driven by lingering disease to seek a cooler climate, and leaving her husband in China she sailed with her two children for England. After an absence of five years she returned with health improved, but as it appeared, returned but to die in her husband's arms; for the next year she was suddenly taken from the world. Her two orphan children returned to England, whither the father followed them in 1824, having completed the dictionary of the Chinese language and the version of the Scriptures. He here enjoyed a grateful relief from his incessant labors, in the solaces of friendship and Christian communion. While in England he was married to Miss Eliza Armstrong, daughter of W. Armstrong, esq. with whom he re-embarked in 1826 for China, which he was to leave no more,—With his own health declining, he was obliged by Mrs. M's continued debility to part once more and for the last time with his family. In December last, Mrs. M. and six children embarked for England, leaving his eldest son with him in China.

In his public capacity as connected with the E. I. company, he ever sustained the character of an able and faithful translator. The

duties were at first extremely oppressive, owing to his own imperfect knowledge of the language, and his want of confidence in the native assistants. The perplexing hours spent in his new duties were not relieved till further acquaintance with the language taught him that their intercourse was mutually intelligible. He was early the only translator, and during twenty-five years till the late expiration of the company's charter, he held this station. Twenty-three years he was in actual service, in which time, amidst the occurrence of innumerable difficulties and collisions, he has sometimes been the only means of communication with the Chinese government, when property and life were at stake. In the embassy of Lord Amherst to Peking in 1816, Mr. Morrison was attached to the suite as one of the translators, in which duties he bore the principal part. And on the recent arrival of Lord Napier in China as chief British superintendent, he accepted the appointment of Chinese secretary and interpreter under his lordship. It was in the discharge of those new duties that he came to Canton, to die on the spot which had been the scene of his most important labors.

In the department of letters, the name of Morrison is extensively known. From the time when in his youth, he sat down in the British museum to copy a "Harmony of the gospels" in Chinese, till the day of his death, it may almost literally be said, the study of the language was his prime object. In the study or on a journey, on land or water, he hardly remitted this attention. While we stood looking on his just breathless body, next to personal grief for the loss of a revered friend, arose an insuppressible regret, that such long accumulating knowledge was to be of no more avail to the world. But we thank God that it is not all lost. He has left to us, in his dictionary, the results of many years of toil; and to the Chinese, a more imperishable memorial in the version of the Holy Scriptures. When Dr. M. began to study this language it is said there was but one Englishman who understood it. Many men doubted the possibility of acquiring it, and its capacity for expressing the truths of the Christian religion. Having no grammar, and but a partial copy of a manuscript Latin dictionary; he commenced the task, with the same spirit which had sustained him in mastering the Latin, during the hours due to repose and recreation. Experience of the want of aids in learning the Chinese, doubtless confirmed him in the design speedily to prepare facilities for future students. His great work in this department is his English and Chinese dictionary; not indeed as a specimen of perfect lexicography, but an astonishing proof of ability and industry, and as all later students know, eminently useful. This extensive work was published at the expense of the East India company, reserving for themselves one hundred copies;—an expense of £12,000. It consists of three parts, comprising six large quarto volumes, and 4595 pages. The Chinese and English part contains about 40,000 words. The first volume was issued at Macao in 1816, and the whole was completed in 1823.

Besides the dictionary, Dr. Morrison published several minor phi-

logical works. His grammar of the Chinese language was finished as early as 1811, and was also published under the patronage of the E. I. company. There is also a volume of Chinese and English dialogues; View of China for philological purposes; with several minor works; and lastly, in 1828, a Vocabulary of the Canton dialect in two volumes. These various works procured him the esteem of learned men, and the reputation of a benefactor of mankind. The university of Glasgow in 1817 gratuitously conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He was also a fellow of the Royal Society, member of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c.

The Anglochinese college at Malacca owes its origin to Dr. Morrison, who at first devoted £1000 to it, and gave £100 annually for the first five years from its commencement. He was subsequently a liberal contributor to its funds. Since laying the foundation stone in 1818, the institution has found generous patrons in south-eastern Asia, England and elsewhere. Its chief object is the cultivation of Chinese and English literature, and the diffusion of Christianity in this part of the world. Dr. M. being then resident in China, it was the part of his beloved colleague, Dr. Milne, to superintend the erection of the college, and to carry into effect their mutual plans regarding its establishment. From the beginning of its operations till his death in 1822, Milne was principal of the institution, and its increasing success justified the cherished hopes of its departed founders. By his early death, the college sustained a loss at that time irreparable; though its usefulness, if not extended, has continued. But the present prospects are more favorable than ever, and we cannot but indulge the hope, that under the present experienced principal, the Rev. John Evans, this institution will exceed in usefulness the hopes of its benevolent founder. Dr. Morrison held the office of president of the college from its commencement till his death.

But besides all these, there was another work in the completion of which our revered friend had more heartfelt delight than in all others; that is, the translation of the Bible into the Chinese language. Compared with this, he regarded them only as subsidiary and preparatory; but this was connected with the dearest and best interests of men in this world and the next. Having early been blessed with an extraordinary relish for these holy oracles, and resting on them his own and only hopes for eternity, he justly regarded the opening of divine Revelation to the millions of the Chinese language nations, as a high honor to himself. Dr. Morrison brought with him to China, a Harmony of the gospel, and some other portions of the New Testament which been translated into Chinese, probably by some Roman catholic missionary; the Acts of the Apostles he first revised, and published in Canton. From these he proceeded through the whole New Testament, and revised it so early as 1813. His complete success in printing the Scriptures in China gladdened his heart, and the thrill of joy which he felt in his own bosom was immediately caught by thousands of Christians, who were praying for the good of China. In the translation of the Old Testament he bore the chief

part, but his colleague, Dr. Milne, who ardently desired it, shared in this good work. In 1823, the *whole Bible in Chinese*, was printed at the mission press at Malacca;—a work which all the Nestorians, and the hundreds of Catholic missionaries in China during 240 years, had not accomplished. If it has the imperfections of a first attempt, yet experience proves it to be mainly intelligible; and God has honored it in communicating the saving knowledge of salvation to some for whom it was destined. Many editions of portions, and two editions of the whole Bible have been printed and distributed, through the liberality of private friends, and of the Bible Societies of England and America. In a letter dated a few days before his death, referring to a donation from the American Bible Society, he thus wrote: “I should wish the fact conveyed to the Bible Society, that their liberality in multiplying copies of the Scriptures in Chinese, affords great joy to one who labored late and early many years in translating them; that by the union of Christian efforts, glory to God and the salvation of men are promoted.”

Though the press was his chief instrument for diffusing the knowledge of Christianity, yet he has not been limited to that alone. From first to last he maintained in his own house on the Sabbath, divine worship in the Chinese language. Long before the arrival of the company's chaplain in China, he performed one service in English, and two in Chinese on each Lord's day: the latter he never omitted, but the former has been more limited and occasional during late years. Preaching in Chinese has ever called for caution, more perhaps in past years than at present: but he was able to continue it during the violent measures adopted by the Chinese government against Roman Catholics in 1814. On the last Sabbath before his death, he was peculiarly animated and solemn in his exhortations to his native audience, that they should give heed to the repeated instructions they had enjoyed, as if, and as it proved, they were to enjoy them no more. In singing, his favorite devotional exercise, he sung with them the hymn, which he had prepared and translated during the present summer, beginning with

“Jesus, lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly, &c.”

Thus have we glanced at the leading events and labors in the life of one who lived for the benefit of mankind. “I have a few,” so he wrote to a friend a few days before his death, “I have a few, and but a few seniors in service throughout the whole extent of Asia; Carey and Marshman are the only ones I know.” But alas! the venerable Carey, father of the protestant mission in Bengal, had already gone. We would not eulogize these men, for their works live to praise them. But how changed their scenes of labor since they first became actors in them. In the one case, Christianity has risen above the prejudices which then enveloped her glory, and has assumed the attitude of blessing the many thousands of India. In the other, even in China, one of the strongest of the strong holds of the great adversary, a stand has been taken, a work commenced, which though but commenced, will yet lead surely on to victory.

ART. V. *Literary notices: 1. The Chinese Magazine; 2. Tibetan Dictionary and Grammar; and 3. Australian Almanac and Sydney Directory.*

1. *The Chinese Magazine* still continues to be published, and has hitherto met with no opposition from any quarter. A few copies of the work have recently been sent to Peking; some to Nanking; and some to other parts of the empire. It has now reached its tenth number, which like each of the preceding ones contains about thirty octavo pages. As the friends of China abroad must be desirous of knowing what kind of information the Magazine conveys to the people of this empire, we will subjoin, from the table of contents, the titles of some of the leading articles contained in the last numbers:

'Conversation between an Englishman and a Chinese reader of the Magazine, in which the former prevails on the latter to examine and criticize the book.' 'Conversation between two Chinese respecting the creation of the world, in which one instructs the other concerning the account contained in the first chapter of Genesis, and contends that nature affords certain evidence of the account being more than a mere 'western tale.' 'Letter from a Chinese traveling in South America to his father in China—giving an account of a ship; of a storm, of Lima, and of the mines in Chili.' 'Narrative of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope—difficulties encountered, and the perseverance of the settlers.' 'Essay against idolatry, with arguments deduced from the principles of the ancient sages and wise kings, anterior to Confucius, and from the power of an Almighty Being manifested in nature.' 'The principles of the steam-engine explained with an illustrative plate.' Besides articles like these which we have named, each number usually contains short historical, geographical and astronomical papers; and these are followed by items of European news, and a price current.

2. *Tibetan Dictionary and Grammar.* The 25th number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, announces the publication of M. Csoma de Koros' Tibetan Dictionary, 'published at the expense of government and under the auspices of the Asiatic Society;' it informs us also that his Tibetan grammar was about being put to press, and would be published without delay. The 26th No. of the Journal, for February, 1834, contains some interesting extracts from Tibetan works, translated by M. Koros.

3. *Australian Almanac and Sydney Directory for 1834.* We are astonished at the rapidity with which the settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have grown up to their present importance. The manual before us, containing about 850 pages, is full of statistical matter, evincing the enterprise of the colonists of Australia. The first fleet, commanded by captain Arthur Philip, the first governor of the colony, anchored in Botany Bay, January 20th, 1788. In 1790, Jame Ruse, the first settler, selected from among

the prisoners, by the first fleet, was established at Parramatta.' The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, the first journal in Australia, was commenced by Mr. George Howe, in 1803. Now there are in New South Wales, five newspapers; and eight in Van Diemen's land. They have two agricultural societies; a chamber of commerce; five banks; two colleges; and several benevolent societies, among which are the Australian Tract Society, the Auxiliary Bible Society, and the Wesleyan Auxiliary Missionary Society.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences; edicts from the governor and hoppo of Canton; imperial commissioners; new hoppo; literati; Siamese and Cochinchinese tribute bearers.*

We omit to notice a variety of minor occurrences during the present month, for the sake of affording room to a series of official papers which have been sent out by the Chinese authorities, since the arrival of lord Napier on the morning of the 25th ult. Nothing more has yet transpired than we expected, nor even so much. Thus far the course of the British authorities has been marked by great moderation, decision, and frankness, a course from which it is hoped there will be no deviation. Previous to his lordship's arrival, there had long been a dead calm, and both the Chinese officers and the hong merchants were waiting in suspense for that event. The several edicts which we subjoin will show something of the manner in which he has been received. They will seem 'stale, flat, and unprofitable' enough to our local readers; but it is on those abroad that we 'enjoin' their perusal; and as they exhibit the mind and temper of this people, they are valuable.

A few remarks are necessary to enable those who are not on the spot to understand the merits of the case. In Jan. 1831, an edict was published by the governor of Canton, stating "that in case of the dissolution of the company, it was incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion." In accordance with that edict, lord Napier arrived in Canton, bringing with him from his government instructions, from which the following is an extract:—

"In execution of the said commission, you will take up your residence at the port of Canton, in the dominions of the emperor of China, and you will discharge the several duties confided to you by the said commission and orders in council respectively at Canton as aforesaid, or at any other place which may be for that purpose appointed by us, and *not elsewhere*.—The Bocca Tigrie, which is marked by a fort immediately above Anson's bay, forms the *limit of the port of Canton*, and your lordship will conform to that understanding." See *Canton Register for August 26th, 1834*.

On the 28th ult., the next day after lord Napier reached Canton, he sent a letter, by the hands of his own secretary, to the city gates for the governor: the communication was sealed and addressed to his excellency in due style—but it was *not* a petition, and on *that* account was rejected. In the mean time, orders were accumulating on the hands of the hong merchants, who were endeavoring to enjoin them on his lordship. After it was made plain to the Chinese that he would not receive them, they were lodged in the hands of the British merchants, who took care, at the same time that they received it, to assure the hong merchants that they could do no more than merely acknow-

ledge the receipt of the edicts, as their commercial interests were now under the superintendence of lord Napier, the representative of the king of Great Britain. In this way the following documents have come before the public.

(No. 1.)

Loo, governor of Kuangtung, &c. &c. to the hong merchants:—

The Heë (or naval officer,) of the Heätgshan district, with others, has reported "that an English war vessel having on board a barbarian eye, had, from the outer seas, sailed to Cahreta point (off Macao), and there anchored. On inquiry it was stated that he was to examine and have superintendence of the said nation's merchant vessels coming to Canton to trade, &c. As duty requires, a report is made."

According to this, I have examined and find, that hitherto, outside barbarians trading to Canton have only had *taepans*, (chief supercargoes,) buying and selling goods. They have been permitted to request permits, and then come to Canton. But ordinarily they have only had permission to reside at Macao. The English have traded at Canton upwards of a hundred years, and with regard to all the regulations, there has long been mutual tranquillity. The said hong merchants before reported, that this year the English company is dissolved. The barbarian eye who has now come is of course for the superintendence and examination of this business. And the barbarian eye is not on a par with the *taepans*. If he wishes to come to Canton, it will be necessary to make first a clear report, requesting the imperial will on the subject. As to the commercial affairs, if there be circumstances absolutely requiring the establishment of other regulations, a petition of requests, after inquiry and deliberation on the part of the hong merchants, must also be sent by them, that a memorial may be prepared, and obedience called for.

Uniting these circumstances, this order is issued. When the order is received by the said merchants, let them immediately go in person to Macao, and ascertain clearly from the barbarian eye, for what he has come to Canton province. Let them also inquire fully and minutely as to what other regulations require to be now established, since this year the said nation's company has been dissolved. Then let them report in answer, to afford evidence on which to make a plain and full memorial, for directions as to what conduct is to be observed, and as to what obedience is to be required. And let them authoritatively enjoin the established laws of the *celestial empire*, that, with the exception of the *taepans* and other barbarian merchants trading to Canton, none can be permitted to come to Canton, without a report having been made, and the mandate received. The said barbarian eye, having to examine concerning and superintend the affairs of commerce, may reside at Macao. If he wishes to come to Canton, he must inform the said merchants, that they may previously petition me, the governor, and I will by post-conveyance send a memorial, and all must respectfully wait till the mandate of the great emperor has been received. Then orders will be issued to require obedience. Oppose not! A special order.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 15th day. [July 21st, 1834.]

(No. 2.)

Loo, governor, &c. &c. to the hong merchants.

The outside barbarians of the English nation have had a continued trade at Canton for a hundred and some tens of years. All affairs are conducted according to the established regulations reported to the emperor, which have long been obeyed and kept. Although the barbarians are beyond the bounds of civilization, yet having come to Canton to trade, they should immediately give implicit obedience to the established laws of the *celestial empire*. Then they may enjoy tranquillity. New come barbarians, not understanding the dignity of the statutes, you, with the linguists, compradors, &c., should instruct clearly and authoritatively in all things, to prevent their overstepping or opposing.

I find on examination that foreigners coming to Canton province have hitherto been permitted only to reside at Macao. When they have affairs of buying and selling goods, &c. to conduct, they are then permitted to request and receive from the superintendent of the Canton customs a permit to come to Canton,

Whatever utensils, vessels, &c. they carry with them, must every one pass examination at the custom-house, and a report of them must be made. The superintendent of the customs sends a communication on the subject to my office, to be placed on record.

On this occasion, the barbarian eye, *lut Laope* (i. e. the headman, lord Napier,) has come to Canton, without having at all resided at Macao, to wait for orders. Now has he requested or received a permit from the superintendent of customs; but has hastily come up to Canton.—A great infringement of the established laws! The custom-house writers and others, who presumed to admit him to enter, are sent, with a communication, requiring their trial. But in tender consideration for the said barbarian eye, being a new comer and unacquainted with the statutes and laws of the *celestial empire*, I will not strictly investigate. But it is not expedient that the said barbarian eye should long remain at Canton provincial city; it must be required, that when the commercial business regarding which he has to inquire and hold jurisdiction is finished, he immediately return to Macao. And hereafter, without having requested and obtained a permit, he cannot be permitted to come to Canton.

As to the object of the said barbarian eye's coming to Canton, it is for commercial business: The celestial empire appoints officers—civil ones to rule the people—military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves. The officers have nothing to hear on the subject. In the trade of the said barbarians, if there are any changes to be made in regulations, &c., in all cases, the said merchants are to consult together, and make a joint statement to the superintendent of customs and to my office. Whether (the proposals) shall be allowed or disallowed must be learned by waiting for a reply publicly. If any affair is to be newly commenced, it is requisite to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting to the *great emperor*, and his mandate received. Then it may be commenced, and orders may be issued requiring obedience.

The great ministers of the celestial empire, are not permitted to have private intercourse by letters with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian eye *throws* his private letters, I, the governor, will not at all receive or look at them. With regard to the barbarian factory of the company, without the walls of the city, it is a place of temporary residence for barbarians coming to Canton to trade. They are permitted only to eat, sleep, buy, and sell in the factories. They are not permitted to go out to ramble about. All these are points decided by fixed and certain laws and statutes; which will not bear to be confusedly transgressed.

To sum up the whole matter: the nation has its laws; it is so everywhere. Even England has its laws. How much more the celestial empire! How flaming bright are its great laws and ordinances. More terrible than the awful thunderbolt! Under this whole bright heaven, none dares to disobey them. Under its shelter are the four seas. Subject to its soothing care are ten thousand kingdoms. The said barbarian eye, having come over a sea of several myriads of miles in extent to examine and have superintendence of affairs, must be a man thoroughly acquainted with the principles of high dignity. And in his person he sustains the duties of an officer—an eye. Then only can he control and restrain the barbarian merchants.

I, the governor, looking up, will embody the extreme wish of the *great emperor* to cherish with tenderness the men from a distance. And assuredly I will not treat slightly the outside barbarians. But the national laws are extremely strict and close-drawn; we dare not in the least transgress. Let the said barbarian eye be very careful not to listen to the artful instigations of evil men, enticing him until he fails of the object of the said nation's king in sending him so far.

Uniting all, I issue the order to be enjoined. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately act in obedience to it, and enjoin the order on the said barbarian eye, that he may know it thoroughly. Oppose it not! The said merchants have had intercourse with barbarians for many years. Their knowledge of their language and feelings must be good. The linguists and compradors are more closely allied to the barbarians. If they truly explain clearly, opening and guiding the understanding, the said barbarian eye assuredly cannot but obey. If there should be disobedience and opposition, it must be owing to the bad ma-

nagement of the said merchants, and to the instigation of the linguists. Assuredly, the said merchants shall be reported against, that they may be punished; and on the linguists the laws shall instantly be put in full force. (A phrase for capital punishment.) Make not repentance (necessary). These are the orders.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 21st day. [July 27th, 1834.]

(No. 3.)

Loo, governor, &c. &c. to the hong merchants.

It appears that the outside barbarians of the English nation, trading to Canton, have hitherto only had permission for *taspan, &c.*, at the period of buying and selling goods, to request and obtain a red permit (i. e. one bearing the stamp of the great hoppo) to come in or go out of port. In all things they have had rules and regulations, fixed by memorial to the emperor. They have never had such an affair as a barbarian *eye* coming to Canton. It was before authenticated that the Heë of Heëngahan district reported that the English cruiser Chads, bringing a barbarian *eye*, lord Napier, had sailed in from the outer seas; and that, on inquiring it was found, he had come to Canton to examine and superintend the affairs of commerce.

I, the governor, having examined, find that a barbarian *eye* is not on a par with barbarian merchants. The business being one to be newly commenced, without a report being made and a mandate received, he cannot have permission to come of his own accord to Canton. I issued orders to the hong merchants to go to Macao and enjoin orders requiring him to reside at Macao. If he desired to come to Canton, he was required to inform the said merchants, that they might petition me, the governor, and respectfully wait until having reported, I should receive an imperial mandate; then further orders might be issued to command obedience.

Thereafter, the said merchants not having yet reached Macao, the said barbarian *eye*, set out and came to Canton. Neither having in the first place made a plain petition, nor having in the next instance obediently obtained a permit, he, with precipitate haste, came in a sailing boat to Canton. It is indeed a great infringement of the laws. Considering that the said barbarian *eye* has but newly arrived, and is unacquainted with the dignity of the statutes of the celestial empire, he is absolved from strict investigation.

The said merchants have been again ordered to enjoin commands and to investigate. But for what purpose the said barbarian *eye* has come to Canton, and why he did not apply for a permit,—it does not yet appear that the said merchants have obtained any clear information or made any report.

On examination I find, that in all that relates to outside barbarians coming to Canton to trade, the hong merchants are in every respect held responsible for keeping up strict investigation, controlling and restraining. The said merchants (those sent to Macao,) have filled the situation of seniors over the merchants for many years. How is it that they understood not the fixed laws, but after repeated orders, indulge their own dispositions, deferring and delaying? What is it that occupies their minds? It is extremely inexplicable! It would be right to take the circumstances of the said merchants' negligent connivance at the conduct of the outside barbarians, and at once report against them (to the emperor). In indulgence, I once more command urgent haste. When this order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately act in obedience to it, and enjoin in an explanatory manner the previous orders. Let them inquire fully for what purpose the said barbarian *eye* has come to Canton, and why he, without obtaining a permit, precipitately came (to the provincial city). And let them report in answer. Let them at the same time command the said barbarian *eye* immediately to set off and leave the port. He must not stop in the foreign factories, outside the city, loitering about. If he have affairs requiring his immediate superintendence, let him temporarily reside at Macao, waiting till a prepared report has been made requesting to know the imperial will that it may be obeyed. Should he dare to resist or oppose, it will be all owing to the indulgence and connivance of the said merchants. The affair concerns the national dignity. I, the governor, will be able only to report against the said merchants, that they may be brought to trial. Say not that you were not forewarned. Tremble thereat. A special order.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 24th day. [July 30th, 1834.]

(No. 4.)

Loo. governor, &c. &c., to the hong merchants.

On the 19th day of the 6th moon (July 25th), I received the following communication from Chung, superintendent of the Canton maritime customs:—

"The domestics at the custom-house station behind the factories, (on the river side in front of the factories,) have reported as follows:— 'In examining we perceived, during the night of the 18th of the present moon, about midnight, the arrival of a barbarian ship's boat at Canton, bringing four *English devils*, who went into the barbarian factories to reside. After having searched, we could find no permit or pass. And having heard by report that there is at present a ship of war of the said nation anchored in the outer seas, but not having been able to learn for what purpose, we think that such coming as this is manifestly a clandestine stealing into Canton. Whether or not the hong merchants and linguists are in any way consorting with them, we must, in making our report, request you, as our duty requires, to examine. This is a list of the four barbarians' names: lord Napier, who we hear is a war commander, Davis, Morrison, and Robinson."

"I, the hoppo, having received this, have examined, and find that when barbarian merchants, who come to Canton province, have to come to the provincial city, or go down to Macao, the regulations require that the hong merchants should make a petition requesting for them a permit, and that I, the hoppo should then forward a communication to your honorable office, and also should send information to the Kwangchow heé, or to the Macao assistant magistrate of the department, that they may send a military escort. This has long been the mode of conducting the affair, which has been obeyed and practiced, as is on record.

"Before this, the weynens [deputed officers] of the Macao custom-house reported, that an English cruiser Chads had anchored at Cabreta offing; and that on board the vessel was a barbarian eye, come to examine and superintend the mercantile affairs of the said nation's merchant ships trading to Canton. I, at that time sent a communication to your honorable office for examination. I also gave orders to the hong merchants to be replied to after examination. But the hong merchants, without having in the first instance, reported the English cruiser and barbarian eye's arrival at Canton; and without having in the second place, when orders had been given them to examine, made any report of doing so, have at last permitted the barbarian eye to come clandestinely to Canton. How, in this way, can the precautions against foreigners be rendered forcible; and the dignity of imperial servants be made more awful and imposing! Although the barbarian eye be unacquainted with the laws of the celestial empire, how can the hong merchants have the excuse of ignorance, that they should audaciously presume, without having asked and obtained a permit, to suffer him to come to Canton! Truly there is no respect for the laws before their eyes!

"Besides again issuing a strict order to the hong merchants to examine and reply, I also forward this communication, that having examined, you may with severity command the hong merchants to examine and not."

This coming before me, the governor, I find on examination, with regard to the English barbarian eye coming to Canton, that I, the governor, have already issued repeated orders to the said merchants to be by them enjoined authoritatively, as is on record. Having received the communication as above, I unite the circumstances and again issue this order. When it reaches the said merchants, let them immediately obey, and in accordance with the tenor of the several previous orders, ascertain clearly for what the said barbarian eye has come to Canton, and why, in disobedience to the regulations, he has not requested a red permit. Let them instantly on the same day, report in answer. At the same time, let them order and compel him immediately, with speed, to return to Macao, and reside there, waiting till I, the governor have made a prepared report, to request the imperial will to be made known, that it may be obeyed. Should there be any opposition, the said merchants will be held solely responsible. Tremble hereat,—intensely, intensely, tremble! These are the orders.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 25th day. [July 31st 1834.]

(No. 5.)

Chung, by imperial commission, superintendent of the port of Canton province, &c. issues this order to the hong merchants requiring their full acquaintance with it.

I have received a communication from his excellency the governor, which is as follows:—

“Regarding the outside barbarian ships which trade at Canton, under what circumstances they should be allowed to pass, and under what stopped, in entering and leaving the port, and regarding the residence of barbarians in factories, there have throughout past times been regulations, established by report to the emperor; and to which obedience has been directed by official communications, as is on record. Of late, the foreign ships have daily increased. The English company is dissolved and terminated, and now a barbarian eye (or chief) has come to Canton. The departure and the entrance of vessels and all other things must continue to be in conformity with the old regulations.

1. “Heretofore it has been allowed to the English barbarian eyes and ship masters to go about in ship's boats bearing flags; but except barbarian eyes and ship masters, none can irregularly travel in flag-bearing boats. For sending letters out and in, they are only permitted to use small sampans (boats). Those proceeding from within outward, must report and be examined at the Tsungseun custom-house (below Dutch folly, near Canton); and those proceeding from without inward, must report and be examined at the Wongtong custom-house, at the Bogue. If those custom-houses on examination find no arms or contraband goods, they must give them a permit, to be shown to the war vessels and forts, that they may allow them to pass. Vessels with passports to Whampoa, must give them up at the Whampoa custom-house; those with passports to the cruisers must give them up at the Wongtong custom-house, at the Bogue; and those which come to the city, must deliver up their passports at the Tsungseun custom-house. If, on examination, arms and contraband goods be found, the custom-houses are not permitted to give them passports; nor are the war vessels allowed to let them pass.

2. “The barbarian merchants at Canton are not permitted to bring up musketry or cannon. Hitherto the custom-house people have been held responsible for making search and examination, and the military for inquiring and investigating; and if they should fall in with a barbarian clandestinely moving guns or military weapons, with the intention of bringing them to Canton, they are required to unite their utmost efforts to prevent and stop him, and must not suffer him to proceed. Should the military fail to make discovery or go to the extreme of knowingly conniving, so as to allow of a barbarian clandestinely bringing guns and cannon to the city, such military officers and privates shall be brought up immediately to trial and punishment.

3. “The barbarians are not permitted to bring foreign women clandestinely up to Canton; if they dare willfully to oppose, their traffic shall be immediately stopped; and (the women) sent back by force to Macao. At the same time the examining military patrol attached to the custom-houses are made responsible, if they should find barbarians bringing foreign women to the city, immediately to stop them, send them back, and give notice to the forts not to allow them to pass inwards.

4. “When the barbarian merchants are lodging in the factories of the hong merchants, the latter are to be held responsible for keeping up a diligent control and restraint upon them; not allowing them to go out and in at their own pleasure, lest they should have intercourse or clandestine arrangements with traitorous natives.

5. “When the barbarians wish to petition on any affair, if the affair be not of importance, they should deliver their petition to the security merchants to present for them; the barbarians are not permitted to presume to go to the city gate and present petitions themselves. On all the ordinary affairs of trade, their petitions should be presented at the hoppo's office.

“On further examination I find, that in the 21st year of the reign of Keäking [1816], the then governor Tseäng, established a regulation of the following import:—“That the barbarians being closely confined to the barbarian factories, it is apprehended that sickness and disease may arise among them; they are therefore permitted, as formerly, to go to the Haechwang sze [Honan temple], and to the flower gardens [Fah te], to saunter about and obtain relaxation. Each month they are permitted to go but thrice, viz. on the 8th, 18th, and 28th days; on each occasion, the number of individuals must not exceed ten. The linguists are required to take their part the custom-houses at the back [i. e. front] of the factories and

to the west fort, and there report respecting them. And they are required again by sunset to be at the custom-houses and report their return to the factories. They are not allowed to drink wine and create disturbance, nor to remain out over night. Besides they are not allowed to saunter about at pleasure in the villages and market places near the city: in this way the causes of disturbances will be avoided.' This is on record.

"The above are all old established regulations, which will not bear irregularly to be transgressed. If the custom-houses, with the naval officers and men of the port, do indeed truly and conscientiously examine and investigate, how can the barbarian vessels enter and depart, wandering about at their own pleasure! With regard to the barbarians' dwelling in the merchants' factories, it devolves entirely on the local officers to govern and direct the hong merchants that they may instruct them in the established laws, and from time to time restrict and restrain them: not suffering the laws, in length of time, to become slow of operation.

"I have sent a communication to the naval commander-in-chief, that he may transmit to all the naval commanders of the port, and to the officers and men of the forts, orders to this effect: that they act in obedience to the old regulations, and if any barbarian ship be entering the port, not having stopped to be examined at the custom-house, and having asked and received a red permit, or having on board foreign women, guns, or other military weapons, they shall immediately stop her, and not suffer her to enter: and that if any dare secretly to connive, the military of the stations passed by the vessel shall assuredly be by name reported against, tried and punished: but that the common small boats carrying letters, and barbarian trading ships other than these, having obtained their passports, must according to the regulations, be permitted to go in and out, receiving their passes as they arrive, and must not be irregularly stopped.

"Besides this, I do also, as is incumbent on me, forward this communication to you (the hoppo), hoping you will immediately give orders to the writers and tide-waiters of all the custom-house stations to examine and act up to the old regulations;—to search and investigate carefully, closely, and minutely; looking after the entrance and departure of barbarian vessels, and not suffering them to go in and out at pleasure. Hoping, also, that you will give orders to the hong merchants to explain authoritatively to the barbarians the old regulations, that except on the 8th (i. e. 8th, 18th, and 28th,) day they are not permitted to go out to ramble; and that you will at the same time command the linguists, that except at the fixed periods, they are not confusedly to take them out to ramble, thereby bringing on themselves inquiry, &c."

This coming before me the hoppo, I, * * [he merely reiterates the orders of the governor and closes in the favorite language,] oppose not. A special edict.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 29th day [July 4th, 1834].

Immediately after the receipt of these edicts by the hong merchants, no slight sensation was felt among all the natives in any way connected with foreigners. The sampans belonging to the residents were stopped, and their keepers absconded; some of the compradors were also missing; the hong merchants and linguists were summoned before the Kwangchow foo; and the British trade was soon suspended. On the 22d, three officers were sent by the governor to visit lord Napier; others, we hear, are to visit him to-day (the 30th). Our limits will allow us only to remark further, that two British ships of war have anchored at the Bogue, and that notwithstanding all these movements another calm (it may be momentary,) has ensued. We omit here to say a word concerning the abusive epithets with which the edicts are filled; every thing on this point will be ineffectual, until the Chinese are convinced that they have their equals.

Saturday, 30th. Two imperial commissioners, Shing and Sae, are daily expected at Canton; the latter is accompanied by Yang, an officer of high rank. Pang Neen, a slave of the emperor's is also coming down from the capital to take the place of hoppo Chung. Literati, about 10,000 in number, have collected in the city, for the triennial examination which commences in a few days. There are also here Siamese and Cochinchinese tribute bearers.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—SEPTEMBER, 1834.—No. 5.

ART. I. *Japan: its government, laws, manners, customs, religion, literature, together with brief notices of its intercourse with foreign nations:* Continued from page 160:

“With respect to the Japanese government,” says Mr. Isscher, “a very false idea of it is commonly formed in Europe, where it is looked upon as an absolute despotism, which prevents its subjects from living contented and happy. It is undoubtedly a despotism; but one which does not degenerate into arbitrary power. The laws are severe, it is true, but every individual knows what they are; what they permit, and what they prohibit. No one, whatever be his rank, can by illegal acts intimidate an inferior and force him to comply with his desires. The laws of Japan like those of every other country, are not perfect, but they are put in execution; and he who conducts himself well, and whose conscience cannot reproach him, has no reason to fear them. No individual in Japan is above the law; and all its institutions tend to secure person and property, to a degree which is rarely found in Europe. The Japanese are perfectly free and independent; slavery is a term unknown in the country, and they are not compelled to perform any labor without remuneration. An active workman enjoys a high degree of esteem; the inferior classes of people have few wants. The mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil give to Japan the advantage of having all the necessaries of life in such profusion, that they would suffice for double its present population; so that indigence and pauperism are unknown there; and the relations between superiors and inferiors, founded on mutual harmony, produce real content and universal confidence. Each individual is happy in his position; the servant does not seek to elevate himself above his master; and the youth does not study to abuse his talents, in order to undermine the authority of the aged. That country is surely well governed, in which we recognize no other authority than the law, before which all are equal where every thing conspires to guaranty the security of person and

property, and the superior treats the inferior with that deference which makes the latter forget the distance that separates them."

That very erroneous ideas concerning the Japanese government have been current in Europe we do not doubt; we fear, however, that Mr. Fisscher's account does not put the subject in its true light. If the Japanese government is what he represents it to be, it differs wholly from that of the Chinese, particularly in the execution of its laws and the treatment of its subjects. One might maintain that there are no slaves in China, arguing that all those who are bought and sold are merely servants; but he might with more truth affirm, that all the 'people' of the land are slaves. So it is, we apprehend, in regard to the Japanese; and in this opinion we are supported by Golownin, who makes the slaves a distinct class, and says they are entirely in the hands of their masters. These slaves, he adds, "are descended from the prisoners taken in ancient times in China, Corea, &c., and from children who were sold by their parents on account of poverty and inability to bring them up." This traffic corresponds exactly with what exists in China.—A view of the several branches of the government will enable us to form a more correct idea of the condition of the Japanese.

The government is monarchical, despotic, and feudal. According to the ancient laws of the land, the supreme authority ought to rest in the hands of the dairi, or emperor. But in the twelfth century of our era, a strong check was placed over the power of the emperor, in the person of the seogun or generalissimo of Japan, an office which was established by the emperor Sewsin in the year a. c. 85.

The dairi and his whole family lay claim to a celestial origin; and like the members of the reigning dynasty of China, regard themselves as entitled to the highest degree of respect and deference. Through the long lapse of twenty-four centuries, the branches of the family have become numerous, amounting to some thousands in number. The functions of the dairi are peculiar. In the management of ordinary affairs of state, he has no share; and knows but little of what transpires in the empire; but in cases of extraordinary importance, such as the change or introduction of a law, negotiations with foreign powers, declarations of war, &c., he must be consulted by the seogun. His chief support is derived from the imperial domain—the province of Gokinai; but even in that province he has no absolute jurisdiction, and the soldiers required to preserve its tranquillity are maintained at the expense of the seogun, on whom they are dependent. This measure gives the generalissimo entire power over the emperor; externally, however, he shows him great respect. Personal interviews between these two personages take place very rarely; the seogun visits the emperor only once in seven years; but they frequently send embassies to each other, on which occasions the former always sends rich presents, 'which the latter returns by his blessing.' Among the marks of respect which the seogun shows the emperor, one is very remarkable; "at new year, he is bound to send him an embassy with presents, among which there must absolutely

be a white crane with a black head, which he has taken with his own hand in hunting; no business can release him from this obligation, or ought else except sickness, and even in that case his son and successor must take this obligation on himself."

Several of the writers on Japan have compared the emperor of that country with the popes of Rome in former times. In some respects, says Golownin, this comparison will hold good, in others, not. "The popes were elected; the daïri are hereditary, and on that account they have twelve wives, that their race may not become extinct. The popes governed in their dominions as independent sovereigns; but the domain of the emperors makes a constituent part of Japan, and like all other parts of the empire is subject to the general laws of the land. The popes were the head of the only religion that was tolerated in all countries subject to papal jurisdiction; but the power of the emperors extends over every sect of religionists, though they are in fact, the head of only one, which includes only a part of the whole nation." It is no doubt, in consequence of their resemblance to the pontiffs of Rome, that the daïri of Japan have frequently but erroneously been called ecclesiastical emperors.

Concerning the several 'eminent dignities' which belong to the emperors and compose their court, we know but little. They are divided into six classes, each having a distinctive and appropriate title. By their dress also they are distinguished not only from each other, but from all the common people, whom they scorn and despise as being of mean extraction. The dress of the ladies of the court, particularly that of the wives of the daïri, is different from that of all other women. In the times of Kæmpfer, studies and learning were the chief amusements of the imperial household, and not only the courtiers, but many of the fair sex acquired great reputation by their poetical, historical, and other writings. "They are great lovers of music," adds the learned Hollander, "particularly the ladies, who play with great dexterity upon all sorts of instruments. Young noblemen divert themselves with reading, running races, dancing, fighting, and such other exercises as are befitting their quality. I did not inquire whether they act tragedies and comedies at court; but as the Japanese in general are very fond of plays, and will spend a great deal of money upon them, I am inclined to believe, these ecclesiastical persons, their gravity and holiness notwithstanding, would not be willingly wanting so agreeable and entertaining and withal so innocent a diversion."

Since the time of Joritomo, the seoguns, or generalissimos of the army, have engrossed nearly the whole authority of the state, and are in fact the regents of Japan. Of the origin of this branch of government we have already spoken sufficiently in detail. The etiquette which prevails between the seogun and emperor, is maintained by both parties with exactness; and the former, though quite free from the control, is not beyond the inspection of the latter; for he always keeps some persons of his own choice at the court of the seogun, to watch over his conduct, and to remind him of his duties in case he

should neglect them. "Among these persons," says Golownin, "there are some ladies, who superintend the conjugal life of the monarch and his consort; but these measures do not hinder him from keeping some mistresses, a fact which (with the exception of the above named ladies,) is known to the whole empire. As to the empress, these female superintendents cannot be very necessary, as the emperor may make himself perfectly easy respecting the fidelity of his consort, because he himself appoints persons as guardians of it." The administration of government by the seogun, during late years, has become very lax; he rarely troubles himself about public affairs, and cares not to examine anything with his own eyes.

Considerable authority has been intrusted to the Japanese princes, who, according to Golownin, are more than two hundred in number. These have their respective principalities, which of course must be very small; still they govern them almost as independent sovereigns, and have even the right of giving new laws to the people who are within their own jurisdiction. Every prince is required to keep a certain number of soldiers, and hold them in constant readiness to move at the command of the generalissimo. Occasionally these princes become very powerful, and have been known to appear at the court of the seogun with not less than sixty thousand attendants!

Next to the princes are the nobles, who enjoy important privileges. Almost all the offices of state are filled by persons selected from among the nobility. In times of war the commanding officers are chosen from the nobility. All the families of the nobles and princes have peculiar privileges and distinctions, which indicate their rank. The titles of both are hereditary, and descend to the eldest son, or according to the will of the father to the one whom he deems most worthy; and in case none of his sons are thought fit to inherit such a dignity, a successor is selected from the other princely or noble families. The castles, or residences of these families, are situated upon lofty eminences, and most of them have three enclosures. Their white walls, bastions, gates and towers, present a very fine appearance at a distance; and the fortifications, though not strong, are yet sufficient for a country where cannon are scarcely in use. The proprietors of the castles are obliged to keep them in good repair; but if any part falls down, they are not allowed to rebuild them without express permission from the seogun,—a permission seldom given, the policy of government, for the last century, not allowing any new ones to be erected,

To aid him in the administration of government, the seogun has a council and a senate; the first consists of five members, all of whom must be reigning princes; the second consists of fifteen, who may be either princes or nobles. The council, according to Golownin, decides all ordinary cases without applying for the approbation of the seogun; but in all extraordinary cases, though but of little importance, nothing can be done without his consent, nor can his will be carried into execution without the approval of the senate. The seogun changes the members of his council at pleasure; yet he does not

often venture to do this, lest the princes should oppose his authority ; and how formidable they are, appears from the precaution taken to keep them in check ; they are obliged to reside every other year in the capital, which is the constant residence of their wives and children ! The senate decides all important civil and criminal cases ; and all others, which are of importance must first be examined and decided by this body before they can come before the council. These two branches of the government form the legislative authority of the empire ; they are, however, in many of their measures very much influenced by the courtiers of the seogun, who are entirely the creatures of his will.

The public affairs of Japan are arranged into seven parts, and are assigned to that number of boards or tribunals. Each of these consists of two or three ministers, who are aided in their deliberations by counselors, the number of whom is determined according to the importance of the business which they have to manage. These several divisions respect, 1. revenue ; 2. navigation and trade ; 3. public works ; 4. police ; 5. civil and criminal justice ; 6. military, and 7. religious affairs. Agriculture, manufactures, &c., are under the care of the board of revenue : taxes are generally paid in kind, and amount to a tithe of the productions. The second tribunal takes cognizance of navigation and trade, excepting foreign commerce. From the interior of the country to the seaports, and from thence to the interior, goods are mostly transported by rivers and canals ; when this mode of communication is interrupted, oxen and pack-horses are used. Japan has a considerable coasting trade. The board of public works superintends all kinds of public buildings, including temples and fortresses. The best men in the empire, for whom both the seogun and the people have the most respect, are at the head of the police. Criminal and civil causes are decided according to the laws existing in each principality : but if the causes have reference to any other part of the empire, or are mixed with the affairs of the state, they must then be brought before the board of civil and criminal justice. The military board inspects and regulates the imperial arsenals, and takes care that the princes maintain the fixed number of troops in their possessions and keep them in due order. The chief duty of the religious board seems to be to guard the *dairi* and the religionists under his control, lest they infringe upon the power of the seogun.

It is a curious fact, if true as stated by Golownin, that the Japanese have no books on jurisprudence. At the same time he affirms that 'their orders and constitutions of society, which are not very extensive, are well drawn up and observed with great punctuality, since the slightest disobedience is severely punished, and without any appeal where there is a breach of the imperial ordinances.' The Japanese compare their laws to an adamantine pillar, which neither climate, storm, nor time can destroy, or even shake. The government, however, is well aware of the defects of the laws, but is afraid to alter them, lest the people should thereby be led to despise their

ancient statutes and become accustomed to innovations. Severity of punishment is a leading characteristic of the Japanese laws. Torture is prescribed to compel criminals to confess the truth when they obstinately deny it; recourse, however, is seldom had to this barbarous measure. The mildest species of torture consists in placing the accused on his bare knees, upon a blunt sabre, or bar of iron, and then loading him with stones, till the increase of their weight renders his suffering intense in the extreme. The general administration of the laws rests with the princes, magistrates, and even with the masters of families, in their respective departments; "and many parents have been known to condemn their own children to death." The life of untoward children is wholly in the power of the father. A man who detects his wife in adultery, may put her and the adulterer to death upon the spot; a father has the same right over the seducer of his daughter.

Lawsuits are mostly settled by arbitrators, whom the parties themselves choose; and if they cannot succeed in arranging the affair, it is carried before the courts of justice, as are also all those cases in which the government forms a party. In the courts of law, the judge is supposed to decide, not according to the statute, but agreeably to common sense! So says Golownin; and hence, as he adds, there is certainly a good reason why two arbitrators should be preferred to one individual, who may be bribed or swayed by prejudice. Lawsuits sometimes arise respecting the inheritance of property; these cases, however, are not frequent, because the fathers, who dispose of it at their pleasure, usually take care to make every necessary arrangement concerning it in due season. Fathers seldom divide their property equally among their children; the eldest and worthiest of the sons generally obtain the largest share, while the others receive only a very small portion. Some writers have asserted that as soon as the eldest son of a family comes to years of manhood, the parents retire and place him in their stead, merely reserving as much wealth as is necessary to support themselves and enable them to bring up and educate their other children. Daughters do not receive any dowry; nay, when handsome, they are a source of no inconsiderable gain, the suitors finding it necessary to pay to the parents large sums in order to obtain the object of their affections. The Dutch ambassadors of the seventeenth century affirmed, that 'the man who had a family of handsome daughters might consider his fortune as made.'

According to the laws of Japan, a man can take only one wife, who in the higher classes must be of the same rank as himself. Contracts of marriage are made when the parties are of a tender age, and the inclinations of the young couple are rarely consulted. The law allows of concubines, and a rich Japanese very seldom fails to avail himself of this law; and his first wife does not always grieve at this, but in many instances she lives on very amicable terms with the other wives, or rather *concubines*, of her husband, whom she treats as sisters! The master of the house always takes care that his wife is treated with deference by his concubines, over whom she exercises a decided superiority, and who are compelled to wait upon her. The con-

cubines do not shave their eye-brows, but the custom of blacking the teeth is so common, that every female, who attains the age of eighteen, conforms to it. When there are no children, the husband can obtain a divorce without difficulty, and the situation of the woman is then deplorable, since by the law she has no right to claim any thing from her late husband. Generally speaking, the law is very harsh towards women; they are not even allowed to appear as witnesses. To whatever class a female belongs, she invariably depends on her own parents, the law requiring them both to protect and to take care of her. In other respects a wife is placed nearly in the same scale as in European society, though perhaps she partakes more of the pain and toil of her husband, than of his pleasures. Such, according to Fisscher, are the laws and usages which regulate conjugal life in Japan.

We will now take a nearer view of the manners and customs of the Japanese. Writers on Japan have divided the inhabitants into eight classes: princes, nobles, priests, soldiers, merchants, mechanics, peasants, and slaves. Of the first two classes we have already spoken, and of the third, we shall remark at length in the sequel. All the high military offices are either princes or nobles, or persons who have filled public offices in the civil service. Every man in the employ of the seogun or the princes must learn the art of war, that he may be prepared for action in case of emergency; but the Japanese consider war merely as a temporary concern. The profession of the inferior military officers, and of the privates, is hereditary, and therefore they form a distinct class. No soldier, however old or weak, obtains his discharge till he can bring a son to supply his place, who must have already become familiar with military service. Boys bear arms at the age of fifteen years. If a soldier has no sons, he may adopt one, educate him, and let him supply his place: the laws allow both soldiers and other classes to adopt three children; but if these die, no more can be adopted, as it is presumed to be against the will of the gods. The military profession is held in high honor; and their sense of honor too, is so great, that 'they frequently fight duels with each other in consequence of their being affronted.' Two or three soldiers are stationed in almost every village; and like the first officers in the empire, they are allowed to wear a sabre and a dagger. There is a particular class of soldiers who appear to form a kind of order partly lay, partly religious, and partly military. Their duty is to fight for their religion, and when not in actual service they live as hermits amidst rocks and woods, consecrated to the gods. They are called 'soldiers of the mountain,' and are not unlike the Christian orders of chivalry.

Merchants are numerous and rich, but they can never bear arms or rise to high rank; their wealth, however, sometimes secures for them respect and influence. Officers of state will publicly treat them with great haughtiness and contempt, while in private they are familiar and are often under great obligations to them. The merchants, it is said, have a religion of their own, and worship three

gods : " the first is represented as seated on a globe made of rice, with a hammer in his hand; and they believe that whenever he strikes with the hammer, every thing comes forth of which they have any need : the second they worship only at the commencement of the year, expecting from him complete success in all their speculations ; the third is seated, with a most capacious belly ; and from him they expect health, riches, and children."

The rights and privileges of mechanics are almost the same as those of the merchants, except those which the latter acquire by their riches. The architect, sculptor, brazier, and carpenter, &c., all stand on the same level. Tanners, however, seem to form an exception, being regarded almost as outcasts ; it is their duty not only to skin dead cattle, most of which die a natural death, but they have also to discharge the duties of hangmen ; they are not permitted to mix with other classes of society, but must live in small spots assigned to them in the vicinity of the places of execution.

Peasants are, according to Golownin, the last class of the inhabitants of Japan, except slaves, of whom we have already briefly spoken. In this class are included all those who go into the service of others to gain their livelihood ; for in Japan no one who possesses the smallest piece of land, will deign to put his own hands to the work, but always hires others to labor in his stead. The early European visitors to Japan have given glowing accounts of the peasantry of that country, whom they praise in the highest terms. 'Poverty among them was then a subject neither of contempt nor of reproach ; and it was often difficult to discover it even when it really existed ; and so clever were they in managing their domestic affairs, that they were always seen neat and in good order, notwithstanding any privations they might suffer. They were impatient of injury, and had the utmost honor of theft, perjury, lying, scandal, and of all games of chance.' If this account be near the truth, let no one hereafter ever undertake to compare the Japanese with the inhabitants of the celestial empire !

Having noticed some of the most striking peculiarities in the manners of the several classes of the Japanese, we will here specify a few traits of character which seem not to be confined to any one grade of society. Almost all writers concur in stating that the Japanese of all ranks are distinguished for their politeness. In their intercourse with each other, both young and old, they are extremely polite. On meeting, they show respect by bending the knee ; and when they wish to do unusual honor to an individual, they place themselves on the knee, and bow down to the ground. But this is never done in the streets, where they ' merely make a motion as if they were going to kneel.' When they salute a person of rank, they bend the knee in such a manner as to touch the ground with their fingers. After the first compliments, when Japanese meet, they ask with great ceremony and many bows, after each other's health, relations, &c. ' Our sentinels,' says Golownin, referring to his captivity, ' never relieved each other without having first saluted each other, and stood for some

minutes making compliments.' It is related by one of the Dutch writers, that the greatest honor which the Japanese can pay their guests, when going away, is to show them the utensils in which their tea has been cooked!

The dwellings of the Japanese are generally only one story high; built of wood. The Japanese have no stoves in their houses, and but little furniture. The floor is usually covered with clean, handsome mats, over which they often lay carpets. The walls are covered with paper; and in the houses of the rich, they are frequently inlaid with various kinds of rare wood, curiously carved and gilt. As in the Chinese houses, many of their apartments are embellished with paintings of divinities; or with other ornamented papers; on which are favorite moral sentences of philosophers or poets; in some instances they have grotesque figures of birds, trees, or landscapes painted on screens; in most houses they have flower-pots filled with odoriferous flowers, or for want of these, with artificial representations of flowers, impregnated with odors. These, together with perfuming pots of brass or copper, in the shape of lions, cranes; or other rare animals, &c., sometimes produce a very pleasing effect. At their feasts, there is often a great display of ornaments, and to their ceremonials there is no end. Their attendants are numerous, and know well their places and duties. Their plates are ornamented with ribbons; and if a bird of any description is served up, it is sure to have its body varnished and its neck and feet gilded.

The Japanese are notorious for incontinence and dissoluteness: It is painful to read the descriptions which history affords on this subject. The bagnios are under the protection of government, and the owners of such establishments are not regarded as infamous while they live; but when they are dead, 'a bridle made of straw is put into their mouths, and in the same clothes in which they died, they are dragged through the streets into the fields, and there cast upon a dunghill to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey.' Intemperance is closely allied to the vices of which we here speak; the common people are very fond of strong drink; but, says Golownin, 'this evil is not so common in Japan as in some countries of Europe.' 'To be drunk in the daytime,' he adds, 'is looked upon as very disgraceful; the lovers of drinking, therefore, do not indulge their propensity until the evening; after the termination of all labor and business.' Some writers have maintained that the Japanese are lovers of music and dancing; others declare positively, and we suspect truly, that they have neither voice, nor instruments which can possibly be termed musical.

Before we proceed to describe the religions which now prevail among the Japanese, we will notice very briefly the rise, progress, and fall of Romanism among them. Only about six years after the discovery of Japan by the Portuguese, the propagators of the Romish faith reached the country of the rising sun; great success attended their efforts, till near the close of the 17th century; but from that time so rapid was their decline, that in 1650, there were left no

traces of all their labors, except those of disaster and defeat. Previous to their entrance into the country, the Japanese seem to have enjoyed liberty of conscience in a most perfect degree; hence they met with but few obstacles in the propagation of their doctrines. A young Japanese who had fled to Goa, was baptized there in 1549; he was their first convert; with him, Xavier and other Jesuits embarked the same year to enter a new scene of labors. In 1582, three of the princes who had embraced the new faith, sent some of their nearest relations, with letters and presents, to pay homage to the pope, Gregory XIII, and to assure his holiness of their filial submission to his authority. In 1614, the number of converts is reported to have been 1,800,000; yet only a few years from that date had elapsed, when neither the propagators nor converts of Romanism were to be found in Japan. Efforts, however, have not been wanting, in subsequent times, to regain lost favor and possessions: we will advert to one instance.

Early in the 18th century, the abbot de Sidoti left Rome, the place of his birth, to go to Manila, from whence he hoped to reach Japan. During two years in which he lived in the Philippines, "he got a ship built from the alms he had collected, which enabled him to put his design in execution." He sailed from Manila in August, 1709, and in a few weeks made the coast of Japan. After a short delay, the abbot said to the captain: "the happy moment, for which I have long panted, is at last come. We are now on the shores of Japan, and it is time that I prepare to land in the wished for country. You have been so generous as to conduct me through a sea unknown to yourself; a sea signalized by shipwrecks. Be so good therefore, as to complete and crown your work. Leave me in the midst of a people, whom, though they abhor the Christian name, I yet hope to win over to Christ. I do not rely on my own strength, but on the all powerful grace of our Savior, and the protection of so many martyrs, who, in the preceding century, shed their blood in defense of his name." The captain willingly complied with Sidoti's wishes, and soon had every thing in readiness to put him on shore. In the mean time the abbot wrote several letters; counted his beads; exhorted the ship's company; asked pardon for the ill example he might have set them; and lastly, he kissed the feet of the officers, soldiers, and slaves on board. At midnight he went into the long-boat with the captain and seven other Spaniards who desired to accompany him to the shore. He continued in prayer during the whole passage, and the instant he stepped from the boat, he fell prostrate to kiss the earth, and thanked heaven for its goodness in enabling him to surmount the many difficulties which had opposed his entrance into Japan!

There are three systems of religion prevalent in Japan. The *sintoo* religion is the primitive faith of the empire. It is founded on the worship of spirits or divinities, who are supposed to preside over all things visible and invisible, and who are called *kami*, or *sin*; and hence the derivation of the name, *sintoo*,—*sin* signifying spirit, and *too* a way or doctrine; i. e. the doctrine of 'worship of spirits.' In the list

of the divinities whom they worship, the Japanese include all those from whom the present line of emperors is supposed to have derived its origin. It is erroneous; therefore, to say that the devotees of the sintoo system recognize and adore the Supreme Being. There are gradations of rank among their divinities, and they are continually adding to the number of those whom they honor as gods.

For a further account of the sintoo form of worship we must refer our readers to a paper written by Dr. Burger, and published in the second volume of the Repository, page 320.

The second religion, and that which is now most prevalent in Japan, is Buddhism. This religion, which previous to the commencement of our era, had spread from India to central Asia, soon reached China, and subsequently Corea. From this last country it was carried to Japan, A. D. 552. At that date, say the Japanese annals, the king of Fiaksae, in the west of Corea, sent an embassy to the daïri Kinmei, with an image of Budha and various other articles, among which were the classical books of the Budhists. One of the ministers of the daïri endeavored to persuade him to worship the new god, but another dissuaded him, saying that "our kingdom is of divine origin, and the daïri has already many gods to worship; if we pay adoration to those of foreign states, our own will be displeased." Although the daïri was alarmed at this speech, so far as it regarded himself, yet Buddhism immediately took root in Japan, and after having encountered some persecutions, it soon triumphed. About A. D. 600, two zealots of great influence, and one of them the cousin of the empress Sewko, devoted themselves to the propagation of the doctrine of Buddhism; they built temples, and invited learned priests from Corea. This exotic creed not only maintained its footing in the palaces of the great, but made considerable progress among the common people, who were captivated by the pomp of its ceremonies which were far more imposing than those of the sintoo system. Priests now flocked into Japan both from Corea and China; and as the latter country was regarded as the second birthplace of Buddhism in eastern Asia, a vast number of Japanese, who had dedicated themselves to a religious life, proceeded thither in order to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddhism. Even the daïri who hitherto had been regarded as the head of the sintoo religion, often deserted it to follow the precepts of Buddhism; and many of the princes also, whose reputed descent was from the gods of the country, shaved their heads and became priests in the convents of the new faith. In 805 of our era, the daïri Kwanmu caused images of the Budhistic divinities to be placed in the imperial palaces, and the sacred books procured from India, to be read and explained in the temples. At length, the religion of Budha became the state religion; this circumstance caused the ancient sintoo worship, though differing essentially from Buddhism, to be almost completely identified with it, at least among the vulgar. This amalgamation of the two systems is now carried so far, that the sintoo divinities are often worshipped in the temples of Budha, and *vice versa*.

Budhists in Japan are divided into numerous classes, or 'observances,' as M. Klaproth calls them: one is called the observance of the three wheels; another, the observance of the reflection on law; and a third, the observance of the book of perfect veracity, &c. The followers of some of these observances employ the Sanscrit language in their prayers, and continue to write their religious books in the Devanagari characters which they term *Bon se*, (Fanzsze,) or Indian characters.

Japan is everywhere crowded with Budhistic temples, which are called *zi*. One of the chief temples is the Foko, in the south-east quarter of Miyako. Its enclosure contains several edifices, the most considerable of which is 'the saloon of the great Budha, which holds a colossal statue of that deity, surnamed *roosiana*, a term corrupted from the Sanscrit *rashana*, or 'the resplendent.' The image was first set up in the year 1576 by the warrior Taiko. The saloon in which it is placed was destroyed in 1596, by an earthquake. A son of Taiko rebuilt it in 1602. But the colossus, which was of gilt brass, having been materially injured by another earthquake in 1662, the statue was melted down, and the metal used in coining copper money, and a substitute of wood, covered with gilt paper, was completed in 1667. This is still in existence; it represents Budha seated in the Indian mode, upon a flower of the lotus; the body of the image is about seventy feet high, and the entire statue, with the lotus, about ninety feet. The head of the colossus protrudes through the roof of the saloon. This seems to be the image which so astonished the Spaniard, Don Rodrigo. At a little distance from the statue is a chapel called the 'tomb of ears;' on entering this vast portico, which is eighty feet high, on each side appears a huge figure, twenty-two feet in height, representing two celestial kings, who are the usual porters at the temples of Budha. Another edifice placed before the apartment of the great Budha, contains the largest bell known in the world. It is seventeen feet high, and weighs 1,700,000 Japanese pounds, equal to 2,040,000 pounds Dutch. In the south-east side of the great enclosure, there is an apartment called 'the thirty-three arcades.' It was built about the year 1115, and furnished with a splendid image having eleven faces. The daimi Gozira, who embraced the religion of Budha, placed a vast number of images in the same apartment, which is 490 feet long. On each side of the principal altar are ten ranges of stools, one nearly a foot higher than the other. On each range are fifty statues, each about five feet high, of superior execution, according to the taste of the country, and covered with gilt paper. From the number of small idols upon the head, shoulders, arms, and hands of the greater ones, amounting to forty or fifty on some of them, it would appear that the number of 33,333 idols, which the Japanese assert to be found in this temple, is not much exaggerated.

The third creed prevailing in Japan is the philosophical doctrine of Confucius. The first official intercourse which took place between Japan and China, was effected by means of an embassy dispatched

A. D. 57, by the dairi Sinin to the emperor of China; but we are not told whether the Chinese philosophy was introduced at that time or not. It is probable, however, that this did not happen till about 284, in the reign of the dairi Oosin, who sent an embassy to Fiak-sae in Corea, in quest of educated men, who might diffuse Chinese literature and civilization throughout Japan. This embassy returned with the celebrated Wonin, a descendent of the imperial family of the Hans: he brought with him the book *Lux yu* of Confucius, which he presented to the dairi, and taught one of his sons to read and write. It appears, therefore, that the Chinese colonists, who had at an early period settled in Japan, did not make known there generally the art of writing, which perhaps they kept to themselves for their private advantage. Whatever be the fact, the merit of Wonin appeared so great to the Japanese, that they numbered him among the gods of their country.

The Jesuits have asserted that every Japanese yields strict obedience to whatever is required by that religion which he may have embraced: he always acts decisively, and can never be accused of making religion subservient to his worldly interests; and even those who do not believe in the gods of the country, never fail to comply outwardly with the forms of worship that are prescribed. Golownin gives a very different and more accurate view of this subject: "we knew several Japanese (says he,) who ridiculed their religious customs, and boasted that they never visited the temples; and many of them publicly eat meat in defiance of their religious laws. In general, the Japanese are extremely bigoted and superstitious; they believe in sorcery, and love to converse about miraculous stories. They ascribe to the fox all the properties which the common people in Europe attribute to the devil." The following anecdote, narrated by our Russian historian, exhibits the religious character of the Japanese in its true light: "on the high roads, every mountain, every hill, every cliff, is consecrated to some divinity; at all these places, therefore, travelers have to repeat prayers, and frequently several times over. But as the fulfilment of this duty would detain them too long, they have invented the following means to prevent this inconvenience. Upon the spots consecrated to the divinities, they set up posts to mark the distances; in these posts a long vertical cut is made, on which a flat round iron plate turns like a sheave in a block. Upon this plate, which is dedicated to the divinity of the place, the prayer is engraved. To turn the plate round, is equivalent to repeating the prayer, and the prayer is supposed to be repeated as many times as it turns round. In this manner the traveler is able, without stopping, and merely by turning the plate with his fingers, to send up even more prayers to the divinity than he is obliged to do."

Japan, like China, has plenty of priests and nuns. Of these, there is a peculiar order of mendicants of both sexes. All of these shave their heads. The females, it is said, are under the protection of the Nuns at Miyako, and those in some of the other principal cities, to whom they pay annual tribute out of the profits of their 'trade.' Both

sexes are described as being the finest looking people in Japan. The females, in particular, are the daughters of poor persons; and they embrace this mode of life with the greatest readiness, because in it they are never suffered to want for anything. They generally go in parties of two or three, traveling a few miles every day. As soon as they perceive a person of respectable appearance, they approach him with rustic songs; and if he bestows any thing on them they manifest their gratitude by following him for hours! Not a few set out from the bagnios upon this infamous profession. They are generally good-looking persons, modestly habited, and are every way neatly dressed, 'with the exception of their necks, which they display with great effrontery.'—We might fill many pages with these accounts; but we have said enough, and we leave it with our readers to draw their own conclusions concerning the moral character of a people, whose land is filled with beings like the mendicants of Japan.

The literature of the Japanese is the next subject upon which we proposed to remark. From the time of Oosin, near the close of the third century of our era, to the present day, the Chinese language has been in use among the Japanese. It is chiefly employed in works of learning, but this does not preclude its general use throughout the empire. Since, however, the construction of the Japanese language differs sensibly from that of the Chinese, and since the Chinese characters have a variety of significations, it soon became apparent that some means were wanting to obviate this inconvenience. Accordingly, in the early part of the 8th century, the syllabic systems, denominated *katagana* and *hiragana*, were invented and found completely adapted to the idiom of the country. The use of this species of writing is now almost universal in Japan; it is rare to find a person unable to read it.—From the moment the Japanese acquired a written language, their literature advanced from age to age, with rapid pace. Unfortunately, in Europe it is scarcely known; but from the few Japanese books that have fallen into the hands of foreigners, it is evident that this people have works of all kinds, chiefly historical compositions, as well as a very extensive polite literature. Paper came into use in Japan as early as the beginning of the seventh century; and printing in the Chinese manner was introduced A. D. 1206, about 250 years before the art was invented in Europe.

The preceding remarks concerning the Japanese language, have been drawn from the papers of M. Klaproth; what follows on this subject is taken from the Vocabulary of Mr. Medhurst of Batavia. The Japanese alphabet contains forty-eight letters, and is written in two different ways, somewhat analogous to the printed and written forms used in our own language. The first, which is called the *katagana*, is the clearest and most definite, and is chiefly used in dictionaries and works of science; the other called the *hiragana*, is more like a running hand, and is the character generally in use in all kinds of light reading and in the transaction of the common business of life; it is also called the female character, from its being usually employed by the fair sex; In a subsequent number of our work, we

hope to lay before our readers both forms of the alphabet, together with specimens of the Japanese writing; we can here give only the sounds of the forty-eight letters as they are represented in the European character. A slight change in the form of some of the letters, alters their pronunciation; these changes will be distinguished from the sound of the leading forms by being in Roman, while the former are in *Italic* letters.

SOUNDS OF THE JAPANESE ALPHABET.

1 <i>i</i>	17 <i>re le</i>	33 <i>ko go</i>
2 <i>ro</i>	18 <i>so zo</i>	34 <i>e ye</i>
3 <i>ha fu ba pa</i>	19 <i>tsoo dsoo</i>	35 <i>te de</i>
4 <i>ni</i>	20 <i>ne</i>	36 <i>a</i>
5 <i>ho fo bo po</i>	21 <i>na</i>	37 <i>sa za</i>
6 <i>he fe be pe</i>	22 <i>ra la</i>	38 <i>ki gi</i>
7 <i>to do</i>	23 <i>moo</i>	39 <i>yu</i>
8 <i>tsi dsi</i>	24 <i>wooo oo</i>	40 <i>me</i>
9 <i>ri li</i>	25 <i>i wi</i>	41 <i>mi</i>
10 <i>noo</i>	26 <i>no</i>	42 <i>si zi</i>
11 <i>roo loo</i>	27 <i>o</i>	43 <i>ye e</i>
12 <i>wooo o</i>	28 <i>kfoo gfoo</i>	44 <i>fi hi bi pi</i>
13 <i>wa</i>	29 <i>ya</i>	45 <i>mo</i>
14 <i>ka ga</i>	30 <i>ma</i>	46 <i>se ze</i>
15 <i>yo</i>	31 <i>ke ge</i>	47 <i>soo zoo</i>
16 <i>ta da</i>	32 <i>foo hoo boo poo</i>	48 <i>n.</i>

Of these letters some are nearly alike in sound; some are used alternately for each other; and several when occurring at the end of a word or syllable may be contracted, as *tsi* and *tsoo* into *ts,* &c. The final *n* is never used but in the end of a word or syllable, and is the only instance of a letter needing the aid of another in order to complete its sound. With this exception, and that of the contractions, which join two syllables together, the Japanese letters are all distinct syllables, and are to be pronounced just as they stand in the alphabet. The *l* and *r* are frequently confounded; as are also *k* and *f*; the two last should be pronounced with a whizzing noise, something between the two. 'In expressing the sounds of the vowels, the Continental pronunciation has been followed, both because it is more definite than the English, and because it has been in use for the last two centuries by the Japanese themselves; when they have occasion to express the sound of their alphabet in European letters; besides, all books lately written on that language by Europeans have used the Continental pronunciation.' Thus the *a* must be invariably pronounced broad, as in arm; the *e* always bears the sound of *ey* in grey; the *i* as in machine; the *o* as in go; the *u* as in cube; and the *oo* as in too.

In speaking of the intercourse which has been maintained between the Japanese and other nations, we shall confine our remarks chiefly to that which they have carried on with the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English. When the Portuguese first reached Japan, in 1542, they found the inhabitants of the country enjoying a very great

degree of freedom, being allowed to engage in domestic and foreign commerce at pleasure. The Portuguese were welcomed to the new country; and all, both princes and people, used the most pressing invitations to induce these strangers to enter their own harbors; and being ignorant of the intrinsic value of the new commodities, they paid whatever price was demanded. Hence, in a short time, the Portuguese amassed great fortunes: for their European and Indian commodities, they very soon became possessed of immense treasures, and 'the golden marrow of the country.' They married the daughters of the richest inhabitants of the land, and disposed of their goods to whom they pleased. "Upwards of 300 tons of gold," so says Kæmpfer, "were exported every year; for at that time they had full liberty to import and to export what goods and in what quantities they pleased. At the time of their rising greatness, they imported their goods in large ships, but upon the decline of their trade, they went thither in galliots. They first put into the harbors of Bungo and Firando; afterwards they went to Nangasaki. The gain upon the goods imported, was at least cent. per cent., and they got not a little upon what they exported. Had the Portuguese enjoyed the trade to Japan but twenty years longer, upon the same footing they did for some time while it was most prosperous, such riches would have been transported out of this Ophir to Macao, and there would have been such a pleneous flow of gold and silver in that town, as there was in Jerusalem in the time of Solomon. In the last years of their going to Japan, when their trade was in the greatest decline, 2,350,000 taels, besides 287 Portuguese with their relations and families, were carried on board four ships from Nangasaki to Macao." This was in the year 1636. Pride and covetousness, the results of their great prosperity, proved the ruin of the Portuguese in Japan. The detection of a plot, which, in connection with some native Christians, they formed against the emperor's life and throne, brought on them a death-blow; and in 1637, drew forth the following edict:—

"No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country: those who act contrary to this shall die; and the ship, with the crew and goods aboard, shall be sequestered till further orders. All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest, shall have a reward of 400 to 500 shuets (£500) of silver, and for every Christian in proportion. All persons who propagate the doctrine of Christians, or bear this scandalous name shall be imprisoned. The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao. Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he has been banished, shall die, with all his family; also, whoever presumes to intercede for them shall be put to death. No nobleman, nor any soldier, shall be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner," &c. After this, the Portuguese made some unsuccessful attempts to renew the trade, but in 1641 they finally abandoned the country.

One single feat of the Spaniards, which was played off in the har-

bor of Nangasaki, will give a good idea of their conduct in Japan; it took place after the trade was interdicted. A large Spanish ship of three decks anchored in the harbor, and orders were forthwith issued for her destruction together with all on board. The prince who was appointed to put these orders into execution, immediately surrounded the ship with a fleet of well-armed boats. The Japanese soon boarded the ship in great numbers; but the Spaniards, who had retired beneath the first deck, set fire to some barrels of powder immediately beneath it and blew up the deck, destroying both it and the Japanese upon it: This was repeated three times, and until the three decks were destroyed. "By these repeated blows," says Kæmpfer, from whom we quote, "the harbor was covered with Japanese, dead, wounded, and bruised, before they could so much as come at the Spaniards, who defended themselves with the greatest bravery for some hours, not surrendering till they were all killed to a man. This attack, wherein upwards of 3000 Japanese lost their lives, lasted full six hours. Incredible treasures were found afterwards at the place where the ship sunk, and it is said, that about 3000 chests of silver were taken up." This account may or it may not be true; we find no mention of the tragical story except in Kæmpfer, who saw no reason for 'doubting the truth thereof.' The Japanese had been provoked to perpetrate this cruel deed by a no less horrible act of the Spaniards,—the sinking of a Japanese junk with all her crew on board. This occurred near the Philippines, and about a year before the Spanish ship entered the harbor of Nangasaki.

In 1601, the Dutch were allowed the privilege of a free trade to Japan. They came at once into competition with the Portuguese; and they spared no pains or expense in trying to please the government, hoping thereby to gain an ascendancy over their rivals. There was nothing in the range of possibilities, which the early Dutch adventurers were not willing to undertake for the advancement of their gain: Kæmpfer illustrates this fact by the following narrative: 'About 40,000 Christians, reduced to the most desperate condition by the many unparalleled cruelties and torments, which many thousands of their brethren had already suffered, and which they themselves had till then very narrowly escaped, retired to Simabara, a fortified place, resolved to defend their lives to the utmost of their power. The Dutch upon this, as friends and allies of the Japanese, were required to assist in the siege of Simabara, and the impending total destruction of the besieged Christians. M. Kockebecker, who was then director of the Dutch trade and nation at Firando, having received orders to this effect, repaired thither without delay, on board a Dutch ship, and within a fortnight battered the town with 426 balls. This conduct was entirely to the satisfaction of the Japanese.' And the historian adds; on the same subject: 'so great was the covetousness of the Dutch, and so great the power of the Japanese gold, that rather than quit their prospect of trade, they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment, (for such in fact is their situation in Desima,) and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign country, to be remiss in perform-

ing divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals, to leave off praying and singing of psalms in public, entirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives, and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behavior of those proud infidels (the Japanese), than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind.'

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis Auri sacra fames !

Desima, the present residence of the Dutch, stands in front of Nangasaki, and is considered as one of the streets of that city. Its latitude is about $32^{\circ} 50'$ north. The island, for so it is frequently called, was raised from the bottom of the sea, and its foundations are built with freestone. Its shape resembles a fan without a handle, being of an oblong figure, the two longest sides of which are the segments of a circle. The island is about 230 paces long and 80 broad; and is 'enclosed with pretty high deal boards, covered with small roofs, on the top of which is planted a double row of pikes, the whole being very weak.' The houses, and the whole island, were built by the inhabitants of Nangasaki, to whom the Dutch pay a heavy rent. All the houses are built of wood, and 'are withal very sorry and poor looking.' On the bridge, and on the island, which connects it with the town, there are guard-houses and police stations; in a word, the whole establishment is, what some of the Dutch writers have declared it to be, a complete prison.

The English reached Japan in 1600. William Adams was the first adventurer; he was admitted to an audience with the highest authorities of the empire, and was requested to invite his countrymen to open a commerce with Japan. In consequence of this, captain Saris repaired thither in 1613, and succeeded in forming a treaty, of which we quote the two first articles, specifying some of the privileges granted to the English. 1. "*Inprimis*, We give free license to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, viz, sir Thomas Smith, governor, and company of the East Indian merchants and adventurers, forever safely to come into any of the ports of our empire of Japan; with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures: 2. *Item*, We grant unto them freedom of custom, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdome, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and doe authorize those shippes that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court, &c." When Saris left the court of Japan he was furnished with a letter and presents for the king of Great Britain. A factory was forthwith established at Firando, and trade commenced on a liberal footing. Junks were purchased and employed in trade with Siam, Lewchew, &c. But intestine wars, and rivalries among the foreigners, had already arrived at a high pitch, all of which were

very unfavorable to British interests. The consequence of which was that the English very soon left the country. All their subsequent efforts to renew their trade have proved ineffectual.

The Russians have repeatedly tried to open a commerce with the Japanese, but without success. The Chinese are treated with great indignity in Japan, and their trade is subject to severe restrictions. A considerable part of the Chinese cargoes consists of English woollens. The merchants from Coren and Lewchew, are treated even worse, if possible, than the Chinese. Thus, while there is reason to believe that foreign commerce would be highly beneficial to the Japanese, and most acceptable to that people, we see all nations, with exceptions scarcely worthy of notice, excluded from their country. The population of Japan, it is believed, cannot be less than twenty-five millions. Were the country thrown open to the enterprise of the present day, it would be to the world like the creation of a new kingdom; and the achievement of an object, so devoutly to be wished, might by united effort be easily effected. The right of a nation to close and bar every avenue to its dominions, is a subject which deserves the careful consideration of every statesman and philanthropist of this enlightened and enterprising age; and the man, or body of men, who shall cause freedom and liberty, and their accompaniments, to triumph throughout eastern Asia, will be numbered in future times among the benefactors of the human race.

ART. II. *The Huns: their origin and early history; their emigrations; subjection of the Alani, &c.; life and death of Attila.*

Isolated China, though boasting of extending its transforming influence to all the nations of the globe, has scarcely ever exercised a decided influence upon any. In eastern Europe we see rising a stupendous fabric of government; it came into notice long after the Mongol dynasty had filled the throne of China, and when the celestial monarchy had already numbered its thousands of years. The former towers to the skies, swaying an iron sceptre; the latter is a huge contemptible mass, cemented by the force of antiquated customs, and upheld by the forbearance of its neighbors. The hot struggle for conquest which has been carried on in Europe is still lively in our memory; the Chinese frontiers were threatened with the storm; the Russian colossus was almost laid prostrate before the western conqueror, whilst the celestial empire perceived all these revolutions with equal indifference. Unconscious of danger from the changes and rapid conquests of the modern Alexander, the middle kingdom was slumbering in security, an easy prey to any bold adventurer.

It is not in man to pull down and to set up kingdoms: and that is a

narrow minded historian, who in these great events sees only a human hand. We look upward to the Most High, trace in them the mysterious ways of his providence, and from what we can know, learn to adore wherever our limited understanding cannot fathom. The events we are going to describe have a thrilling interest; we follow them from their spring on the frontiers of China to the Atlantic, from the eastern shore of Asia throughout the largest continent of the globe. The path leads us through a chaos of anarchy, rapine and brutal conquest, marked everywhere by the destruction and abject wretchedness of our race. Yet in this tempest God reigns, and he commands the light to shine forth from the darkness.

When Europe had gained dominion over western Asia, the myriads of Persia being defeated on those waters which separate these two portions of the earth; when Alexander had overthrown the Persian empire, and his generals had divided the spoil, China still suffered the evils which a feudal system under a weak monarch ever entails on a country. The feeble descendants of the once powerful Chow dynasty fell into insignificance towards the close of the third century before our era; the mighty founder of the Tsin dynasty rose to importance and power at the same time in which the Romans made their first strides towards the dominion of the western civilized world. Had Alexander crossed the deserts, tamed the nomadic tribes, and penetrated into China, how different from the present must the state of this empire have now been. But an almighty hand arrested the insatiable victor; the fame of Alexander never reached the ears of his compeer in ambition. The Hwangte and China remained distinct from all the civilized world. When Rome began to sway the world, the Scythian tribes on her eastern frontiers opposed a formidable barrier to her further encroachments. These hardy warriors living on an unproductive soil, habitually indolent and accustomed to a roving life among the immense steppes of Asia, were ever ready to fight and die for plunder. Having nothing to lose, and offering nothing to a victor, they had the prospect of gaining by their predatory life, and therefore were ever ready to invade the neighboring civilized nations, to subsist upon their spoils.

We might as well attempt to write on water as to fix on any certain origin for all the nomadic tribes, which from time immemorial have traversed middle Asia. Single families rose to the importance of tribes, amalgamated with others, shifted their abode, were again lost in the incessant wars they waged against each other, or subdued other tribes whose existence was swallowed in the general name of the victors. Had they at an early period understood the art of writing we might have been enabled to compile a history from their own annals; but the memory of past events was lost with the generation among which they transpired. Whatever was transmitted by tradition was so disfigured by fiction, that it serves but to perplex the historian. We do not much regret the want of authentic documents, for the history of savages cannot be generally interesting; their life is monotonous, their actions the same throughout all generations.

But as soon as they came in contact with civilized nations their history assumed importance: and when they finally pushed on their conquests and snatched the palm of victory from civilization itself, the world is interested in them. We are now about to recount those migrations of the Scythian nomads, to which the impulse was given by the Chinese. The shock which made Europe tremble, and caused the mightiest state of the world to crumble into ruins, was imparted from China. Unconsciously to themselves, the Chinese became the authors of a new order of things in Europe, while they rode out the storm safely in their frail and leaky barque.

The Romans had always viewed the Germanic tribes on their frontiers with a sort of horror; not because they trembled at their savage fierceness, but because they considered them indomitable. Their legions had been repeatedly defeated and annihilated by them, their best generals had been routed, and the fierce barbarians with formidable armies, approached the invincible empire. The Roman soldiery having degenerated, and the supreme government being in the hands of worthless princes, the barbarians became more audacious, threatening the existence of the empire, which owed its preservation only to the discord reigning among the different Germanic tribes. But the fertile plains of the Roman dominions presented to these hardy warriors irresistible allurements to possess themselves of countries so ill defended and tyrannically governed. The division of that vast empire completed its downfall, preparing the way for the rushing of the torrents of barbarians; tribe followed tribe, ravaging the fairest and best cultivated portions of the earth.

We now return to China. It is the opinion of some writers, that the Chinese were originally a Scythian tribe, which preferring the agricultural to a pastoral life settled on the fruitful plains along the Yellow river, and the Yangtze kéang. Their countrymen who continued roving amid the deserts of Asia, maintaining their savage unyielding character, did not leave them unmolested in possession of this fertile territory. Their incursions began in the earliest times of Chinese history, yet China bending like a willow to the storm was not uprooted. The emperors paid them tribute under the flimsy guise of a subsidy; and assigned them whole provinces for their habitation. Whenever at any time they had sowed disunion amongst these warlike tribes, or had adopted and naturalized them, it was easy to hold dominion over them. The same course of policy, dictated by cowardice and weakness, has been observed to this time; and thus China still exists as an empire, whilst the name of Rome is blotted out from the map of the world.

The name of the Huns is written with letters of blood in the page of European history. They claim to be descended from a son of Kaousin, a Chinese emperor, who is said to have reigned before the deluge, about 2432 B. C. This is really tracing their origin very high, but as every nation is proud of its antiquity, we may make some allowance for the vanity of the Huns. Their abodes were on the north of the province of Chihle. In Chinese history they are known under

name of Heung noo, boisterous slaves. All we know of them at that time is from the Chinese, who are never minute in their accounts of foreigners. So much however is certain, that they invaded with great success the northern provinces, proving formidable neighbors to the weak Chinese. Towards the end of the Chow dynasty, the Tartars constituted two great and distinct nations, subdivided into many tribes. The eastern Tartars inhabited the territories of Mantchouria and Leaontung, whilst their western countrymen were scattered over the extensive plains of Mongolia and Turkestan. When the dynasty of Han ascended the throne of China, the founder, Kaoute, was jealous of the power which Mathe a chief of the Huns had assumed. This chief having conquered the eastern Tartars, surprised the Chinese army, cut off its supplies and compelled a surrender, *b. c.* 200. However through the intercession of Mathe's wife, the Chinese for this time escaped entire destruction. Woote, the martial emperor, of the Han dynasty, burning to revenge the insults heaped on the empire by these unbridled barbarians, and determining to stop these perpetual ravages, despatched an army thither, drove the Huns from the frontiers, and to chastise their insolence pursued them into their own country, *b. c.* 139. His general penetrated into the heart of the desert, proved victorious in several engagements, established the Chinese authority, and formed a regular military station to act as a check on their violence. The chief performed on his knees the duty of homage to the emperor, and received from him the ensigns of king. From this period they began, some to amalgamate with the Chinese, and others to seek other abodes on the distant shores of the Caspian. On account of this schism, they were distinguished as northern and southern Huns; the former crossed the great wall, received the lands allotted them there by the emperors, but for more than a century waged destructive war against their weak masters. The northern provinces of the empire were deluged with blood; the barbarians took possession of the most fertile spots and proclaimed their own chiefs, emperors. They were a powerful tribe, fighting was their profession, and to glut themselves with the blood of their enemies, their highest bliss. Yet their conquests met a severe check from another Tartar tribe, the Sienpi. When their antagonists proved victorious, the nation separated into many hords, and families, and sought other countries where they might be exempt from the dread of their powerful enemies. This increased the number of the colonists already settled at the Caspian, and with their growing numbers they exchanged the pastoral for the agricultural life. They now received the name of white Huus, in distinction from their more swarthy northern countrymen.

It was vain to try their fortune in the east; there the Sienpi were their implacable enemies and fully their match in valor, and the Chinese had enlisted their own subjected clansmen to defend the frontiers against them. Thus led to turn their destructive course towards the west, thither they directed their resistless hords. Strengthened by the accession of various tribes of their northern clansmen, whom hun-

ger and despair had driven from the ice-fields of Siberia, they crossed the Volga, and found the plains covered with the tents of the Alani. These were a pastoral people, and the mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had served to improve the appearance of the Alani; they were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners than the Huns, but of no less martial and independent spirit. To die on the field of battle was in their estimation the highest attainment of glory. A naked cimier fixed in the ground, was the object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies were the trappings of their horses. On the banks of the Tanais, the bands of Huns and Alani encountered each other; the carnage was great, for each fought for life, but the Huns prevailed, and the remaining Alani fled, or submitted, and united with the conqueror's band.

From China they had been forced at first, and could not ultimately retrace their steps through the numerous hostile tribes that intervened; thus they kept on their rapid advance, challenging the Goths to combat. Wherever they went, destruction and carnage marked their path; thousands fell victims to their cruelty; terror went before them, and warriors hitherto undaunted began to tremble at the name of Huns. Their gestures were uncouth; their features in themselves deformed, and the opinion of their hideousness was much increased by the savage fury with which they massacred old and young. Such were the Asiatic conquerors of Europe. Superstition indeed assigned to them a Satanic origin, regarding them as monsters sprung from the unnatural embrace of Scythian witches by infernal spirits, and sent to distress and extirpate mankind.

At that time Hermanic swayed the Ostrogothic empire, comprising a territory nearly equal to the present Russian; he was worsted in battle, but did not live to see his subjects slaves to barbarians. Withimer endeavored in vain to oppose the torrent; the Goths who had seldom before been worsted, fled from the field of battle with the greatest consternation; the greater part of their countrymen joined the standards of the victors, and in conjunction with the Alani, swelled the torrent which was to overwhelm Europe. The Visigoths very soon collected an army behind the Neister, in order to arrest the progress of the victorious barbarians; but surprised and attacked, they were seized with dismay, and fled across the Danube, their last defense. By this event the savage enemy had full scope to carry on his destructive plans. From this moment we may date the gradual decline of the Roman empire; the enemy that sapped its foundations were now received in her borders as supplicants indeed, but only so for the occasion; lands were assigned to them by the emperor, beyond the Danube, whilst the Asiatic conquerors menaced the unprotected provinces. Had this invasion occurred during the preceding century, or had military skill been opposed to undisciplined valor, would the Huns have proved victorious? They carried with them all they possessed in the world, their wives, children, and cattle followed in their train; and a single defeat might have destroyed them. Urged by such motives, they were desperate in the field of battle. Such inva-

ders are truly formidable, and even a well disciplined army must have encountered great loss in meeting them.

The Roman legions at that time, A. D. 376, were by no means contemptible; old German warriors served in the ranks, men trained to arms in the wars of Britain, Gaul, and Germany. They were led to the field by able generals, but proved an ineffectual barrier against the Scythians. Balannir their chief at last arrived with his hords in Hun-garia; this fertile country, exhibiting extensive meadows for grazing, fixed their wanderings. Valens was then upon the throne of the eastern empire; the revolt of his new Gothic subjects, to whom he had assigned lands south of the Danube, kept him in constant alarm, and prevented his successfully contesting with the new comers for the possession of Pannonia. It is however astonishing that these war-like tribes could keep themselves so long time quiet. Theodosius adopted the Chinese policy of paying them tribute. Had Rome now been in all its glory, and a Marius or Cæsar had commanded the legions, we doubt whether they would not have thought it more politic to silence the barbarians by presents than force them to despair.

During the reign of the Hunnic Roas and Rugilas, the power of their clans was greatly extended, several Germanic tribes paid them homage, and their aid was invoked to settle disputes in Italy. With an army of 60,000 they advanced to the confines of this country; but the contending parties were too wise to let them pass the Alps,—a step which would have been the inevitable destruction of both parties. Meanwhile the Byzantine emperors instigated some of the tributary Germanic tribes to revolt against their savage masters; the Huns wreaked their vengeance on the feeble Greeks, and dictated the most degrading terms of peace. The Constantinopolitan ambassadors arrived in their camp near the city of Margus in Upper Mesia; a treaty was concluded on horseback, by which the Romans were obliged to deliver up all fugitives who had fled from their cruel masters to take refuge in the empire: this event was in A. D. 433.

That scourge of the human race, the bloody Attila was now in existence, and began his work of devastation. Boasting of his descent from the ancient race of princes, who carried terror into the extensive dominions of China, he found himself upon a new theatre of glory, where he might at his pleasure indiscriminately butcher mankind. Small, deep-seated, fiery eyes, a flat nose, swarthy complexion, and a short square body marked his genuine resemblance to the modern Calmucks, the feeble remnants of the once powerful Huns. Though brave and undaunted, Attila did not trust solely in the power of the sword to subject the nations to his sway: he conquered by an impetuous valor which nothing could resist, but he maintained his conquests by a prudent administration. An ancient sword, accidentally discovered in the earth and presented to him, served his purpose of claiming a divine right to the empire of the world. He declared himself the possessor of the sword of the god of war; and this old rusty iron was worshiped by the nation as the martial idol, the sure pledge of victory.

This stamped upon all his undertakings a sacred character, and Attila went forth as the emissary from heaven to subject the nations. No-historian has given a connected account of these days of destruction, the most extensive and terrible which ever occurred in Europe: If we judge from the extent of territory subjected to Attila, the carnage before he gained possession must have been indescribable. Germany, which had withstood the well directed attacks of the Romans, was by the Huns reduced into a province; even the cold and dreary regions of Scandinavia did not escape this scourge; and all the countries between the Rhine and Caspian acknowledged his sway. Sole arbiter of all the barbarians in Europe, Attila returned to chastise some nomadic tribes in Asia, extended his dominion to the ancient abodes of his ancestors, and began to negotiate an equal alliance with China. In his train were vassal princes, who waited as servants upon him, and trembled at his nod, ready to execute his stern commands. There remained but southern Europe to detain him, after gaining which, the conqueror might ascend the throne of China and give laws to the world.

Some hords of Huns had passed the Danube, invaded the country and returned laden with booty, which served to inflame their countrymen with the desire of ravaging the cultivated plains of the Byzantine empire. The desired opportunity of pillaging these ancient towns was soon furnished by a quarrel in one of the frontier towns on the Danube. Regarding himself as called upon to revenge their wrongs, which indeed were only imaginary, Attila ordered his numerous host to invade the eastern empire. Like a flight of locusts, they covered the whole extent of country between the Enxine and Adriatic; the flames of burning villages announced their approach; fortresses and castles were swept away by this resistless torrent; and a tract of 500 miles in breadth was at once invaded, occupied, and desolated by the myriads of Attila. The Roman legions sent against the Persians and Vandals were recalled to arrest the progress of the destroyer; they met him and were defeated in three successive engagements. The authority of Attila now extended from the Hellespont to Thermopylæ; Thrace and Macedonia were at his mercy: seventy cities were quite razed to the ground. The eastern empire in the hands of Theodosius, had not yet reached that degree of helplessness to which it afterwards sunk; yet on the fatal result of these battles he was compelled to conclude a dishonorable treaty, that stamped infamy on his reign. All the Huns who had been taken prisoners were to be released without ransom, while the Roman prisoners were to purchase their freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; a large tract of land was ceded to the victors, and an immense sum of money paid to satisfy their avarice. The possessions of the Huns now stretched to Novæ in Thrace, thus incorporating the southern banks of the Danube in their large dominions.

The sight of so many weeping captives, led away as slaves in the train of the victors, was truly heart-rending; persons of every rank, of both sexes, educated in ease and luxury, were sold like brutes in the

market, and transported by their masters to the distant parts of Scythia. At the same time this had the effect of softening the barbarians, and acquainting them gradually with the arts of civilized life. Five embassies from Attila appeared in Constantinople, to insult the dignity of the empire. The fierce Goths, who had previously settled in the countries now invaded by Attila, and who had become accustomed to a sedentary life, beheld of a sudden all the fruits of their industry swept away by these merciless invaders. To satisfy the incessant demands, and appease the angry spirit of the barbarian chief, Theodosius sent his ambassador Maximin to the court of Attila. His way led him through plains strewed with bones; the fields, which a little while since had yielded sustenance to millions of people, and had been covered with flourishing villages and cities—now converted into pasture lands, or desolate like the steppes of Scythia. Attila himself resided in a wooden palace, surrounded with the wooden houses of his nobles, and the mud or straw hovels of his people. Maximin was admitted to the presence of the chief, admired his unaffected gravity, and exhibition of sound sense and artful policy. The spoils of the East here were united with the rude furniture of a Scythian camp; Attila alone adhered to the simplicity of his ancestors, and the royal table was served with wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food, himself never tasting the luxury of bread. His time passed in receiving the homage of foreign ambassadors, and in devising new plans for the extension of his dominions.

But the Romans stained this embassy with designs of treachery; under the benevolent pretext of ridding the world of a monster, they sanctioned a conspiracy against the life of the conqueror. Attila discovered the plot, but disdaining to punish the conspirators, allowed the emperor to redeem their lives, and sent two ambassadors who delivered the following message before the throne in Constantinople: "Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent; Attila is likewise descended from a noble race, and he has supported by his actions the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal honours, and by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore just that he should reverence the man whose fortune and merit have placed above him; instead of attempting, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against his master." To such a degrading condition was the great Theodosius brought. But the policy of the Constantinopolitan court changed upon the accession of Marcian in A. D. 450. He firmly refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of barbarians, but offered them either honorable alliance or war. Unused to such language, Attila threatened to punish the insolent emperor, but wavered in his choice, whether to strike first the eastern or western empire. The world waited for his decision; he sent ambassadors to both emperors with this message: "Attila, my lord and thy lord commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception." His hesitation soon ended in a resolution to invade Gaul. In this he was guided by two principal reasons:—an

invitation from the Franks in Gaul to settle their domestic broils; and indignation at the refusal of the hand of Honoria, the sister of the reigning emperor of the west. Attila summoned his vassals from the remote parts of his extensive dominions and began his pompous march towards Gaul. He led an innumerable host across the Rhine, entered the Belgic provinces, and penetrated into the heart of Gaul. Every excess of cruelty marked his progress; lamentation, misery, and death attended his steps; and the vestiges of this invasion long remained.

Gaul was then in the hands of the Visigoths and Franks; numbers also of the Alani and Huns had been settled on the frontiers by the policy of the Roman general and minister, Ætius. The Roman government still nominally asserted a right to this province, but its influence over the rude barbarians was very feeble. The inhabitants of Gaul were unprepared for this sudden attack, and Attila advanced rapidly without meeting any effectual resistance. He finally sat down before Orleans, and so vigorously battered the walls of this fortress, that it was upon the point of yielding to his assaults. The pious bishop Anianus looked to the Almighty for aid; he exhorted the people who were unable to bear arms, to join in imploring of God deliverance from their savage enemy. With this firm reliance on divine help he sent out a watchman to observe whether the long expected armies of the Romans and Visigoths were approaching. Twice the messenger returned with the sad tidings that no relief was visible, but at the third time he discerned something like the appearance of a small cloud at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God," exclaimed the bishop, and the multitude repeated the words. Soon the Roman and Gothic banners were descried, and the combined armies, under the command of Ætius and Theodoric, advanced to the relief of the city. Attila immediately raised the siege, and retired to the plain of Chalons to collect his troops and give battle.

Never before had that bloody warrior encountered so formidable a host: for, conscious that if they should be defeated, no safety would remain for them in flight, and that the last hope of liberty in Europe would expire with them, they fought with the courage of despair. Ætius himself was a consummate general, well acquainted with the character of the Huns, having been a hostage in their camp, and gained their admiration by his virtues. The Visigoths, a warlike race, fought for existence; for if their ranks were broken, they would hope in vain for an honorable peace, that should secure them in their own possessions. Attila also was fully aware of the fearful encounter which must ensue; he therefore animated his troops in an oration to redouble their efforts and maintain their former glory. The battle began—a battle almost without a parallel in history. The centre of the combined army was broken through, the Gothic king was slain, and Attila already exulted in the victory as his own, when Torismond, the valiant son of the fallen king, rushed down from a hill which he had occupied, attacked the Huns with resistless fury, threw their army into consternation and compelled Attila to retreat with dreadful loss.

According to Isidore, 300,000 slain were strewed upon the field of battle. The Huns retired behind their wagons, resolved to burn themselves with their rich booty, if this intrenchment should be forced. The victors did not deem it expedient to force the lion's den, but withdrew their troops, and Attila retreated in sullen silence into Germany, followed by the hostile Franks, in the year 451.

The ensuing spring he again demanded the hand of Honoria, and to enforce his claim, invaded Italy with a powerful army. Aquileia first felt the vengeance of the indignant chief; after a siege of three months he reduced the city and leveled it entirely with the ground. It was his boast that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse once trod. Many cities during his march underwent the same fate, and Italy was doomed to share in the same calamity which had reduced the northern provinces of the Byzantine empire to a desert. In Milan, Attila was offended with a picture representing the Cæsars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. He immediately had the picture reversed; the emperors were represented as emptying their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch. The unwarlike and trembling Italians fled in consternation before the victorious troops of the invaders; they took refuge on the islands of the Adriatic, and there laid the foundations of the future Venice. Rome was threatened by the insolent victor, but Leo, the pope, met Attila on his march, and for the time deprecated his wrath. Though the Romans were not sparing of promises and bribes, Attila would have executed his threat of laying Italy waste, if the hand of death had not arrested him in his career, in 463.

Thus disappeared from the earth a monster, whom the Almighty having sent to scourge the nations, again recalled from his bloody work. His body was exposed in the open air under a silken pavilion: his guards wheeled around it, chanting a funeral song, cutting off their hair and gashing their faces. They laid him in a triple coffin of gold, silver, and iron, buried him during the silence of night, and massacred the slaves who dug the grave, lest the spot should be discovered. His death was the signal for a general revolt or disunion of all the tribes which had bowed under his rod. In vain did Dargisch, his son, endeavor to support the tottering fabric raised by his father; he was slain in a battle with the Greeks, and his head exposed to the delighted populace in the hippodrome at Constantinople. His brother Iruac deemed it prudent to retreat to the Caspian, the ancient abodes of his forefathers, where he was soon overwhelmed by new swarms from Scythia. Some of the hords amalgamated with other barbarian tribes, or entered the ranks of the Byzantine army, and fought under Belisarius in Africa and Sicily.

The same love of rapine led forth the Igoums from the icy deserts of Siberia, who in their turn overwhelmed the Huns and extinguished their short-lived empire. But the once dreaded name is still preserved in the appellation of the former Pannonia, which though repeatedly subjugated by hostile tribes, still retains the name of Hun-

garia. The descendants of the Huns are known under the modern name of Calmucks, a feeble though numerous race, humbled under the lash of the Russians, and in Soungaria under the bamboo of the Chinese. They can never again rise to importance, or endanger the peace of Europe. Russia rears an effectual barrier against all encroachments from these barbarians; and they may now expect to reap the fruits of the invasions of their forefathers, in becoming themselves the subjects of civilized nations. China has once sent us swarms of fierce barbarians, endangering the existence of our ancestors. Europeans will not forget this, but let them meditate the noble revenge of imparting for barbarism, civilization; for heathenism, the blessings of the glorious gospel.

ART. III. *Penang: description of the island; its population, &c.; Christian missions, their establishment, progress, and present state.*

[The following communication was solicited and written for a second edition of Dr. Milne's Retrospect: but circumstances beyond our control having delayed that work, we take the liberty of publishing the account in the Repository, being confident that our doing so will be agreeable to the wishes of our friends at Penang. The paper is signed by the Rev. Thomas Beighton, senior member of the mission, and is dated July 6th, 1834.]

Pulo Penang, or the island of betel-nut, is situated off the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Its north-east point is in latitude $5^{\circ} 25'$ N., longitude $100^{\circ} 19'$. It is computed to contain nearly 160 square miles. The harbor is capacious and affords good anchorage. Throughout the centre of the island there is a range of lofty hills. In 1786, it was granted to Francis Light, captain of a country ship, by the king of Queda, as a marriage portion with his daughter. Captain Light transferred it to the honorable East India company, and was by them appointed first governor of the island. From the appearance of the interior, and the number of tombs that were discovered there soon after the colony was formed, the tradition of its having been formerly inhabited, seems entitled to credit; when taken possession of, however, there were only a few miserable fishermen on the sea-coast. The inhabitants, as to races, exhibit an uncommon diversity. There are to be seen British, Dutch, Portuguese, Americans, Malays, Arabs, Parsees, Chiuese, Chuliah, Burmann, Siamese, Javanese, &c. &c.

In 1805, the colony having risen in importance, the company determined to constitute it a regular government, subordinate only to the governor general of India; but on account of the enormous expense incurred by the establishment, some modifications have since taken place. In 1830, it ceased being a regular government, and has become a residency, under the Bengal government. The same has

taken place with Singapore and Malacca. There is a resident (a governor nominally,) over the three settlements, and a deputy resident, or resident counselor, at each place. There is a court of judicature and a recorder for the whole, consequently the judge must go on circuit at stated times to each settlement. The population of Penang, according to the last census ending 1833, amounted to 40,322 souls; and on the opposite shore or Wellesley province, to 45,953. The late Dr. Ward in his work respecting Penang gives a description of the range of hills already noticed, which is in substance as follows:—

The western hill is the highest, and rises 2574 feet above the level of the sea. The next is *Bel Retiro* or the government hill, on which are erected two large bungalows, connected together by a covered plank passage. The hill is eight miles from Georgetown, and the temperature 10° lower than in the valley. On the same range and at short distances are four distinct bungalows, viz. Mount Hygeia or Convalescent hill; Woodland Brae or the Doctor's house; Strawberry hill formerly the property of the late honorable John Macalister, and now the property of C. Gulastawn esq.; near to which is Belle Vue commonly called Halliburton's bungalow. The next range consists of the Pentlands; viz. Lansdowne, 1600 feet high; Sans Town, 1580, a bungalow on each hill, the property of the hon. R. Ibbetson. Belmont is 1650 feet high with a substantial brick house, erected by the late David Brown esq.; temperature 8° lower than in the valley and especially excels all the others in equability of temperature from the wind being totally unobstructed in every direction. Mount Elvira rises 2370 feet above the level of the sea, and has a large substantial house, erected by the late Rev. R. T. Hutchings, chaplain. These hills afford fine retreats for invalids in a convalescent state, and the climates are very salubrious. Mount Olivia is 620 feet high, and has a brick house erected on it. Highlands of Scotland, 1428 feet high, with two excellent bungalows erected. These hills are all in a state of high cultivation with spice trees which flourish well, and produce much fruit. Mount Erskine is 350 feet high, and had formerly a signal staff upon it, being on the edge of the sea. Captain Low's hill is 870 feet high, in a state of good cultivation, also a hill, the property of George Stuart esq., and another belonging to Hugh Scott esq. There is of course a considerable outlay in the first instance in cultivating the Penang hills, and which no one can attempt without a capital, but when the trees are productive, the outlay with profit is realized.

In giving a brief statement of this mission, it may be necessary to observe that the directors of the London missionary society had for several years been desirous to send missionaries to this island, but were unable (except in a preliminary point of view,) to accomplish their wishes till the year, 1819, when two missionaries were permanently appointed to the station viz. Mr. Thomas Beighton for the Malay department, and Mr. John Ince for Chinese. The former with Mrs. B. and child arrived in April, and were joined by Mr. and

Mrs. Luce and child, in the June following. Mr. Medhurst had by a previous visit at the instance of the late Dr. Milne, commenced two schools in Chinese, and had otherwise made arrangements for the society's immediate occupation of the station. The late honorable colonel Bannerman was at that time at the head of the Penang government, and previous to his leaving England had promised the treasurer of the society, W. A. Hankey esq., that he would afford to any missionaries the directors might appoint to Penang, every encouragement and assistance in his power; which promise he repeated, and also fulfilled after his arrival at the seat of his government. The missionaries however were only favored with his patronage for a few months, as the king of terrors laid him low in the silent grave. The mission commenced under very auspicious circumstances so far as the government was concerned. A monthly allowance of \$30 was granted in aid of native schools, which was afterwards sanctioned by the honorable court of directors, and is continued to the present time.

The first thing that was attempted in direct missionary work was the establishment of schools in the Chinese and Malay languages. One of the brethren, as already noticed, attended to the former, and the other to the latter language. While superintending the schools, and studying the native tongue of the people, they distributed among them many copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts. The Malay missionary could never discover that a single copy of the New Testament had ever before been seen or read by any Malays on the island, and frequently when offering the bread of life, it was rejected with the utmost contempt. The people were sunk in gross darkness, error and superstition. It is true there were some copies of the Malay Testament on the island, but they had not been distributed, and were handed over to the missionaries for that purpose. Considering the degraded and prejudiced state of the Malay population, it might naturally be expected that great obstacles would be thrown in the way of establishing mission schools among them, and so it was. Their own system of education is very defective, and as the scholars are only taught to pronounce or repeat like parrots, sentences in Arabic, chiefly from the Koran; they often leave the school as ignorant of their own language so far as the reading and writing of it are concerned, as when they entered it. The first attempt therefore to establish a native school on different principles from their own, met with considerable opposition, and very erroneous reports were put in circulation. It was rumored that the object was to entrap the children and take them ultimately to some other part of the world, and probably make slaves of them. To counteract this report, a written document was circulated in Malay, denying such an intention altogether, and stating that if the parents would apply to the white man, viz. the missionary, he would explain the affair.

After a little time and patience the report in some measure died away, and the school already commenced seemed to go on in peace, when another difficulty arose. It was found quite impracticable in

the first instance to exclude their favorite religious standard book, the *Koran*, though the schoolmaster himself would only teach them the sounds of the words, and not the meaning; and yet to confine the scholars to Arabic, or allow *that* and their own absurd legends to engross their chief attention would evidently be useless, and the grand object in view would be frustrated: an attempt was therefore made to introduce books different from what they had been accustomed to read, particularly the New Testament. This was violently opposed, and the master said, he should lose all his scholars if that were insisted on, for the people would not believe the contents of our gospel. At first it caused the missionary considerable perplexity. He proposed that the contents of the book should be examined before condemnation, and if they found any thing improper in it, then to reject it. A few of our Savior's parables were transcribed on boards, and introduced into the school; nothing objectionable was discovered and the children were taught to read them, though some rumored that the missionary wished to change their religion. Another school was commenced in a small building offered by a native rent free. It always appeared to the missionary that there was something singular in that circumstance, as the building itself was a small *bandersah* or kind of mosque in which some of the Mohammedans assembled daily to offer up their devotions. The school was not continued there long, as it was quite evident the owner repented of what he had done in offering it, so a house was hired close by, in which the school was carried on. Whether the poor man contrary to his own expectations or desire, was the means of abating prejudice among his countrymen; it may be difficult to say, but some appeared glad to have schools in their own compound, where their children could be taught, and objections to the New Testament gradually died away, and at last ceased altogether. And for several years past not the slightest objection has been made to the New Testament as a school book, nor to any other which the missionary may wish to introduce. No Arabic is allowed to be read during school hours, and the schools are conducted on the British system as far as is practicable. The preceding is a brief outline of the manner in which the first Malay mission schools were set on foot in Penang.

It appeared very desirable and highly important that an attempt should be made to establish a regular divine service among the Malays. To get the Malays to come to the mission house for instructions (with the exception of two or three who came occasionally,) seemed impossible. A short service was commenced in one of the schools by simply reading a few verses from the New Testament and explaining them, and offering up a short prayer. This continued for some time and as the schools increased, it appeared desirable to assemble the masters and scholars in a convenient place at least once a week, that they might all unite in the service; a room was accordingly set apart for the purpose in the mission house, and the proposition of the missionary was acceded to. The room being found too small, a plank building with a tiled roof was erected in the mis-

sion compound exclusively for Chinese and Malay worship, where, in addition to expounding the Scriptures, prayer, and catechising, singing the praises of God was introduced. The missionaries at stated times met the Chinese and Malays to instruct them in that important part of divine worship.

A service in English was held every Sabbath evening in the mission house for the benefit of the mission families, and a friend or two regularly joined with us. The service became known, and at length the hall of the mission house was too small for the congregation, and the plank building used for native worship was occupied for English also. Several friends then expressed a desire that a good substantial chapel should be erected by voluntary contributions: accordingly in the year 1823, proposals were issued for the erection of a mission chapel in Georgetown, in which worship should be conducted in Chinese, Malay, and English. The object met with great encouragement from the government, (the honorable W. E. Phillips was then at the head of it,) and nearly the whole European population subscribed, among whom were about twenty Mohammedans.—The chapel was opened for public worship June 20th, 1824, in the languages previously proposed, viz. Chinese, Malay, and English. The following account relating to this occasion appeared in the Prince of Wales island Gazette, of June 23d, 1824. "The new mission chapel in Farquhar street was opened on Sunday evening last to a large and respectable congregation. The appearance of this neat and chaste edifice, afforded the highest gratification to those persons who had contributed towards its erection, and the internal arrangements for comfort and convenience are such as excited equal admiration and satisfaction. Several of the niches in the chapel contain appropriate passages of Scripture in the English, Chinese; and Malayan languages; and the whole plan, building, and arrangements are altogether creditable to the Rev. gentlemen, under whose immediate superintendence it has been successfully completed. The service appointed for the evening was grand and solemn, particularly in the singing of the hymns, in which it appeared the whole congregation joined with a most pleasing effect. The sermon preached was taken from the last verse of the 60th chapter of Isaiah: "A little one shall become a thousand and a small one a strong nation: I, the Lord will hasten it in his time."

The expenses of building the chapel, not including considerable private aid from friends which did not appear in the printed statement, was upwards of \$5000, and but for the aid referred to, would have been a great deal more. A gentleman drew out the plan gratis, and the greatest economy was observed in purchasing materials: the articles obtained from government were granted at prime cost, as also the teak timbers procured from a merchant on the island. Several gentlemen also in addition to their donations, contributed towards the furniture of the place, and the pulpit was planned, and the erection of it superintended by a friend free of expense. Several friends also taking into consideration that public worship cannot in any place be carried on

without expense, generously opened a distinct subscription book for the purpose of defraying the incidental expenses, viz. lighting the chapel, repairs, coolie-work, &c.; and all such charges have hitherto been defrayed by voluntary contributions.

At the close of the year 1828, it was proposed by several friends with a view to afford every facility in conducting that delightful part of divine worship, viz. singing the praises of God, that a small organ should be procured for the use of the chapel, and the expense be defrayed by a distinct subscription, which was accordingly done. That organ however proving defective, and being too small, it was sold in the year 1832, and the congregation again came forward and subscribed very liberally for the purchase of another, and the sum realized for the old organ was added to the donations. The present organ is an excellent instrument and gives full satisfaction; plays 40 tunes and 10 voluntaries; is substantially built, and of the best materials; the timber throughout being oak and mahogany; it cost 2,300 sicca rupees. The English service in the mission chapel from the commencement to the present time has been well attended, though many changes have taken place in removals by death and other means. We have strong hopes that in this department, our efforts have not been in vain in the Lord; that some are now before the throne of God, who will have cause to rejoice throughout eternity, that they ever heard the gospel within its walls; and others are asking "the way to Zion with their faces thitherwards;" and with sincere gratitude to the God of all grace, we can add that a few have adopted the resolution of the Israelites of old, "saying, come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten."

On the erection of the chapel, the plank building before referred to was taken down, as it occupied a part of the ground. A mission house with a plat of ground attached, and on which the mission chapel stands, had been previously purchased by the L. M. society. There is also a plat of ground belonging to the society, of four orlongs or about five acres, some distance from Georgetown, but of which no specific use has yet been made. It may however some time or other be of service.

We may now notice the missionaries who have hitherto been connected with this mission. In the year 1820, Mr. Medhurst labored at Jamestown among the Chinese, and also assisted the brethren in Georgetown, and in December of that year removed with his family to Batavia. Mrs. Ince, to the great grief of her partner and friends was removed by death in the year 1822, following her dear children who had previously entered into glory. In 1824, the health of Mr. Ince declined very rapidly, and after one or two severe attacks of illness, the complaint settled on his lungs; an abscess was formed, and after a lingering and painful illness of some months' duration, he was released from his sufferings, April 24th, 1825. Thus the mission sustained a heavy loss, and a dear orphan lost her only surviving parent.

The Chinese department was now almost neglected. Mr. Kidd from the Malacca station visited Penang for a season, but nothing effectual was done to revive the Chinese branch of the mission, till the year 1827. In August, 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Dyer arrived at Penang, bound for Singapore; but finding the mission at Penang very weak, owing to the indisposition of the only missionary then at Penang, and understanding that the station at Singapore had been strengthened by other laborers, they determined to remain at Penang, until reference should be made to the directors; who afterwards signified their approval, and confirmed their determination. On their arrival they found one Chinese boys' school in existence which was continued for a time. Their first attempt at education was to establish a boys' and a girls' school, both on the British system. The attempt was very encouraging; and the plan succeeded well, so long as the missionary or his wife was present to superintend the school arrangements, and might have continued long in operation upon these terms; but although the missionary was willing to take the entire management until the native teachers became familiar with the plan, it was not to be expected that he could do this permanently. These schools continued about a year and a half only; as the plan became inefficient when the superintendence devolved more immediately upon the teachers, and as their prejudices were too strong in favor of their own mode of teaching for them to make any considerable effort out of the beaten track. Owing to various circumstances, the girls' school was eventually given up; and it was many months before another could be established.

About this period an individual proposed to build a school-room in the mission compound, and it was thought advisable to endeavor to get children entirely under the influence of the missionary, and away from their parents: for this purpose, distant villages were canvassed from house to house for female children, and many parents promised very fair: but on the day appointed to open the school, it was found totally impracticable to assemble the children, from the unwillingness of the children to leave their parents, and the disinclination of the parents to part with their children: thus the reestablishment of girls' schools was still delayed. The building in the mission compound was then appropriated to a boys' school, and the children came as boarders, going home once a week for a few hours only. Many difficulties attended this school; particularly it was found almost impossible to keep due order on the Lord's day, between the hours of Sabbath exercises: for as week-day amusements were disallowed, the Sunday was always a most irksome day to the children, who felt themselves compelled to observe what their own religion did not prescribe.

The next plan was to endeavor to turn the native mode of education into a Christian channel, which plan was both less expensive, and succeeded better. No books were allowed but Christian books; each child was required to read or repeat a weekly portion; and the progress of every child was noted. This plan has been found upon

the whole, the most efficient for general education; and moreover it is the least expensive: it requires indeed the missionary's oversight, and frequent visits to the schools, but the actual work of teaching is more in the hands of the teachers.

Some months after the dissolution of the above mentioned girls' school, one or two others were established: but in the beginning of the year 1833, the girls' school commenced a new era; for whereas before the missionary had to urge the people to undertake schools, now the missionary was beset with applications for them. It was then that the girls' schools took a most interesting turn: the teachers were quite willing to fall in with the wishes of the missionary, and a peculiar attention was manifested to his instructions, when assembled for an address and prayer. On this footing the schools continue, and as many schools are established as there are means to provide teachers for them; and it may now be said, that if the means were greater, the number of schools might be increased.

The distribution of tracts, has been a most material auxiliary in the Chinese branch of the mission; tracts are always received with readiness, sometimes with eagerness. And as almost every house, contains at least one reader, viz. the clerk or accountant, the plan of periodical distribution, from house to house, of one particular tract at one distribution, has been adopted; besides promiscuous distributions at plays, feasts, &c. The advantage of this plan is, that the attention of a whole village is drawn to one subject at the same time: and moreover, in a place where the population is limited, the same person does not receive the same tract again, until the first is probably lost or destroyed.

As yet it has been found impracticable to have stated Chinese services except at the schools. A few years ago, an individual purchased a small house in the centre of the bazaar in Georgetown, and presented it to the society; this house was purchased with the special intention of assembling the Chinese for oral instruction, and many little congregations have assembled, and listened with much attention to the missionary's statement of gospel truth: and it is hoped that this little building, intended for a native chapel, will eventually be frequented by stated worshippers. The missionary has been wont to visit this house, almost daily; and the numerous conversations held from time to time with persons who have come for that purpose, there is every reason to believe, have been attended with permanent good.

The subject of Chinese metal types has occupied the attention of the missionary for many years; and there is every reason to hope that the object will now be accomplished. One most important matter, was to ascertain from actual investigation the extent of the variety required, and the due proportion of each. It was easy to suppose that we wanted a variety of 10,000 or 20,000: and no one thought of contradicting the supposition. But when the matter was fairly investigated, it was found that a variety of 3,000 or 4,000 was ample for all missionary purposes; and moreover that a variety of 1,200 might fairly be said to constitute the mass of type requir-

ed on most occasions. This result was ascertained most satisfactorily after two or three years; during which time a portion of most days was spent in making very laborious calculations. A small font of 700 characters in variety has been prepared by means of wooden blocks: which were sent to England to be stereotyped; making the plates equal in thickness to the height of metal types, and then sawing the metal into pieces: this experiment answered admirably, and is now being attempted on a very much larger scale. But the time is come for attempting a handsome font of types in the usual way, i. e. by means of matrices: the work has been commenced and it has been considerably encouraged; and there is every reason to hope, under the divine blessing, that it will eventually be accomplished. As it is a work of immense labor, it must of necessity be a work of time, and as it is also expensive, the speed with which it will be accomplished, will depend in part upon the means provided. We do hope and are sanguine in believing, that the time is not far distant, when every Ultra Ganges station will be furnished with a font of Chinese metal types.

The subject of translation has to some extent engaged the attention of the Chinese missionary, but owing to the well known difficulty of acquiring a facility in writing with ease and perspicuity in the language of China, nothing has as yet appeared in print. In the way of translation, not much has been done in the Malay department here. There has in fact been little time to devote to that object without neglecting other duties, and as another missionary was more immediately and fully engaged in preparing and printing tracts in Malay at another station, there was not much necessity for doing so here, especially when schools and preaching required as much attention and strength as one missionary could give. The following tracts are the chief of what has been translated in Malay at Penang. 1. History of Adam; 2. Cain and Abel; 3. On death; 4. On judgment; 5. On the worth of the soul; 6. Short and easy sentences for schools; 7. Circumcision and Baptism; 8. A Scripture catechism for schools, which has gone through several editions; 9. (in hand,) Memoirs of John Knill; 10. (in press,) Scripture catechism with additions; and 11. a Malayan poem. Considerable difficulty formerly existed in getting Malay tracts printed for this station, but this is happily removed by now having an excellent font of types in the Arabic character, and also a printing press. The last little work referred to, a Malayan poem, is just printed at Penang, and will as soon as ready be put into circulation: a poem containing many of the great truths of Christianity probably never before appeared in that language.

The labors at present devolving on the missionaries at this station are preaching in Chinese, Malay and English. In Chinese, a short service at every school weekly. In Malay, from three to five services weekly; the congregation fluctuating, and sometimes very discouraging. In English twice a week, and a missionary prayer meeting on the first Monday evening of every month. In the English services, the brethren

officiate alternately. The Lord's supper is administered monthly to the members of our small church;—add to the above, the superintendence of native schools, which amount to four, in Chinese and in Malay, containing 148 boys and 51 girls. To the British and Foreign Bible society, we are indebted for valuable supplies of the Holy Scriptures in Malay, and we have also received a supply of Mr. Thomson's revised edition of the New Testament printed at Singapore. The Tract society is also aiding us with printing paper for religious tracts, a supply having recently arrived. The opposite coast of Queda, which is subject to the British government, and called Wellesley province, has now a large population of Chinese and Malays, but chiefly the latter. The people are occasionally visited by the missionaries, and many books have been distributed among them. Formerly there were four Malay schools supported by government, but the allowance having been withdrawn they are abandoned.

As it regards real success in our work, we have much cause for deep humiliation, and more fervent prayer. Our hopes have at times been raised by promising appearances, but what we hoped might prove serious and lasting impressions, have like the "morning cloud and early dew passed away, as the chaff that is driven by the whirlwind out of the floor." The influence of *caste* among the Mohammedans is at present an insuperable barrier. The inveterate prejudices of the natives and the great enmity and indifference they manifest to eternal realities powerfully remind us of the prophet's language, "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord of hosts." One thing however is evident, that Mohammedan prejudice is considerably abated, and many know something of Christianity, and even profess to believe the gospel, though they refuse to embrace it openly. A native considerably advanced in years, lately informed one of the missionaries that he was a Christian and a firm believer in Jesus, but secretly; he was asked why he did not come forward openly, and by baptism make a public profession of his faith. The fear of man alone kept him back. This is not the only instance of the kind that has occurred. Nothing short of almighty power can change the heart and advance the kingdom of Christ among the heathen; for "the kingdom of Satan among them has its foundations deeply laid; all but impregnable are its barriers and defenses. All the organization and movements of its vast and complicated machinery is constructed and are defended by the most consummate art. But the *power* of the Lord—the first Christian missionary and the supreme director of all Christian missions—shall dig up those foundations, and overthrow those barriers, and scatter all that artfully constructed machinery into fragments and ruins. Omnipotent power is appointed and pledged to accomplish this work, and that as certainly will his own kingdom of righteousness and peace be established on the territory, where Satan has for so many ages fixed his empire of wickedness and war."

ART. IV. *Rice: its varieties; mode of cultivation; reaping, thrashing, husking, and bolting; public storehouses, and foreign importation.*

The great staples of food among the Chinese are rice, wheat and millet. The former of these is cultivated generally in the southern and middle provinces, where it is the principal grain; and the two latter, in the northern and upper midland parts of the country. Yet rice is grown on those lands which are easily irrigated, even in the provinces which border on the Yangtze keäng, and wheat is not unknown in the upland and fertile regions of the south.

The edible rice (*Oryza sativa*,) has been thus described: "The culm, from one to six feet high, annual, erect, simple, round and jointed; the leaves are large, firm, and pointed, arising from very long cylindrical, and finely striated sheaths; the flowers are disposed in a large and beautiful panicle, somewhat resembling that of the oat; the seeds are white and oblong, but vary in size, form and color, forming the numerous varieties." With this description the plant cultivated in China agrees perfectly. The varieties known here are the red rice, the small, and large rice, together with the dry, and the glutinous; the two last are grown on dry, and usually upon hilly spots. The knowledge of these varieties is of considerable importance, for the situation of the land has a great influence on the crop. The mountain rice, (*Oryza mutica*,) is a smaller plant than the aquatic rice, and is by some considered a distinct species. So widely diffused has the use of rice become among the Chinese, that the terms for it have been interwoven into the phrases, which denote the most common actions of life. The phrase, *shih fan*, to eat rice, is the common designation for a meal: and *shih kwo fan*, have you eaten rice? is equivalent to the salutation, How do you do? in western languages. The names by which the different states of rice are designated, are also used in similar common acceptations. While growing it is called *sh*, which word is also a general term for all grains; *mé*, before it is boiled, and *fán* when it is ready to eat. The consumption of this staple among the Chinese is so great, that it may most emphatically be called their "staff of life."

The cultivation of rice is a simple process, and the same general practices, founded on immemorial usages, are everywhere followed. Water and manure are the great requisites which are sought in the raising of rice. To obtain the former, those lands are chosen which can be easily and constantly overflowed; the multifarious means which are used to procure the latter have been previously described. The canals are the principal means of conveying water to the fields, and by means of sluice gates, many fields are connected together, and all watered from one stream. The banks of earth in which the sluice gates are placed, and which also separate the fields from one another,

are made solid by beating and continual walking upon them; fruit-trees are also planted upon them to make the banks better able to resist pressure. The usual size of the fields, as far as we have had opportunity to observe, is from four to six acres, although the extent must of course depend upon the advantages of the situation.

The first operation of the farmer in the spring is to prepare a plat of ground for sowing the grain. This is done as early as the first part of March, and the ground is soon ready for its reception. The soil is first ploughed as deep as possible with the simple plough of the Chinese, and then harrowed with a large rake to extract the roots and to break the clods. After these operations, the clods are still further broken, the stones picked out, and the soil finely comminuted. The above instruments are drawn by buffaloes, who, by their great weight sink in the mire above the knees, and thus aid materially in preparing the soil. After being harrowed three times, the earth is reduced to a uniform muddy ooze, and is then ready for sowing. Those cultivators who have no aid from animals, make the soil ready by hoeing it repeatedly. During all the processes of ploughing and hoeing, there is a thin sheet of water upon the field, which is increased when it is ready for sowing. A few days before the rice is sowed, it is put into liquid manure, which accelerates its growth so much, that the young shoots appear above the ground in three days. When these shoots have grown a little, the water is partly drawn off, and they are watered with liquid manure; according to Grosier, ashes from bones are also strewed over the field.

In the meanwhile, the other fields are being prepared for the reception of these shoots of rice, by ploughing, harrowing and manuring in the same way that the small plat was made ready for the seed. The process of transplanting is done by a division of labor that is perfect. One pulls up the shoots, which are about six inches in length, and gives them to another to carry to the boats, (if the distance to which they are to be transported is far,) or to the appointed field. There they are received by another party of laborers, some of whom make holes with a stick in the mud, into which the plants, usually by sixes, are dropped; another one follows to close the earth around the roots. By a division of labor in this manner, a field containing several acres, which in the morning appeared as a dismal, muddy marsh, the picture of sterility, by evening will be seen clothed with a beautiful coat of green herbage, almost inducing the beholder to doubt the evidence of his senses. The rows of rice are from north to south, and the direction is pointed out by a slight furrow with a hand plough or by other means; the distance between the plants is from six to eight inches each way. The shoots of rice frequently become articles of traffic among the husbandmen. After the rice is transplanted, water is let in upon the field, where it remains till near harvest. The field is weeded once or twice before that time, and the plants of rice attended to, if they have received any damage. Most of the abovementioned operations are done by manual labor entirely, and in all of them human labor is employed. They are also done in the water, and by both sexes,

who are thus exposed for weeks successively; and yet no apparent evil to their health seems to result from a course of labor which would be very detrimental to European constitutions.

When the rice is nearly ripe, which is known by the yellowness of the straw; the water is gradually drawn off, so that by the time the grain is ready to reap, the field is dry; dry, comparatively speaking, for the rice fields are always muddy and oozy. The fields are usually ready to harvest by the first part of the month of July. The grain is reaped with a crooked knife, made similar to a bill-hook; this instrument is not serrated like the common sickle. It is cut near the ground, and when bound into sheaves, is stacked adjoining the thrashing floor. This is a smooth, hard plat, which has been prepared by graveling and beating for the purpose. Every farmer who can afford it, has his own thrashing floor; the people of small hamlets, also, make them in convenient places for general use. The sheaves are laid over this ground with care, that the straw may be injured as little as possible, and then the rice is thrashed out with flails. We are not aware that cattle are used in any part of the country for thrashing. The straw, known under the name of *paddy straw*, is extremely useful in the manufacture of brooms, mats, &c. When in this state, the grain is called *paddy*,—a word of Malay origin. It is often shipped in this condition. After the grain has been winnowed, the next thing to be done is to divest it of its husk, which is formed by the valves of the corol closing over the kernel so closely that simple thrashing will not separate the two. This is done by pounding the paddy in stone mortars. These are set in the ground, and have a corresponding pestle of wood or stone, which is attached to a long lever. Two are placed together, and a laborer, by alternately stepping upon each lever, pounds the grain till it is divested of its husk. Where there is the advantage of a stream of water, a series of these levers is worked by a wheel; the wheel turns a long cylinder, furnished with cogs, which strikes against the levers to which the pestles are attached. The amount husked in a day, will perhaps average 60lbs. to each mortar. To these mortar-mills the neighboring farmers bring their paddy to be husked. Those who are too poor to part with any portion of their rice, husk it by beating it in wooden mortars by hand. Rubbing it between two rough boards, is another mode employed by the poor. The last process which the grain undergoes before it is ready to be cooked, is to deprive it of the epidermis. This is most frequently done by means of two cylindrical, rough stones, fastened into a frame, which allows the lower one to remain stationary, while the upper one can revolve. The distance between them is sufficient to allow the grain to escape without being ground, although it is usually much broken. The upper stone is turned by two or three men pushing a long lever attached to the top of it. We are not aware that the practice of soaking the rice till the epidermis cracks, is followed in China.

Where two crops are obtained in a year, the land is, immediately after harvest, again harrowed: the young shoots of rice being already

prepared for transplanting, in a few days the field is again covered with a second crop. This is ripe for harvest about the middle of November. In some parts of the country, intermediate crops of pulse, wheat &c, are sown before the rice is ripe. Instead of a second crop of rice, sometimes another grain is raised, according to the situation of the ground.

The dry or mountain rice is cultivated much in the same manner as the other gramineous plants. The grain is sown at the beginning of the rainy season, and reaped at the commencement of the dry: this together with the moisture attracted by the high land on which it is grown, gives the upland rice much more water than the difference of situation would seem at first to promise. The glutinous rice, of which there are two kinds, is cultivated on both high and low lands. The most viscous kind is known among foreigners, by the name of "*old man's rice*."

The cultivation of rice in Java, according to Crawford, is similar to that in China. The varieties there are the same as in this country; the aquatic rice ripens in five months, while the dry requires seven. The Javanese practice three kinds of tillage, according to the advantages of the situation. The first is rude, and used by the natives on the high lands, where there is but little water. The second kind is in those upland districts, where the supply of water is but small, although the land is fertile; here the rice ripens in seven months, and the grain is large and sweet. The last is the usual mode of flooding the fields till the harvest. The fertility of the land in Java is such, that six crops of rice have been obtained from the same spot in thirty months, and the soil is not exhausted for a long time. But the usual length of time required for ripening is six months. The head only of the rice is reaped, and the straw left for manure; it is also housed in the ear, and thrashed as it is needed, in wooden mortars.

The average quantity of rice which is produced from an acre in Java, is stated by Crawford at 575 pounds. The average increase of rice in China, is estimated by Barrow to be about thirty fold of the seed. The wages of a day laborer in the rice fields, in China, is about a mace, or fourteen cents per day. In every city of China, which is of any importance, there are public storehouses for rice, called the public granaries. On this topic our information is very limited, and must continue so, till the opportunities of extending our acquaintance with the country are increased. The governmental tax on rice lands, so far as it is paid in kind, may contribute to fill these granaries, and yet avail little, as they are known to do, to relieve the wants of the distressed. The quantity of rice imported into China by foreign ships, though not to be accounted of as a supply for the people, is yet of essential service towards satisfying the demand in this vicinity. The American shipping during the last year, brought to this port more than 125,000 peuls of this grain. The amount imported by the British, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese, was about 270,000 peuls; in all, upwards of fifty-three millions of pounds.

ART.- V. *Journal of occurrences: notices of literary, commercial, and political affairs; order of governor Loo; document of lord Napier; order of the governor and fooyuen; stoppage of boats, &c.*

September 13th. Circumstances requiring us to issue the present number earlier than usual, we cannot bring down the journal of occurrences later than the above date. The last two weeks have been of unparalleled interest to the native and foreign communities. Probably not less than 80,000 strangers are now collected in this city; among them are literary examiners from Peking; literary candidates from all the departments of the province; visitors from various parts of the empire; soldiers from the adjacent districts and military stations; and vagabonds in crowds, from all quarters. The triennial examination, now in progress here, will continue several days, and we hope to give some account of it in our next number. In commercial affairs there has been a perfect stagnation.

Political matters have been the topic of engrossing interest; the calm enjoyed at the close of the last month, proving indeed "momentary." We do not pledge ourselves to furnish our readers with all the papers which may grow out of the present dispute between the English and Chinese; but we shall endeavor to give a fair and full account of the matter. The English trade having been stopped at the request of the hong merchants, on the 16th of August, two days after, the following order was issued. For convenient reference we continue the numbering of the papers from our last:

(No. 6.)

Loo, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c. &c., in reply to the hong merchants.

On examination I find that the trade from the English nation to Canton has been carried on for a hundred and some tens of years. In this long period, all regulations have from time to time been reported and established. Whether the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, be an officer or a merchant, there are no means of ascertaining. But having come for affairs of commerce to the celestial empire, it is incumbent on him to obey and keep the laws and statutes. It is an old saying, "When you enter the frontiers, inquire respecting the prohibitions; when you enter a country, inquire into its customs." The said barbarian eye, having been sent by the said nation's king from a great distance, is undoubtedly a man who understands things; but his having precipitately come to the provincial city, without having made a full report of the circumstances and causes of coming hither, was indeed a want of decorum. I, the governor, considering that it was his first entrance into the inner dominions, and that he was yet unacquainted with the established laws, commanded the said merchants at that time to enjoin orders on him, and to inquire and ascertain for what he had come to the provincial city: that if it were, that, on account of the company's dissolution, it had become necessary to establish other regulations, he should immediately inform the said merchants that they might make a report to me; to afford me grounds whereon to send a memorial, by the governmental post. And that the said barbarian eye should meanwhile return to Macao, and await the will and mandate of the great emperor being received and published to command obedience. Thus the business would be altogether managed in perfect accordance with dignified decorum, rendering change needless.

To refer to England:—should an official personage from a foreign country proceed to the said nation for the arrangement of any business, how could he neglect to have the object of his coming announced in a memorial to the said nation's king, or how could he act contrary to the requirements of the said nation's dignity, doing his own will and pleasure! Since the said barbarian eye states that he is an official personage, he ought to be more thoroughly acquainted with these principles. Before, when he offered a letter, I, the governor, saw it inexpedient to receive it, because the established laws of the celestial empire do not permit ministers and

those under authority to have private intercourse by letter with outside barbarians; but have hitherto, in commercial affairs, held the merchants responsible; and if, perchance, any barbarian merchant should have any petition to make, requesting the investigation of any affair, (the laws require) that by the said taepans, a duly prepared petition should be in form presented, and an answer by proclamation awaited. There has never been such a thing as outside barbarians sending in a letter. I at that time commanded the Kwaangchow heè to give minute verbal orders on this subject.

Again, I have examined in order the points of regulation established by report (to the emperor), and have thrice issued orders, which the said merchants were required to make themselves acquainted with and to enjoin. The subjects discussed in these several orders are the long established regulations, well known to all the barbarian merchants of every nation who have business at Canton—the flamingly luminous ordinances and statutes! Thus commencing, I was not treating slightly the outside barbarians.—Obey and remain,—disobey and depart: there are no two ways.

Now, (the merchants) have reported, that on going to the factory to inquire and ascertain facts, the said barbarian eye desired to have official correspondence to and fro, with all the public offices, and would not obey the orders. On examination I find, that the English nation and the officers of the celestial empire have hitherto had no intercourse of official correspondence. The barbarians of the said nation, coming to or leaving Canton, have beyond their trade, not any public business; and the commissioned officers of the celestial empire never take cognizance of the trivial affairs of trade. From the time that Canton has admitted outside barbarians to its open market, all affairs relating to commerce, and the control over the barbarian merchants have been placed under the entire cognizance and responsibility of the said hong merchants. Never has there been such a thing as official correspondence to and fro with a barbarian eye. And of those trading at Canton there is not the English nation only; nor have the English barbarian merchants been at Canton one or two years only. Yet all have been tranquil and quiet, obeying the laws. There has been no occasion for officers to examine into and manage business; on the contrary, they would but embarrass and impede the merchants. This request to have official correspondence to and fro is not only contrary to every thing of dignity and decorum, but also would prove very inexpedient for the barbarian merchants of all the nations. The thing is most decidedly impossible.

The said merchants, because the said barbarian eye will not adhere to the old regulations, have requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's commerce. This manifests a profound knowledge of the great principles of dignity. It is most highly praiseworthy. The circumstances of the said barbarian eye, lord Napier's perverse opposition, necessarily demand such a mode of procedure. It would be most right immediately to put a stop to buying and selling. But, considering that the said nation's king has hitherto been in the highest degree reverently obedient, he cannot in sending lord Napier here at this time have desired him thus obstinately to resist. The some hundreds of thousands of commercial duties yearly coming from the said country, concern not the celestial empire the extent of a hair or a feather's down. The possession or absence of them is utterly unworthy of one careful thought. Their broadcloths and camlets are still more unimportant, and of no regard. But the tea, the rhubarb, the raw silk of the inner dominions are the sources by which the said nation's people live and maintain life. For the fault of one man, lord Napier, must the livelihood of the whole nation be precipitately cut off? I, the governor, looking up and embodying the great emperor's most sacred, most divine wish, to nurse and tenderly cherish as one, all that are without, feel that I cannot bring my mind to bear it! Besides, all the merchants of the said nation dare dangers, crossing the seas myriads of miles, to come from far. Their hopes rest wholly in the attainment of gain by buying and selling. When, the other day, being summoned by the said merchants to a meeting for consultation, they did not attend, it was because they were under the direction of lord Napier. It assuredly did not proceed from the several merchants' own free will. Should (the trade) be wholly cut off in one morning, it would cause great distress to many persons, who, having traveled hither by land and sea, would by one man, lord Napier, be ruined. They cannot in such case but be utterly depressed with grief. In

commiseration, I again give temporary indulgence and delay. Let the said merchants again enjoin immediately, particularly, and minutely the orders, requiring the said barbarian eye, with unruffled mind, to consider thrice. He should know that the said nation trades here, and annually amasses great gain, entirely in consequence of this sacred dynasty's extreme wish to cherish tenderly (those from far). It in no way regards the trade as an advantage, and cannot be hampered or constrained by (any consideration for) it. If the old established regulations be not in accordance with reason, how could all the barbarian merchants yield to them the willing submission of their hearts, and obediently keep them? Since the said barbarian eye occupies an official situation, all merchants of the said nation, when they do not keep the laws, will require to be controlled and constrained by him. But if he talk not reasonably, how can he gain the submission of the multitude? I, the governor, have for some tens of years, extended my care over those within and those without, and have never treated a man contrary to propriety. How can I be willing to treat tyrannically the requests of men from far! But what concerns the national dignity will not admit of being transgressed or passed over.

I hear that the said barbarian is a man of very solid and expansive mind and placid speech. If he consider, he can himself, doubtless, distinguish right and wrong. Let him on no account permit himself to be deluded by men around him. If he can repent and arouse, obey the previous orders and act according to them, let him answer through the said merchants, and the trade shall continue as usual. If he still maintain his obstinacy and do not arouse, then it will appear, that the said barbarian eye does not wish the said nation to have here the liberty of the market; the trade shall be immediately stopped, and the commerce eternally cut off. Hereafter when the said nation's king hears respecting these repeated orders and official replies, (he will know) that the whole wrong lies on the barbarian eye; it is no way owing to any want on the part of the celestial empire of extreme consideration for the virtue of reverential obedience exercised by the said nation's king. Let the said merchants take also this reply, and having enjoined it authoritatively on the private merchants of the said nation, and the barbarian merchants of every nation, that they may make themselves acquainted with it, let it be folded up and preserved.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 7th moon, 14th day (August 18th, 1834).

A few days after this order, three officers were sent by the governor to the British factory, in order "to investigate and give verbal orders" to lord Napier. They were received in English, not in Chinese style; and the result of their fruitless visit was soon made known in the following paper, which was written in Chinese, and made public in Canton.

(No. 7.)

Interesting to the Chinese merchants. Present state of relations between China and Great Britain. A true and official document.

On the 16th of January, 1831, the viceroy Le, in consequence of advice from the hong merchants, issued an edict requiring the chief of the factory to write home, stating that in case of the dissolution of the East India company, it was incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion; whereupon, at the dissolution of the company, the king of Great Britain, in accordance with the wishes of the viceroy, appointed lord Napier, a member of his own household, an hereditary nobleman, and captain in his royal navy, to come to Canton for the above most laudable purpose, and report himself by letter to the viceroy accordingly. Lord Napier arrived at Canton on the 25th of July, and next day forwarded his letter to the city gates, which was offered to the mandarins for the purpose of being delivered, and refused by the whole of them. It is false, to say that the British officer who carried the letter desired to force his way within the precincts of the palace. The hong merchants, it is true, desired to take it, but it was quite derogatory to the dignity of the representative of the king to communicate through the merchants. The viceroy now complains that he knows not for what reason lord Napier has come, at the same time forgetting the edict of his predecessor, which brought him here, as well as his own obstinacy in refusing to

receive the letter of a man of equal rank with himself. His excellency then publishes edicts requiring lord Napier to retire to Macao, and on the 18th of Aug. publishes another edict, in which he states that the hong merchants have requested the trade to be stopped, but in commiseration, says he, "I again give temporary indulgence and delay,"—knowing at the same time that the trade had been actually stopped by the hong merchants two days before. The viceroy then sends the Kwangchow foo, the Kwangchow hee, and the Chauchow foo, to require of lord Napier the object of his visit, the nature of his duties, and the time of his return to Macao. Lord Napier replies to the first, by a reference to the edict of January, 1831; to the second by a reference to his letter to the viceroy, which contains all the intelligence, and which they refuse to open or convey; and to the third, that his return to Macao depends entirely on his private convenience. The ignorance and obstinacy of the viceroy has thus allowed the hong merchants to put a stop to the trade, when he himself only threatens to do so. He sends his mandarins, and they return as empty as they came, when the official document was offered for their conveyance; and the consequence is, that thousands of industrious Chinese who live by the European trade, must suffer ruin and discomfort through the perversity of their government. The merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries, and the viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determinations of the hong.

[Signed] NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

Canton, August 25th, 1834.

(No. 8.)

Loo, governor of the provinces of Canton and Kwangse, &c. &c., and Ke, sooyuen of the province of Canton, &c., hereby issue a proclamation and clear order, that in consequence of the English nation disobeying the laws and statutes, the holds of its ships are to be closed, and a stop put to its trade.

Outside barbarians being admitted to a general market is owing to the good favor of the celestial empire towards men from far; it is of no advantage to the commercial duties. All who are of the barbarian people should in every thing obey the laws and statutes; they must not transgress or oppose them. England has traded at Canton during a course of a hundred and several tens of years. For all matters, regulations have been established, having been reported to the emperor. The chief supercargoes and the private merchants of the said nation conducting affairs here, have long paid obedience thereto. We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, from the time of taking our offices, have soothingly treated outside barbarians; and with this view have in nothing failed to display tenderness. This is what you merchants and people have all known and seen.

In the sixth moon of the present year, an English barbarian, lord Napier, who asserts that he is a barbarian eye (or head man) and has come to Canton to inquire into and direct the affairs of trade, suddenly came up to reside in the barbarian factories outside the city. Not having previously reported respecting himself, and not having requested and obtained a red passport from the superintendent of customs, this conduct was rash and ignorant. I, the governor, commanded the hong merchants, Woo Tunyuen (Howqua) and the others, to investigate respecting the occasion of his coming, and ordered, that if there were any commercial affairs in which changes were requisite and necessary, he should inform the hong merchants, that they might make a prepared report, thereby affording grounds whereon to present to the great emperor a memorial, requesting his mandate, to be obeyed and acted on. The said barbarian eye did not at all pay obedience to the order and inform the merchants; but hastily presented a letter. Examining at the time the established rules of the celestial empire, and finding that ministers have no outward intercourse with outside barbarians, I disallowed any private intercourse by letter. But lord Napier, in coming to Canton, is wholly without an official communication from the said nation's king: whether he be a merchant or an officer cannot be known. Heretofore, when, in the affairs of foreign commerce, officers have had to investigate any matter, they have ordered the hong merchants to enjoin their commands. And when the barbarian merchants have had to petition on any subject, they have petitioned through the medium of the hong-merchants.

Even though lord Napier be really a barbarian eye [or head man], how can he have intercourse by letter with the commissioned officers of the celestial empire! It would be greatly detrimental to the dignity [of government].

I at that time commanded the Kwangchow heé to make it known authoritatively that he was not permitted to report respecting, or to present (letters). Considering that as it was the said barbarian eye's first entrance into the central flowery nation [China], he was ignorant of the principles of dignity, I further made a minute examination of the old regulations established at successive periods by sanction of memorials [to the emperor], and arranging these, I commanded the hong merchants to enjoin them authoritatively upon him; to make him plainly hear the prohibitions and the customs; and to inform him of the rules of propriety and good sense, and of the impracticability of acting unreasonably; thus to turn the subject in every direction, opening the way, and guiding him;—a second and a third time.

After this, Howqua and the others stated, that the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, would not obey the orders enjoined by them, and wished to have official correspondence with the officers of China; that he did not keep the laws, and they therefore requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's trade. If the circumstances of lord Napier's dullness and stupidity were referred to, it would have been right immediately to have closed the ships' holds. But I, the governor, considered that the said nation's king has hitherto been reverently obedient; that lord Napier's want of understanding in affairs was not in conformity with any purpose of the said nation's king, and there were no means of ascertaining positively whether he had been sent by the said nation's king or not. I also considered, that the said nation's barbarian merchants are many, and it is just now the time when they are bringing on cargo in great quantities, having crossed over the sea several myriads of miles, and braved dangers, all in the hope of trafficking and getting gain; and that while the woollens, clocks and watches brought from the said nation are in this inner land extremely unimportant, the tea, the rhubarb, &c. of this inner land are absolutely necessary for the support of life throughout the whole of the said barbarian nation! Looking up therefore, and embodying the extreme desire of the great emperor, that his grace should be displayed to the four quarters, and that all, within and without should be alike regarded with the same benevolence, I could not bear, on account of the fault of one man, lord Napier, precipitately to reject them utterly. I replied (to the hong merchants), commanding them to give indulgence and temporary delay. And I again commanded the said merchants further to elucidate the orders, that if he would repent, arouse, and be reverently obedient, the trade should continue as formerly; but that if he still adhered to stupidity, then, as requested, the buying and selling should be immediately stopped.

Again, reflecting why, as the hong merchants have heretofore long directed the commerce of the barbarians, lord Napier should alone be unwilling to petition through the medium of merchants, I apprehended that the subject of his petition might have included something inexpedient to be mentioned, which was therefore kept secret within the merchants' breasts; or that the said merchants in enjoining the orders might have been wanting in plainness and perspicuity. The affair concerned those out of [the bounds of] civilization, whose minds, without perfect clearness and entire sincerity, could not be broken down and brought into subjection. I accordingly sent the Kwangchow foo and heé, with a deputed officer, to proceed to the barbarian factories, to investigate and give verbal orders; thus to admit of a personal petition and statement being made, and so prevent there being any thought cherished, but not spoken out. Owing to the said foo and his colleagues not having taken with them linguists, they were unable to say all. They were ordered to take linguists and again proceed to give commands. But now the said barbarian eye has become suspicious and apprehensive, and will not receive the linguists as communicators of what is said. The language of the flowery people and the barbarians is not the same, and without linguists, by what means can any thing be communicated? This is still more removed from what is reasonable.

Having examined we find, that in the intercourse of merchants, a mutual willingness is necessary on both sides. There can be no overruling control exercised by officers. How can the officers of the celestial empire hold official correspondence with barbarians! In the important territory of the provincial metropolis, how can an outside barbarian official eye be suffered to dwell, transacting business, and ex-

travagantly honoring and magnifying himself. To the mercantile guests it is attended with many real objections. With regard to territory it would also have its consequences. All these are things which cannot be allowed to be brought into operation.

Moreover, lord Napier, without having made petition for the purpose of asking that a clear memorial should be drawn out to request information of the imperial will, did suddenly rush up hither thrusting forth his own opinion. From time to time orders were enjoined on him. Of myself, I, the governor, may say, that I have lowered myself to regard the barbarian disposition; but the said barbarian eye has listened to what has been told him as if he were entangled in a net. He is indeed stupid, blinded, and ignorant. It is impossible to make him comprehend reason. If such a misled, extravagant man be at Canton in control of the trade, the mercantile people also will hereafter be unable to enjoy mutual quiet. It is evidently becoming that the ships' holds should, according to law, be closed.

With the exception of all goods, the sale or purchase of which was settled previously to the stoppage, and which in consequence are still allowed to be transferred; it is now jointly decided by us, the governor and lieutenant-governor, that from the 12th day of the present moon [August 16th], all buying and selling on the part of the English nation be wholly stopped.

Besides giving orders to all the hong merchants to pay obedience hereto, and to withdraw from the barbarian factories all compradores, linguists and hired servants; besides also sending an official communication to the hoppo,—making inquiry for and seizure of Chinese traitors, to be tried and punished,—and making a proclamation in print drawn from the several successive orders before issued,—this proclamation and clear order is now also issued.—For this purpose, proclamation is hereby made to all you, soldiers and people, mercantile men and others, and to all the barbarian merchants of every nation, requiring your full acquaintance herewith.

From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy of or sell to the English nation any goods or things whatever, large or small; and all manner of workmen, boatmen, &c. are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians. Should there be any clandestinely having dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be punished according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, has cut himself off from the celestial empire. It is not at all what we, the governor and lieutenant-governor have liked to do.

The barbarian merchants of all other nations are still permitted to trade as usual. They need have no suspicion or anxiety. Let all with trembling awe obey. Oppose not. A special proclamation.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day. [September 2d, 1834.]

Upon the appearance of this decisive edict, there was much agitation manifest in Canton. We purposely avoid for the present any expression of opinion regarding these extraordinary procedures, and shall barely present the leading facts. When the Chinese soldiers appeared about the foreign factories, on the publication of this order, and all the native servants and porters were withdrawn from the British factory, lord Napier requested a guard of marines from the ships of war at the Bogue to come up to the city. All natives were forbidden on pain of death to sell any provisions to the British factory; and all foreigners to furnish supplies, on penalty of suffering the like restrictions themselves. At the same time the passage of foreign boats between Canton and Whampoa was forbidden; allowing the departure of foreigners but the return of no one whatever. This has continued most strictly in force from the 6th inst. to the present time (Sep. 22d). The two British sloops of war were ordered within the Bogue, and on the 11th, they anchored at Whampoa.

Postscript. Sep. 22d. The controversy appears to be coming to a close, lord Napier and suite having departed for Macao last evening, and the ships of war being about to withdraw from the river; but all the correspondence relative to this event must be deferred till our next.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—OCTOBER, 1834.—No. 6.

ART. I. Sketch of the character of Hokwän, the prime minister of China during the last years of Keënlung; his impeachment and condemnation; confiscation of his vast treasures.

The rise, power, and fall of the once illustrious statesman, Hokwän, presents an instructive page of Chinese history. Though long possessed of eminent power in the state, his name was not known in Europe till the period of the British embassy in 1793. During the last years of the emperor Keënlung, Hokwän was prime minister, and eminent over all others by his almost unlimited influence, and immense wealth. He was, it is said, a Tartar of obscure birth, raised by the emperor from an inferior station, as guard at one of the palace gates, at first merely on account of his comely countenance; but afterwards finding him possessed of talents, he speedily elevated him to high dignities. Yet the emperor did not blindly confide in his honesty and capacity; for having once suspected him of falsehood, he degraded the favorite as suddenly as he had been raised to rank; but after a fortnight's disgrace, his innocence was accidentally established, and he was restored to favor, and exalted to power inferior only to his imperial majesty.

His ability is acknowledged in Staunton's account of Macartney's embassy: "the manners of Hokwän were not less pleasing than his understanding was penetrating and acute. He seemed indeed to possess the qualities of a perfect statesman. A daughter of the emperor was married to his son. This circumstance was thought sufficient to alarm the imperial family and other loyal subjects, as if they were fearful of the height to which the ambition of that favorite might aspire." This is not the partial testimony of friends; for his great control over the aged emperor, and his disinclination towards foreigners, were regarded as the chief causes of the failure of that expedition. A disclosure of the real character of the favorite was long prevented by the display of really estimable and splendid talents, and not less by the influence which he had managed to secure in the courts

of the provincial governments. One officer, more zealous than wise, addressed a petition to the monarch, praying him to declare his successor to the throne, during his lifetime, in order that subsequent commotions might be prevented;—not doubtfully intimating a cause of alarm in the dangerous ascendency of the favorite. The memorialist was immediately sentenced to death for his audacity by the criminal tribunal, whose president was the creature of Hokwän. Apprehensions were entertained that, on the death of the emperor, he would attempt an open revolt, or at least withdraw from the court, where he would no longer have protection, to his adherents. It was probably with a view to defeat any such intentions, that the young emperor Keäkking, appointed him to the honorable office of a chief superintendent over the rites of mourning, on his imperial father's decease; because the discharge of that duty confined the minister to the palace, and made his arrest less dangerous. So immense was his wealth, and so numerous his adherents and friends in the tribunals and throughout the departments of government which he had filled with his own creatures, that his removal was thought a dangerous undertaking even for a Chinese emperor. But the young monarch did not hesitate.

In the fourth year of his reign, A. D. 1790, as soon as he had performed the duties of mourning for his deceased father, and meditated on a "three years' forbearance from change when succeeding to an inheritance," recommended by the Lunyu, Keäkking then made public his designs. He seized Hokwän, divested him of rank and employment, and committed him to the supreme military tribunal for trial, on sixteen articles of impeachment. The fate of a subject is not doubtful, when the 'son of heaven' is his accuser. But in this case, that fate does not seem undeserved; for, though some of the charges were frivolous and vexatious, yet the disclosures made, and the evidence arising from his immense treasures, were sufficiently convincing of his corruption. The following are some of the charges preferred against him by his imperial accuser; That, being summoned by our royal father to the palace at Yuenming yuen, he ventured to ride on horseback through the left gate as far as to the bottom of the mount called Shoushan, regardless to an unexampled degree of a father and a sovereign. That the young females, educated for the service of the palace, he took from thence and appropriated to himself as concubines. That on the day previous to our royal father's announcement of our election as his heir and successor, Hokwän waited upon us and presented us with the insignia of the rank newly conferred on us,—thereby betraying an important secret of state, expecting that conduct would be meritorious in our estimation. That, during the latter campaign against the rebels in Szechuen and Hoo-kwang, while our imperial father was bereft of sleep and appetite through his anxiety for intelligence, Hokwän was receiving reports from the troops, and detaining them at his pleasure. That many of his own kindred and dependents were intrusted with offices for which they were incompetent; and many of the civil and military officers

were removed by his sole authority. That in the late confiscation of his property, many apartments were found built of the imperial wood *nanmoo*, and terraces and inclosures constructed in the style of the imperial palace; and gardens like those of Yuenming yuen. That, among his treasures of precious stones, upwards of two hundred bracelets or strings of pearls were found, many times exceeding in value those in our possession. One of the pearls even surpassed that which adorns the imperial crown. Various buttons of precious stones were found of princely rank, such as he might not wear; besides many scores of unwrought gems to an incalculable amount and variety unknown among the imperial treasures.

These and other grievous offenses, the emperor declared had been proved against him by a council of ministers and princes, and acknowledged without reserve in his own confession. For the further trial and sentence on these charges, his majesty resolved to call a supreme council extraordinary, consisting of the princes, great officers of state, presidents of the imperial college and tribunal of censors, and others, to investigate and fix the punishment. In a second imperial proclamation, the decision of this high council is published: "that the said Hokwän do receive sentence of a slow and painful death." Upon this the emperor remarks, that in justice no mitigation could be demanded, but in consideration of his once exalted rank, "Hokwän is hereby permitted, through our imperial favor, to become his own executioner." This was to be carried into immediate effect. Foochang Gan, second only to Hokwän, and his constant associate, was sentenced to decollation; which the emperor postponed till the usual time of execution in the ensuing autumn. Holin, the deceased brother of Hokwän, was sentenced to be deprived of his hereditary title, his name erased from the sacred temple, and the altar which his family had erected to his memory was to be demolished. Fungshin Yinte, the son of Hokwän, who had married a princess, was only degraded from the highest hereditary title in the empire to the lowest. Fungshin Yemeén, the son of Holin, was removed from his command in the imperial guards, and forbidden to attend the palace gate. Seulin, the son of Foochang Gan, received a similar sentence; and other dependents of Hokwän were dismissed or degraded. Thus fell an ambitious minister, who had acquired power too great for the safety of his master, if he proved faithless; and wealth too vast for his own security; even though he had been innocent.

The enormous riches of this statesman leave at a distance the wealth of all ancient and modern individuals, whom we recollect, monarchs alone excepted. The proverbial wealth of the Roman Crassus amounted to nearly \$8,000,000. The philosopher Seneca in four years amassed a fortune of more than \$11,000,000. But both these were exceeded by that of Lentulus, the augur, who was worth above \$14,000,000. In recent times, the banker Girard, of the United States, left an immense property, whether it were \$15,000,000 or but \$10,000,000. At the time of issuing the imperial

accusation and sentence against Hokwän, the estimate of his confiscated property had not been completed, though the sum was already found, says the emperor, to exceed many millions of ounces in silver. According to a statement received as authentic at Canton, when the enrollment was completed, it appears that besides houses, lands, and other immoveable property to an amazing amount, "not less than eighty millions of Chinese ounces of silver, or about 105,000,000 dollars value in bullion or gems, were found in his treasury." "This sum," observes sir George Staunton, "though immense is not incredible, when the vast extent of the empire is considered, over the various departments of which he had certainly for many years a very unusual, and indeed almost unbounded influence."

ART. II. *Propagation of the gospel in China; little progress hitherto made; difficulties to be encountered; encouragements to perseverance.* By PHILBINENSIS.

It is now twenty-seven years since the first protestant missionary arrived in China. During this period, almost all other missions in the world have made rapid progress, whilst we have still to look with sorrow, but not with despair, upon an empire which demands nearly as many laborers as the collective population of all the other pagan nations. No gloomy thoughts, however, obscure our faith; no, we rejoice in hope; we believe in the Son of God, to whom all the nations, the Chinese included, are given for an inheritance. We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto we do well to take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn and the daystar arise in our hearts. We are desirous to aid the great cause by our feeble exertions, and with help from God to labor to the last. But in so large a sphere of usefulness, where so many millions are to be reclaimed from the thralldom of sin and death, we would lose all anxious thoughts for ourselves in deeper anxiety for others; and be indifferent about human praise and disapprobation, fixing a steady eye upon the great Author and Finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

Let all who are engaged in this arduous enterprise, adopt the peculiar characteristics of the apostle John, as their creed, and subscribe to his first epistle as the rule to regulate their conduct towards each other. By so doing, they will daily wax stronger and stronger;—form one body strongly cemented by Christian love; and, acting with unanimity, will present a formidable barrier against the attacks of the prince of this world. So far as individual relationship is concerned, we can never act better, and may God implant in our bosoms a holy desire to exemplify those precepts, which we are advancing to those who are perishing for lack of vision. Let us use the talent and grace

bestowed upon us, to the utmost of our strength, and in studying unity of design, render the work more effective. Delusive are the hopes of success founded upon ourselves: we know the rock upon which the Jesuits suffered shipwreck, and therefore let us steer wide from their course, to escape a similar disaster.

Unhappily a fear of arousing the jealousy of the Chinese government has considerably paralyzed our efforts. We have trembled at the persecutions which the Romanists underwent, in which the religion of the 'Lord of heaven' was proscribed; and we naturally feared that the pure gospel would share the same fate. In consulting, however, the history of the church of Christ, we find persecution usually ensued, after the word of God had taken root; but as long as the germ was still invisible, or just sent forth its tender shoots, the mighty hand of the great Husbandman has checked the machinations of the wicked, for the destruction of the tender plant. We may safely trust that this will also be the case in China. The Lord is faithful, and can cover us with the wings of his almighty protection. In his strength we may venture to proclaim the gospel boldly, and to disseminate it to the remotest provinces of this wide empire. Let us not be stumbled if our plans for the welfare of China miscarry; the Lord will show other ways, more conducive to the interests of his kingdom, and surely amplify the field of our operations. If we only possess a faith founded upon the Rock of Ages, and pursue the good work with Christian energy and perseverance, we shall very soon see the effects. Timidity in a good cause is not honorable; we have an almighty Lord, who has promised to be with his faithful messengers to the end of the world. Upon this let us rely in times of trouble, and under the most distressing circumstances, he will never forsake us.

We expected, that long before this time, some men full of faith and the Holy Ghost would have stood forth as candidates for the Christian missions in the maritime provinces. There is nothing Utopian in such a proposal. Did not the first Moravian missionaries, when they were requested to become slaves in order to instruct the negroes upon Antigua and St. Thomas, willingly consent to such a proposition? What had the first missions in Hindostan and Africa to suffer? What the heralds of salvation to endure in Greenland and Labrador? Did they not conquer by the power of the Author and Finisher of our faith? Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, (viz. timidity,) and let us run with patience the race set before us. O, when will the time come that we may boldly penetrate into the heart of the Chinese empire, and no longer fear the wrath of man, who can do us no harm without the special permission of Him, whom we call our almighty Protector?

It is true our numbers are still very insignificant; the churches of Christ at home have shared in the general apprehension that nothing can be done for China in the way of openly preaching the gospel, previous to a general revolution in this empire; but it is most delightful to observe that so unfounded an opinion is on the wane. We

shall therefore hope very soon to see able and faithful men in the field,—such men as are wanted for pioneers; we shall receive the most hearty coöperation and prayers of thousands who are with us in every path of duty. We can ask every aid, and there is no doubt that our proposals will be supported to the utmost extent; only let us be firm in our purposes, and adopt a course which eventually will throw open the whole middle kingdom to the gospel.

Though it may be urged, that little has been done, it must also be remembered that the last year has been rich in blessings. More Christian books perhaps have been distributed in several provinces, than the whole number of several preceding years taken together. The system of a timid procedure has been overthrown by facts, and we may at least venture to promulgate the gospel in four provinces, without incurring any danger from the government or the people themselves. We do not glory in these recent events as the work of man, but in the dust adore our gracious Savior for having removed the obstacles and opened the door for the entrance of the gospel. It is a sacred pledge of protection, and an intimation that we may push on without being dismayed, and increase our exertions at least three fold annually. For this purpose let all missionaries coöperate with each other, and when success crowns our labors, let none be elated, but rather remember that much is still to be done and little already accomplished. We possess in many respects greater advantages than any other mission, and we can reckon upon the special help of the great God, who in these latter times will have mercy upon China. Let us then go on, increase in faith and works of love, being persuaded that our work in the Lord will not be in vain. We anticipate that glorious time when at least every large city of China will possess a preacher of the gospel, and we are convinced that this will soon take place, if we only improve the present time. Let not our successors throw upon us the blame of having too long deferred the great work; may we rather be enabled to prepare the way for them, marching boldly forth, so that they may follow in our footsteps, and complete the work which we have begun.

ART. III. *Estimate of the proportionate expense of Xylography, Lithography, and Typography, as applied to Chinese printing; view of the advantages and disadvantages of each.* By TYPOGRAPHIUS SINENSIS.

In order to judge of the proportionate cost of the different modes, we must calculate the cost of printing a given amount of books, say 2000 copies of the Chinese Bible. The modes of printing which at the present time deserve particular attention are these three, viz. first, xylography; second, lithography; and third, typography. We shall consider the expenses of each of these modes, and then notice some of their advantages and disadvantages.

I. *By Block Printing.*

The expense of the passage of 9 workmen to and from	} £	s.	d.
China, at \$20 per trip, is \$360, or	72	0	0
Of 2000 blocks at \$5 per hundred, is \$100, or	20	0	0
Tools, gravers, &c.	10	0	0
Transcribing 2689 pages at 9d. per page	100	16	9
Cutting 1,160,548 characters at 1s. 3d. per hundred	725	19	4
Printing and binding 5,378,000 pages at 1s. 8d. per thousand	} 448	3	4
Of 209½ peculs of paper at £2 10s. per pecul.	523	15	0
	<hr/>		
	£1900	14	5

The octavo edition of the Bible contains 352 characters on each page, to which must also be added for the stops, marks, verses, and border, 80 characters more, making 432 characters per page, which for 2689 pages, is 1,160,548.

The above is the charge at Malacca, according to Mr. Kidd, who says, that 3250 characters can be cut for £2 stg.; and agreeable to Mr. Hughes' statement in the B. & F. Bible society's report for 1833, that 100 copies of the Scriptures can be taken from the blocks for \$105. This is also the rate at which such work has been done at Batavia. But in China itself, the work can be done much cheaper, as may be seen in the Evangelical Magazine for August, 1826, where it is stated that the Chinese New Testament, containing 227,300 characters was cut in China for \$500, which is at the rate of 11d. per hundred characters, while the transcribing of the same is said to have cost \$50 or 4½d. per page. The passage of the type cutters would also have been saved, and the paper and blocks might have been procured cheaper, say £2 5s. for the former, and \$4 for the latter, which altogether would make a saving of £365 19s. The time occupied in the above undertaking, by 9 type cutters and 5 printers, would be somewhere about three years.

II. *By Lithography.*

	£	s.	d.
For two lithographic presses with stones	100	0	0
Materials, repairs, &c.	100	0	0
Transcribing 2689 pages twice over, at 9d. per page	201	13	6
Printing 5,378,000 pages at 1s. per thousand	268	18	0
Folding, collating, stitching, and cutting the above, at 3d. per thousand	} 67	4	6
Paper, the same as in the first statement	523	15	0
	<hr/>		
	£1261	11	0

The folding, cutting, &c. costs much less when the sheets come from a lithographic or typographic press, than when the same work is done by block printing. For in block printing, each sheet of two pages is printed separately, and folded in the middle; thus the leaves present only one even side, and in collating cannot be arranged without carefully placing every separate leaf exactly over the other, which occupies

much time; whereas when printed in sheets and folded, two even sides are presented, and when collated, a single knock on the table, brings the whole to a level. The time occupied in the above work by 1 transcriber, 4 pressmen, and 1 binder, would be two years.

III. By *Typography*.

3000 punches can be furnished by Mr. Dyer, at Pe- uang, at 68 cents each, which is \$2040, or	}	£	s.	d.
1000 lbs. weight of Chinese type can be furnished by the same, at 2s. per lb., which is		408	0	0
One iron press, cases, furniture, &c.,	}	100	0	0
Composition of 2689 pages, at 2s. per page,		268	18	0
Printing 5,378,000 pages, at 6d. per thousand,	}	134	9	0
Folding, stitching, &c., at 3d. per thousand,		67	4	6
Paper, 168 peculs, at £2 10s. per pecul,	}	420	0	0
		£1498	11	6

The types being somewhat smaller than those used in the octavo edition, less paper will be required. Mr. Gutzlaff proposes to procure matrices at 6d. apiece; but the steel for the punch and the copper for the matrix would nearly amount to that sum, so that there is perhaps some mistake in his calculation. The time required for the punch cutting cannot be stated precisely, but for the printing it would be, for 2 compositors, 2 pressmen, and 1 binder, one year.

Thus the entire cost of each being reckoned, the balance will appear at first in favor of lithography, for the first 2000 copies of the Scriptures, but permanently in favor of typography. When these are struck off, if executed by means of block printing, we possess a set of blocks adapted for printing the Scriptures alone, already much worn, and capable of yielding only five more editions, ere they are completely spoiled. If the work is done by means of lithography, we possess after its completion, two presses and materials for future operations. But if the work is performed by means of metal types, when finished, we have a set of punches and matrices remaining, from which millions of types may be cast, sufficient to supply the whole world; besides a complete font of Chinese types, from which fifty more editions can be taken, and an iron press and furniture that will last for twenty years. Besides which, the recomposition and printing of every successive edition from the metal types will not cost much more than the mere striking off the same quantity from the wooden blocks.

I. The advantages by *Xylography*. 1. The expense of starting such an establishment is much less than would be required for either lithography or typography. 2. An edition of 2000 copies of the Scriptures may be printed at intervals, according to the demand for books or the supply of paper. 3. The Scriptures when once cut, remain always the same without the need of correction or of revision, at every successive edition. 4. Much trouble is thereby saved to the

superintendent, who has only to order so many copies to be printed, and it is done without his interference or anxiety; a missionary just arrived in the country may give out the blocks of his predecessor, and commence printing immediately. 5. In traveling, a tract of a few blocks may be packed in a very small compass, and printed from at every successive stage. 6. The whole work may be performed by the Chinese themselves, without the aid of European machinery or workmen. 7. The type cutters may be brought under religious instruction while employed in preparing the blocks; one has already been converted by this means, and is now an evangelist in China. This advantage, however, is not peculiar to block printing, though it is perhaps greater in this than in the other modes.

Disadvantages. 1. The blocks, after an edition of 10,000 is struck off, are no longer capable of giving good impressions. 2. The blocks are liable to be destroyed by white ants, and if the establishment be extensive, they occupy much room. The octavo edition of the Scriptures in 2680 pages nearly, reckoning two pages for each block, would amount to 1340 blocks, which at 20 blocks per cubic foot, would occupy 67 cubic feet. 3. If one block be lost or injured, the whole set is worthless, unless a type cutter be at hand to supply the deficiency. 4. When once cut, the blocks are incapable of correction or improvement, without great expense and spoiling the beauty of the page. 5. By means of block printing, crude and ill-digested works are perpetuated; and as it is easier to print from old blocks than to make new ones, the first productions of missionaries are still given forth, after twenty years experience and knowledge of the language should have enabled the laborers to produce something better. 6. Block printing produces too little variety in our productions, and the heathen in the vicinity get acquainted with our tracts before they are put into their hands, complaining of each that they have seen it before, and crying out for something new. 7. The type cutters are generally a troublesome set, and occasion a missionary much vexation, in endeavoring to keep them in order. Besides which, being necessary to the establishment, their whims and caprices must frequently be borne with. 8. Type cutters can be procured from China alone, and never leave their country without an express engagement; this renders us entirely dependent on China for supplies, and should our agents in China be withdrawn, or type cutters be strictly prohibited from leaving their native land, the work must come to a stand. 9. The expense of carrying on type cutting after the materials are furnished, is more than double that of metal type printing.

II. The advantages by *Lithography*. 1. Small editions may be printed according to the demand for books, or the supply of paper. 2. Every successive edition is capable of improvement and alteration to any extent. 3. Handbills and small tracts for particular purposes may be got up and struck off at a very short notice; for where a tract of six pages would employ a type cutter a month before a single copy could be procured, in lithography the whole could be completed in two or three days. 4. Small stations occupied by only one missionary, or

sequestered parts, where there is not much demand for tracts, and which consequently cannot sustain the expense either of a xylographic or a typographic establishment, might conveniently employ one lithographic press, which a single individual might manage. 5. Lithography is well adapted for printing alternately in various languages, for mixing different characters, or publishing books in a new character for which no types have yet been formed; further, a lithographic press is useful for graphic representations, for printing in the running hand of any language, or for producing bold and elegant forms of the character, so much esteemed among the natives of the east. A Japanese Vocabulary and a Corean Dictionary would not have appeared, had it not been for lithography.

Disadvantages, 1. The slowness of execution, owing to the additional work required in lithographic printing, by wetting the stone every sheet, and cleaning it every ten. 2. The rapidity with which the stone spoils, requiring it to be retranscribed and retransferred every one or two thousand sheets, which in large editions of 10,000, occasions much loss. 3. The uncertainty attending lithographic printing, sometimes arising from the change of the atmosphere, sometimes from the defection in the material, and sometimes from the inattention of the workmen. 4. The irregular appearance of a book printed by lithography, owing to some sheets having been printed better and others worse. 5. The expense at the first outlay, is greater than in block printing.

III, The advantages by *Typography*, 1. It is equally adapted to large and small editions, and for periodical as well as standard works. A few pages may be set up, and printed off in a few days, and the form once on the press, it may be worked for 1, or 100, or 100,000 as the case may require. 2. It is calculated to last long, and if the metal be good, millions of tracts may be printed ere the types are worn out. 3. There is a great saving of time and expense, as compared with block and stone printing, and where the object is the illumination of one third of the human race, the faster we can work, and at the least cost, the better. 4. The printing from metal types can be made to appear much more beautiful, and more pleasing to a Chinese eye, than the printing by wooden blocks, as has been already proved in the large characters of Morrison's Dictionary; and we hope will still more clearly appear when Mr. Dyer has completed his font. 5. In printing by metal types, we can be entirely independent of Chinese printers, as any common Chinese scholar may compose the pages, and any Malay coolie may work the press. 6. In typography, the correcting of the press is extremely easy, and improvements may be made to any extent. 7. The first cost of metal types may be great, but they may be used for twenty years without stopping, and afterwards may be sold for old metal. 8. Another advantage of moveable metal types is their being easily combined with European letters, in the printing of dictionaries, &c. 9. The press employed for printing Chinese may be used at intervals for printing in any other language. 10. The space occupied by a set of Chinese types is not great,

as nine characters will fit into a square inch, and one square foot will easily contain 1000 characters, including the sections between, which must be of plate tin: a pair of common printing cases occupies only nine square feet; thus three or four pairs of common printing cases would contain 30,000 characters. Whereas the blocks of the Scriptures alone, occupy 67 instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet. 11. The white ants cannot do the least injury to metal types—and nothing will destroy them but use or fire, and even then the metal is still saleable.

Disadvantages. 1. It is difficult to carry on a moveable type establishment without the aid of a European printer, who would require as much salary as ten Chinese put together. This objection, however, would be obviated, did the missionary himself know but a little of the art of printing. 2. Though the font may contain 8000 varieties, and amount to 30,000 characters, yet it is possible that unusual characters may occur in the course of printing, or more of one sort be required than have been calculated on, in which case the work must stop until the necessary characters be cut or cast for the purpose; it may be observed, however, that the additional characters being very few, may be easily cut on a piece of tin. 3. Printing from metal types requires an expensive press. This press may, however, be used at intervals for printing in other languages; thus the whole cost of the press ought not to be charged to Chinese typography alone; besides which, almost every missionary station already possesses such a press. 4. In case of our adopting metal types generally, what is to become of our wooden blocks, already cut and lying ready for use? We answer, print from them in the usual way, as long as they will last, and then let the Scriptures and tracts be improved in future editions at the letter press. 5. Metal types being all of one size, will not do for the printing of commentaries, or even the insertion of a single note, unless two sets be prepared, one large and the other small. To which it may be replied, that fonts of small characters already exist at Malacca and in China, which might be used for notes, &c.

Thus, upon a review of the whole, it will appear that printing Chinese by metal types is greatly preferable to every other method; that it is highly desirable and exceedingly practicable to procure such types. Mr. Dyer should therefore by all means be encouraged to persevere in the punch cutting, for which £400 will be sufficient to complete a set of 3000 varieties; that while the punch cutting is going on, the work of casting should proceed also, for which £100, would be sufficient for the casting of each font of 30,000 characters.

The Anglo-Chinese public are perfectly able to provide both these sums, and a subscription for that purpose ought to be immediately begun. Then should Mr. Gutzlaff require 2000 Bibles and 10,000 tracts, they can be furnished in one year at half the cost of block printing, and should the various missionary societies engaged in the evangelization of China require fonts of Chinese metal types, or should government agents and literary institutions be desirous of possessing them, they will be able to procure them at £100 each font. This is one of the grandest objects that ever was presented to

the attention of a benevolent public, and if it be left undone for the want of a few hundred pounds, many thousands must be thrown away in the lapse of a few years to procure the same quantity of work done by block printing. China is now opening its doors; her teeming millions are ready to receive the word of life; and the lever that shall move this world is doubtless, under God, metal type printing.

Note. We tender our best thanks to our correspondent for his remarks and statements concerning Chinese printing. The press is everywhere a powerful engine; but nowhere else does it seem destined to act on such a mighty mass as in China. We shall soon refer to this topic again, and shall then, we doubt not, have good reports to make concerning the progress of metal types. Mr. Gutzlaff's intention was (and is, we believe), to procure matrices, without the use of punches, by drilling instead of punching the metal. We are apprehensive, however, that "the Chinese have neither the genius in the head nor the power in the fingers" to give complete success to this plan.

ART. IV. *Passage to Europe via the Red Sea, by a late resident of Canton; leaves China and reaches Bombay; embarks in the steamer; crosses the Desert; arrives at Cairo; notices of that city, &c.*

[We feel greatly obliged to our correspondent and to his friend, (whom our local readers will readily recognize,) for the following interesting communication. No one doubts the practicability of an 'overland passage' to Europe; but very few hitherto have been disposed to try the unbeaten track. Reports, however, like that from our correspondent's friend will serve to make the way more familiar. These passages are not, we trust, to be confined to the south of Asia. New routes must be opened farther and farther northward, till the traveler, starting from the capital of Japan, and passing through Peking, shall find a quick passage by steam-boats and carriages, to the great marts and cities of Europe.]

To the Editor of the Chinese Repository.

Sir, Perceiving in one of the late numbers of the Chinese Repository a courteous invitation to contribute to your pages, I am induced to think that a few extracts from a private letter, which I have just received from a friend who lately quitted this country on his return to England, may prove both interesting and instructive to the general reader. My correspondent left China for Bombay in the month of October, 1833, with the intention of proceeding from thence by the Red Sea to the continent of Europe. Having reached Bombay and visited that presidency, he engaged his passage in the steamer about to sail for Cosseir, and thus narrates, dating his letter, 'Cairo, April 4th, 1834.'

"We left Bombay on the first of February with twelve passengers, the full complement. For the passage 1200 rupces is paid by each person; only six of the party had cabins, two in each cabin, the

others slept in the cuddly. The charge is certainly heavy, but the expenses of the voyage are so great that one has no right to complain, and the convenience compensates for the charge. We reached Maculla, a wretched village on a barren rock of Arabia, on the 11th, to take in a supply of coals, and left it on the 13th. We were driven back to Mocha, after having passed it, by a violent northwest gale. There we filled up our coals and left it on the 18th; reached Jedda on the 23d; left that on the 25th, and completed the voyage on the 1st of March, by anchoring in Cosseir bay;—having been 29 days in its performance. But considering that we had a constant succession of strong north winds all the way up the Red Sea, which would have prevented a sailing vessel moving at all, we had no reason to complain. I must here recommend you on no account to attempt to go up the Red Sea in any other way but in a steam-boat, if you can avoid it. Two parties of travelers left Bombay two months before us; one was shipwrecked in a cruiser of the Indian navy; the other we picked up at Jedda and brought on with us in the steamer. Northerly winds are so prevalent, and the shores of the Red Sea are so perilously studded with reefs, that steam appears the only mode of navigation fit for such a sea.

“At Cosseir six of our party landed for Thebes. A company’s agent resides there, named Seid Mohammed, an Arab, a useful and obliging person; he provides travelers with a house. We left Cosseir on the evening of the 3d, and slept at Ber Ingles, having advanced about 11 miles. On the 4th, passing by the wells of Seid Suleiman, we halted for the night at a spot the Arabs called Abon Ziram, after marching 10 hours, a distance of 28 miles; no water at this place. On the 5th, we reached the wells of Hummamet, which were, however, quite dry; distance and time about the same as yesterday. On the 6th, started at nine o’clock and arrived at the wells of Legayta, at half past five; here we found plenty of water, and got some vegetables and bread from the Arabs who inhabited the wretched hovels at that place. On the 7th, *en route*, at nine; and at about three, P. M. our eyes were gratified with the first view of cultivation and the valley of the Nile. Halted for the night at a village called Anjam, about nine miles distant from Luxor.

“You will see by this, that we took five days to cross the desert. It can be done much quicker, but not without inconvenience, and I do not think our stages could have been improved. We were always up at daylight, dressed and had a comfortable breakfast, and the camels all loaded by a little before nine o’clock; halted for half an hour on the road, and reached our ground in time to have our camels unloaded, and make preparations for dinner before dark. By nine o’clock we were all well disposed to retire to rest in our cots under a couple of blankets. The climate of the desert, though in the month of March, was decidedly cold; the thermometer at daylight standing as low as 37° on one occasion, but generally 40° to 45°, and when the north wind blew there was no heat even at noonday. I felt but little annoyance from the glare, my colored spectacles giving a delight-

ful relief. A Manila *salacoot* is invaluable; mine has been the admiration and wonder of all persons. I wear it sometimes at Cairo to the great amusement of the Turks.

“Having thus had the experience of crossing the desert I will give you the advantage of a few hints, which I noted down at the time. 1st. Examine well the tents which are provided for you, to see that they are easily pitched, with coverings and all perfect. We experienced much annoyance from neglecting this precaution. We were two parties, each of three persons, which is decidedly the best number, and had two tents, about 12 or 13 feet square; we found one accommodated us all, laying our beds on the ground, and used to send the other on before us. 2d. See that there is a sufficiency of camel drivers; especially that there be one for each riding camel: we ordered this number, but after starting, when too late to be remedied, found it had been neglected, and we had only eight drivers to more than thirty camels. One to three baggage camels, and one for each of our own, would make fourteen, which is sufficient. 3d. An ample supply of water in bottles; for the best spoils in the filthy skins which are used. Eighteen quart bottles are enough for each person, but not too much. 4th. If possible, provide yourself with a camel saddle at Bombay, or you will suffer from the animal's hump (I speak feelingly); if not, have a couple of large well stuffed cushions with a pair of common stirrups. 5th. Be provided with three copper-tinned cooking pots fitting in each other; a tea kettle holding about three quarts; and a frying pan for each party; a good cook, who has nothing else to attend to but the important avocations of his department, is very desirable; you can easily find such a man at Bombay, and let him be a Mussulman, and not a Portuguese. I say nothing about supplies of liquor and provisions; every one fits himself in that way according to his fancy. Good beer in abundance is invaluable after a day's march. Preserved soups and salmon also have their merits. Do not forget to provide yourself with a good common carpet, such as is used in a tent; one 14 feet square costs but thirty rupees and is extremely useful.

“As to Cairo I need say nothing about it, excepting that we have amused ourselves very well here for a week. I have of course ascended to the summit of the pyramid of Cheops, and dived into its centre. I was, I confess, disappointed; the only feeling was similar to what I experienced in the caves of Ellera: and a wonder why people would expend so much labour to so little purpose either useful or ornamental. The best view of the pyramids is when standing within twenty yards of their base; their gigantic size is then most apparent, and they really look like mountains of solid masonry. Nothing is easier than the ascent and descent; no aid whatever is requisite, though the Arabs are most annoying and troublesome in forcing their aid on you. It is very desirable to have a janissary with you from the consul, with a big stick, to prevent these annoyances at the pyramids, though I have never seen the least disposition to be uncivil among the natives in any part of Egypt. We were introduced to Mohammed Ali a few days ago; he is really a wonderful old man, and though he certainly

oppresses his country by the immense military force he maintains from so small a population, yet by the attention and encouragement he gives to the education of the rising generation, I feel convinced he will merit the name of a great man, and the regenerator of Egypt. He maintains at his own expense eighty public schools. At one near Cairo there were 1100 boys, who are fed, clothed, and lodged at his expense; besides which, they receive monthly pay according to their progress. There are higher schools of engineers, artillery, and cavalry.

"I have forgotten to give you a hint on two subjects both of some importance:—the money and the general climate of Egypt. The universal coin throughout all Egypt, Syria, Greece, and the whole of the Levant, is the piastre, which being usually a very base coin, the value of it is constantly varying. For instance, when at par, the value of the Austrian dollar, which at Bombay is about 6 per cent. inferior to the Spanish, is 15 paras: in intrinsic value it is said to be worth about 22. In Upper Egypt, we passed ours for 18; at Cairo, 19; and a fraction is readily given for it. The sovereign in commercial accounts is reckoned at 98; but in payments in the shops they take it readily at 95 piastres or 5 dollars. The Venetian zecchin passes for 44 or 44½: but is a bad coin for a traveler to bring with him as it generally either is, or is said to be, short in weight. Sovereigns and German dollars are the best money therefore; and it is worth while on passing Mocha or Jedda to inquire the rate of exchange there. We might have changed all our dollars there for 20 and 21 piastres. There are small gold coins of the country worth 4, 9, and 18 piastres, which are very convenient and always pass for their value. The following is the calculation made on exchange of money at the rate we paid for it at Bombay: If German dollars give 19 piastres; the zecchin should produce 46½ piastres; and the sovereign 100, which gives the advantage greatly in favor of dollars; the only objection is their cumbersome weight.

"As to climate I have never been more agreeably deceived. We were told that March in Egypt was hot and unpleasant. We have found the average of the thermometer at night 45° to 55°; and the day in the shade, 60° to 70° and 75°. On one or two occasions, it has risen to 80°, but that has been during a sirocco from the southwest. The plague has totally disappeared in Egypt, not having been known for the last nine years. This is also owing to the precautions adopted by the pacha, both in quarantine laws and the more important improvements of preserving cleanliness by a good police in the crowded towns."

I have now, Sir, given you as much information on this subject as I am in possession of myself, and if it should be considered by you as worthy of a place in your Repository, amidst other interesting and valuable papers which monthly appear in it, I need not add, much satisfaction will be derived, by your well-wisher and constant reader.

Macao, October 24th, 1834.

ART. V. *The Turks: their origin and early history; their migrations and conversion to the faith of Mohammed; their invasion of Persia, Hindostan, and the Grecian empire; capture of Constantinople, &c.*

In our last number we gave a brief account of the Huns; and noticed their origin and history, their emigrations, conquests, &c. We shall now take a survey of the Turks. Though the Huns overrun the fairest countries of Europe, introducing barbarism wherever they went, yet with the death of Attila they ceased to be the scourge of the western world. But the Turks, advancing with a slow but sure step from the frontiers of China, subverted the caliphate; and, having adopted the creed of the conquered, showed themselves the most inveterate enemies of the Christians, and the most staunch supporters of barbarism that ever trod upon the soil of Europe. That a wild hord of Asiatic nomades should subvert the ancient Byzantine empire, plant the crescent where formerly had stood the cross, and down to the present time maintain themselves in the possession of the most fertile provinces of Europe, is really a matter of astonishment. But it was the Lord of hosts that sent forth those ruthless bands to execute divine vengeance; and they are allowed to remain as a living monument of his severe, but righteous punishment. The same nation which bowed under the yoke of Chinese slavery, dictates to European princes, and soon the whole western world trembles at the invincible arms of the invaders.

The origin of the Turks may be obscurely traced to the Altai mountains. There they lived as slaves, working their own iron mines for their master, the great khan of the Geougen, until they learned to turn the swords, which they themselves had fabricated, against their proud and haughty oppressors. Roused by the eloquence of their chieftain, the bold and heroic Bertezena, they struggled hard for freedom. Their conquests must have followed in quick succession, for even as early as the time of the Han dynasties they became formidable to the Chinese. "Among their southern conquests, the most splendid was that of the white Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bucharía and Samarcand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus. On the side of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced to the lake Mæotis, and passed that lake on the ice. The khan who dwelt at the foot of mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus, a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends of Athens."—see *Gibbon*.

The Turks by their frequent excursions eastward, threatened the existence of the Chinese empire. But their territory growing too extensive by every new conquest, was at length divided amongst the principal leaders, and soon fell a prey to internal feuds and bloody wars. The Chinese at first drove them back with "golden lances,"

according to the invariable practice of the celestial empire, which considers gold and silver of greater efficacy in war, than steel or lead—“as is on record;” but as soon as the Turks were weakened by dissensions, the Chinese excited the vanquished tribes to resume their independence, and thus freed themselves from their dangerous neighbors.

The Turks were now necessarily driven to direct their conquests westward; but it was long before they could rally strength sufficient to embolden them to attack those fierce barbarians, who inhabited the plains of the Caspian, and the almost impenetrable recesses of the Caucasus. Their victory over the Ogors was decisive and complete; and as they pushed onward in their march, they heard with astonishment that farther westward there existed a weak but flourishing empire. This report excited the cupidity of the fierce but destitute barbarians; and they resolved to send thither an embassy. This expedition was aided by the prince of the Alani; and the ambassadors, having crossed the Euxine, soon reached Constantinople, where they were admitted to an audience with Justinian. This prince directed their irresistible valor against the Slavonic tribes, whom they repeatedly routed; and driving them from their retreats, pursued them into the very heart of Germany, “violating the law of nations and abusing the rights of victory.” Some quarrels with the Persian monarch involved them in war, and being strengthened by a league with the Romans, they thus unwittingly contributed towards the ruin of Chosroes, the sworn enemy of the Byzantine empire. All their operations were directed from mount Altai; thither the Roman ambassadors repaired, concluded a treaty, and beheld the spoils which had been amassed by these undaunted freebooters. The Grecian emperor, Heraclius, though opposing the victorious armies of Chosroes with great valor, saw his capital invaded by the Persians and Avars; and, almost at the mercy of his cruel enemies, he cemented an alliance with the Turks by the promising of his daughter in marriage to a chief. The civilized world was thus freed from further molestation, the Turks being either bound and restrained by the ties of friendship, or employed in venting their fury on surrounding tribes of savages. But the period of tranquillity was of very short duration; and these barbarians again appeared more formidable than ever, having adopted the sanguinary laws and usages of the false prophet.

About the year A. D. 850, the caliph Matassem established a body guard of Turks, who were either captives or slaves. By being initiated into the doctrines of Islamism, they lost none of their natural ferocity. Indulged in all their whims, and enjoying ease and plenty in voluptuous Bagdad, they fell upon the peaceful Arabs, and the slaughter was dreadful. By giving their whole support to an unprincipled individual, they became the umpires of the caliphate, and would have overthrown the whole government, if their force had not been weakened by foreign wars.

Meanwhile, their brethren who had been fortunate in their contest with the Persians before the Mohammeden era, gradually adopted

the Mohammedan creed, and extended their conquests in the northern provinces of Persia. With the overthrow of the dynasty of the Samanides, Mahmud the Gaznevide, the Turkish viceroy of the caliphs, extended his power in Persia and adopted the title of sultan. Inflamed with fanaticism, he dealt out destruction to the pagans of Hindostan; he aimed at the extirpation of Hindooism; no deserts nor mountains of Tibet or Cashmere could stop his victorious career; Delhi, Lahor, and Moultan had been carried, and he was advancing with his whole force against Sumnat, a famous temple of the Hindoos, on the promontory of Guzerat. The brahmins considering this place impregnable on account of its sanctity, bade defiance to the victorious Mahmud. He however stormed the temple, put to the sword 5000 of the defenders, and with an iron mace approached the principal idol. The brahmins offered him ten millions sterling to spare this darling object of their infatuation; his counselors advised Mahmud to apply the money to the relief of true believers, but he sternly replied; "your reasons are specious and strong, but never shall Mahmud appear in the eyes of posterity as a trafficker in idols." Then leveling a blow at the idol, it tottered, and disclosed an immense quantity of precious stones, hidden in the belly. This sufficiently explained the devotion of the brahmins, and the disinterestedness of Mahmud was remunerated by the title of guardian of the faith and fortune of Mohammed, with which the caliph honored him.

His life is remarkable for the most chivalrous exploits, and destructive wars against the infidels, and he gained greater renown than any Asiatic freebooter before him; his wisdom is likewise extolled: but one glaring vice, insatiable avarice, is said to have tainted his character. Yet he himself accelerated the downfall of his dynasty by calling in the aid of the kindred Turkoman tribes from Sogdonia, and enlisting them under his banners. Scarcely were his eyes closed in death, when these hords, though united to their masters by a common faith, broke out into open rebellion. In vain did the successor of Mahmud carry the war into the heart of Bucharia; the Turkomans under a prince of the house of the Seljuks drove their effeminate countrymen towards the Indus, and after a period of rapine and anarchy, established their empire on the ruins of the Persian monarchy. China, thus liberated from these implacable enemies, reposed at ease, whilst Europe and especially the Levant soon felt the dreadful scourge. As the caliphs at Bagdad of the house of Abbas, possessed only a shadow of their former authority, and were besides actuated by mortal hatred against the line of the Fatimites, who ruled over Egypt, they availed themselves of the aid of Togrud, the son of Seljuk, to suppress the rebellions which disturbed their dominions. By such means the Turks influenced the destiny of the once powerful caliphate, and with rapid strides approached the scene of their future conquests. Togrud died too soon to push his victories westward; but his son Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, burned with unquenchable zeal to recover from the Greeks those provinces, which during the weakness of the caliphate had been rescued from the Mohammedan yoke. The conquest of

the Georgian tribes of the Caucasus was effected after much resistance, about the year 1068. Armenia tamely submitted. The Asiatic provinces of the eastern empire were next overrun with his numerous hosts, but the Byzantine emperor, Romanus Diogenes, a soldier by profession, repeatedly routed the barbarians; till becoming too confident of victory, he was surrounded and taken prisoner by the enemy. A shameful treaty to which he acceded, gave the Turks an extensive tract of country, but they did not venture to push their victories in that quarter.

Alp Arslan was desirous to conquer his native country, and spread the terror of his arms to the frontiers of China. But a higher than human hand arrested him, and by means of a despised prisoner he was assassinated in the midst of his career, and died lamenting his folly, and the vanity of all sublunary things.

Malck shah, his son, achieved the conquest of Turkestan, after crushing a domestic faction. He was the most celebrated and powerful of the Seljuk race. From the confines of China to the borders of Egypt he maintained sovereign sway; the nations willingly submitted to him. His reign was rigorous, and his constant movements through his dominions gave force to his laws and encouraged learning. We are astonished that their rage for proselytism did not prompt these barbarians to the invasion of China, which was in no state to resist their fanatic fury; but though they planted the crescent both in Hindostan and Anatolia, they lost sight of the myriads of Chinese idolaters. But we cannot pierce the dark veil with which God in his providence has covered this country; his ways are inscrutable, yet ever wise and adorable. At the death of Malek shah, his extensive dominions were divided into the Persian dynasty, the oldest and principal branch; and the three younger dynasties of Kerman, Syria, and Roum; of these, the empire of Roum, comprising Asia Minor, and that of Syria, claim our peculiar attention. The capital of the former was Nice; it became the terror of the enervated Greeks, and even aimed a decisive blow against Constantinople, when the emperor Alexis implored the assistance of the western world. Jerusalem having fallen to the share of the Syrian dynasty was no longer a resort for the peaceful pilgrim, who if he ventured so far as the holy sepulchre was treated by these inhuman foes of the cross with unheard of cruelty. The clamors for vengeance, joined to the intreaties of Alexis, prevailed on the western Christians to rescue the holy sepulchre from the grasp of the infidels, and to procure a respite for the weak Grecian emperors.

The crusaders appeared in Asia, and the invincible Turks met for the first time an enemy whose fanaticism and valor were superior to their own. Nice, as well as Jerusalem, fell into the hands of the Christians; the Turks retreated in dismay, but rallied under the standard of the commander of the faithful, and under Nouredin, a wise and valiant leader they reconquered Edessa. He reestablished his throne at Damascus, and became a dangerous neighbor to the Franks in Palestine. But his empire was in its turn overthrown by

a Kurd, the celebrated Saladin; the Turkish sultans at Iconium fought for existence, and their brethren in Persia were too much occupied to render them any effectual aid. With the overthrow of the crusaders, however, their power revived, and they began again to threaten Constantinople, when the resistless fury of the Mongols crossed all their hopes, and brought them to the brink of destruction. Though the line of the Seljuk dynasty perished, a swarm of Turkomans who had served under Gelaeddin, the sultan of Carizine, re-established the tottering empire. Their leader, Athman or Othman, was the founder of a line of princes which still occupy the throne of Stambul. The downfall of Constantinople so long delayed was now inevitable. The whole of Asia Minor, with six of the Apocalyptic churches, sunk under the sway of the Othmans. No fresh armies at this time poured forth from Europe to assist the trembling Greeks against those insolent conquerors. In vain did the Venetians and the various orders of knights try to avert the impending dangers; the Greeks themselves invited the Turks to the European shore in 1360, where the latter founded their throne at Adrianople, and thus sealed the doom of the Byzantine empire. Not content with the humiliation of the Greeks, Bajazet the sultan of Adrianople, routed the Hungarians and their French auxiliaries, and even threatened to invade and conquer both Germany and Italy. The Roman empire, which once held the whole civilized world in its grasp, was now confined to a small spot on the Propontis; the Turkish conquerors, leaving the weak and unprincipled Europeans in possession of Constantinople, desired only their abject humiliation.

The former proud capital of the world, though even then the theatre of civil dissensions, was again saved from ruin by victorious Timur, before whom the proud and yet unvanquished Bajazet was laid in the dust. The Turkish empire was nearly destroyed by the overwhelming forces of the Mongols; yet five sons of Bajazet survived, and still maintained their authority in different parts of their paternal inheritance. Manuel, the Grecian emperor, fomented their intestine quarrels, yet could not prevent Amurath from subjecting all the Turkish dominions to his sway. The siege of Constantinople in 1442 was the immediate consequence of this union. Animated by fanaticism, great numbers of Mohammedans flocked to the Turkish standard to share in the spoils of so rich a city; their attack was vigorous, but was as bravely repulsed, and the Turks paid dearly for having trusted a Mohammedan visionary who had promised them a certain victory. Twice the Byzantine emperors proposed an alliance with the western provinces of Europe, in order to save the wreck of a once mighty Christian empire; application was also made to the pope, and a reunion with the Latin church was readily agreed to; yet their whole preparations for defense consisted in idle promises of aid, while the hour of the judgment of God approached. But the Almighty prolonged their day of repentance. The Hungarians under Huriades routed the Turks in several engagements; the Albanian chief, Scanderberg, occupied the whole force of the foe of Christians,

and the dreadful storm was averted from Constantinople until the Hungarians in their turn were driven back, and Mohammed the second with a firm hand held the sceptre.

The Turks were now no longer those undisciplined hords, which invaded the Asiatic provinces. Aided by the military arts, imbued with an invincible ardor to maintain the conflict with the infidels, they were terrible in the field of battle. The crafty Mohammed amused the Greeks by solemn promises of lasting friendship, whilst he was carrying on his hostile preparations without interruption. Constantine Palæologus, the emperor, found himself on the brink of ruin, but like a Christian he addressed his enemy, saying: "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone; if it should please him to soften your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I shall submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and to die in the defense of my people." The siege of Constantinople commenced and was carried on with all that vigor which formed the prominent characteristic of Mohammed the 2d. The Turks prevailed, and the city was taken in 1453, where they maintain their ground to the present time. All Europe began to tremble before the common foe, whose arms were generally victorious; the Christians acknowledged in them a scourge from God. Hungaria, Poland, and Germany were alternately laid waste by these ferocious invaders, and a general prayer at that time inserted in the litany shows at once the dread and the devotion of the Christian world. But the season appointed by the Lord to curb their power of insolence has arrived; Turkey lies prostrate before the giant of the north, and acknowledges the independence of the most despised of its former vassals. The land of their ancestors also after many a hard struggle has been reduced by the Chinese to utter subjection, and the power of this indomitable nation is broken. They will rise no more, but will share in the blessings of the saying Gospel which they have so long indignantly rejected. Their history, even the little of it which is well known, is full of remarkable events, worthy of the profound study of the Christian philosopher. With the greater obstinacy they have contemned the Lord of glory, so with the deeper repentance and contrition will they bow before his cross.

ART. VI. *Comparison between the bamboo and the palm: description of the bamboo; varieties and cultivation; partiality of the Chinese for it; its uses; mode of manufacturing paper: description of the cocoa nut palm; and the uses to which it is applied.*

The bamboo and the palm appear to be designed by nature almost

exclusively for the use of those nations in whose soil they are found to grow. The many uses to which they are applied by the inhabitants of the countries where they are indigenous, cease to be found when they are transplanted into foreign climes. The hemp for ropes, the cotton for paper, and the wood for roofs, answer their purpose far better than those which are obtained from the cocoa nut, the bamboo, or the palm leaf. These plants seem to be particularly suited to the people, and the people have become attached to them. Both, however, are not found growing in the same country to any extent; the palm is found near the equator, and the bamboo on the borders of the torrid and temperate zones. There are but few uses to which the one is applied that the other is not; the bamboo, however, is not well calculated for making ropes or bents, nor is the palm fitted for the manufacture of paper. The numerous applications of both, we shall be better able to observe by a separate consideration of them.

The bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*,) is indigenous in all the southern countries of Asia, in the greater part of China, and in the West Indies. By long cultivation and care, it has become sufficiently hardy to grow as far north as Peking, and in all the central countries of this continent. By the Chinese, it is called *chûk*, and the character by which they represent this name enters into the composition of many of the more complicated characters of their language; in which cases the new character usually expresses some action or object connected with the use of the bamboo. The number of species is small compared with the wide diffusion of the plant, there being about ten only at present known. The bamboo occupies an intermediate station between the proper grasses and the more stately trees; in its internal structure showing its gramineous affinities, while, by its size it appears to the observer as a tree. Like all the grasses, it receives its nourishment from the pith, and proceeds from the ground nearly as large as it ever is in diameter. This endogenous growth is admirably calculated to serve many of the purposes to which the bamboo is applied, where a hard, smooth surface is necessary. The popular description is as follows: "The bamboo has a hollow, round, shining and straight stem; grows to the height of about forty feet; nodes from 10 to 15 inches asunder, with thick, rough, hairy sheaths; the branches alternate, and proceeding from the root to the top; and small, entire, oval leaves." The branches are usually cut off for some distance from the root by the cultivator. The varieties are numerous, but the differences between them are trifling. The long period, during which this plant has been cultivated in China, and the desire to procure new and singular kinds for the gardens of the wealthy, have produced many varieties. A Chinese botanist, in treating on this plant, observed in the beginning of his book, that he could not undertake so much as to name all the varieties, and would therefore confine himself to a consideration of *sixty-three* of the principal!

A few of the general differences which cultivation has made in the bamboo may be noticed. The diameter of the stem and its height are subject to considerable variation; but the former much more than

the latter. The usual height is between 40 and 50 feet; those which reach 60 or 70 feet are regarded as monsters. The diameter varies more than any other part; the common size is from one inch and a half to five; but they are seen as large as seven and eight inches. Some of the stems, near the roots, are sufficiently large to make vessels to measure grain; but such are not common. The Chinese herbalists give the following directions to increase the diameter: 'The gardener is to be careful to select the most vigorous plants, and those which have a healthy root; they must be transplanted free from all suckers, and with much care, that the growing be not retarded. The top of the shoot is to be cut off three or four inches above the highest knot, and the cavity filled with sulphur. For the first three years the suckers are cut down, to keep the root strong; but on the fourth year, they will sprout forth much increased in diameter above the first year's growth.' This mode is affirmed to be infallible. The distances between the joints is found to vary from four to six inches in some kinds, while in others it extends to four and five feet.

The color of the outside is not always yellow, but has been made to vary into chestnut, black, etc. The black bamboo is a favorite in the parterres and gardens of the rich. The process by which the color has been changed, from its natural yellow to a black, is unknown except to the Chinese. The outer surface is sometimes observed striated and roughened, instead of having the glossy appearance. There are also some small and delicate varieties which are esteemed by the Chinese horticulturalists for ornamenting the artificial rock work of their gardens. The wood of the bamboo is usually hard like horn, especially near the outer surface, but some are found in which the wood appears like an indurated pith, at all stages of their growth. The leaves do not usually exhibit much variety in form, but the color is sometimes seen passing into a bluish, reddish and an ashy hue. That singular vegetable calculus, *tabasheer*, which is found in the cavities between the joints of the bamboo, has been obtained from some parts of the province of Yunnan. In that province also a sweetish liquor is procured from the bamboo, which yields sugar by evaporation. But neither the *tabasheer* nor the fluid has been observed as frequently in China as in India; and those parts where they are found are near Hindostan. Some mention is also made of a bamboo which has a fragrance like the Brazil wood.

Many directions are laid down in the Chinese books concerning the cultivation of the bamboo. The culture varies according to the soil, the exposure and the variety. Generally, it requires a sandy soil, which the roots will easily penetrate. The banks of rivers, and newly drained marshes are well adapted to it, if the situation is raised two or three feet above the water; for the plant perishes if the roots touch the water. A northern exposure is to be avoided, but it will grow on spots where there is but little soil. The bamboo is propagated universally by suckers, for it seldom blossoms and still more rarely perfects its seeds. The autumn and spring are the most proper seasons of the year for planting the suckers, which yet can be done at

any time. The root of the sprout is separated from the parent root for a time before transplanting, that, as the Chinese say, it may be forced to seek its own sustenance. A portion of earth is taken up with the shoot, and the same exposure to the winds, and the same points of compass must be observed. These particulars, in the apprehension of the Chinese, materially affect the growth of the bamboo, who say, that if these be altered, a second revolution is added to that of transplanting. The new plants may need a little watering after they have been transplanted, but otherwise little or no care is bestowed upon them. Two or three years elapse before it throws out suckers in its turn, and the period allowed for a plantation to become ready to cut, is four or five years.

The inflorescence of the bamboo is similar to the grasses of the same natural family. The flowers are arranged in spikelets of five, and each branch has several spikelets. The seed is somewhat like that of wheat, but it has a black skin; it is farinaceous, and in times of scarcity is eaten by the poor. The Chinese have a proverb, that famine makes the bamboo to seed; which probably originated from the want of food at that time, and they were led to search more for edibles. The plantations of bamboo are cut down both in the spring and autumn. The practice recommended is, either to cut the whole down at once, or one fourth yearly. But this direction is not attended to much, as the proprietors cut the plant as there is a need for it, and the plantations are also cultivated for particular purposes. The winter is the most favorable season for cutting the bamboo, for at that time the wood is the hardest; the plant then ceases to grow, and the roots are better prepared to resist the exposure.

The partiality of the Chinese for the bamboo is so great, that it may justly be called their national plant. In selecting individuals for transplanting, reference is had to the size, form, color or any other quality that is desired, and according as these peculiarities are rare, the specimen is valued. By this predilection, the varieties become more determinate than they would otherwise be, if the plants were raised from the seed. The bamboo is placed in all those situations in which it can be used for effect; no garden or pleasure walk is destitute of it; the peculiar artificial rock work of the Chinese is rendered still more picturesque and natural by this plant, where it is often seen overhanging some mimic precipice, or rising up over a summer-house, affording both shade and profit. The emperor is said to have an officer about the palace, whose especial duty it is to attend to the bamboos in the imperial gardens. Small patches of them are to be seen on the banks of the Choo keäng; and they are to be found near almost every house of any considerable size. The banks of the rice fields are particularly adapted to their growth, and the roots of the bamboo also strengthen the bank against the force of the current. It is probable that among the varieties which are cultivated in China, there may be found several species on further investigation, but as yet our knowledge is limited to one only. The accompanying cut groups together the young sprouts of the bamboo just appearing above the

ground, the full grown plants, and one stem bearing flowers and seeds. It was designed and carved by natives, and is very similar to their mode of drawing the bamboo.



The many purposes to which the Chinese apply the bamboo are truly surprising. They press it into use on the water and on the land. In literature and confectionary; as well as in navigation and clothing, this useful plant is found necessary. Its services are required in building the house and in clothing its inmates; and it is indispensable in the school room and the police office. To the agriculturalist, the carpenter, and the seaman, this plant serves many useful purposes. The young and tender shoots of the bamboo are used as a vegetable for the table in different ways; if cut as soon as they appear above the ground, they are almost as tender and delicate as asparagus. They are white and palatable, and when in this state are used as pickles, as greens, as a sweetmeat, and as a medicine. The fondness for these young shoots is so general, that they are made articles of commerce, and are sent to the capital and all parts of the empire. They are cured by exposing them when fresh to steam and afterwards drying them. They often form a part in the feasts of the rich, and constitute an important article of diet for the priests. These young shoots are artificially cultivated during the most part of the year. All classes use the pickle as a relish with rice and other vegetable dishes.

The manufacture of paper consumes great quantities of this plant. The stalks are cut near the ground and then sorted into parcels according to the age, and tied up into small bundles. The younger the bamboo, the better is the quality of the paper which is made of it. The bundles are thrown in a reservoir of mud and water, and buried in the ooze for about a fortnight to soften them. They are then taken out, cut into pieces of a proper length, and put into mortars

with a little water, and pounded to a pulp with large wooden pestles. This semifluid mass, after being cleansed of the coarsest parts, is put into a large tub of water, and additions of the bamboo are made until the whole becomes of sufficient consistence to make paper. Then a workman takes up a sheet with a mould of the proper dimensions, the bottom of which is constructed of bamboo cut into small slips made smooth and round like wire. The pulp is continually agitated by other hands, while one is taking up the sheets, which are carefully taken off, and laid upon smooth tables to dry. According to others, it is dried by placing the newly made sheets upon a heated wall, and rubbing them with brushes till dry. This paper is unfit for writing upon with liquid ink, and is of a yellowish color. The Chinese size it by dipping the sheets into a solution of fish-glue and alum, either during or after the first process of making it. The paper intended for the use of the Chinese requires little or no size, for their ink used with brushes, and is very thick. The fine paper, intended for letters, is polished after sizing by rubbing it with smooth stones. The sheets are usually three feet and a half in length and two in breadth. The paper made in the northern provinces, called Nanking paper, is considerably whiter than that made at the south, and from its texture appears as if there was cotton used in its manufacture. It has been said that the Chinese use the mulberry in making paper, but of this we are not certain. The paper is put up in packages like cloth, with the maker's advertisement written on the edges of the sheets. The vender has it prepared for his different customers as they wish.

The roots of the bamboo are employed by the Chinese in making grotesque images; the gnarled and crooked pieces, are easily wrought, with the aid of a little fancy, into the shapes of men, animals, &c. The divisions of the joints are formed of only one or two of the innermost laminæ growing crosswise, and are easily removed. These divisions being taken out, the tube forms excellent water pipes, defended from injury, if laid under ground, by the hard exterior. Those which are very straight have been used for astronomical instruments. Vessels for holding water, buckets, and measures of capacity are made of those joints which are of sufficient diameter. A large, hollow piece is tied to the backs of the children living in the boats, which buoys them up till aid arrives, if they chance to fall overboard. The lightness of the bamboo, compared with its length and diameter, fits it admirably for tracking poles, for supporters of the mat sails of the Chinese, for roofs, and for poles on which to carry burdens. A frame of four bamboos is made, which the Chinese sailors use as a life preserver at sea. It is made four square, and in cases of danger is fastened to the body under the arms.

The manufacture of chairs, stools, tables, and boxes from the bamboo gives employment to many laborers. Fences are usually constructed of the bamboo, and the minor uses of the poles are almost innumerable. Mats of different degrees of fineness are manufactured from the long internodes. A cheap covering for boats, houses and

sheds is made of the wide slips of this plant; the joints are first softened by water, and then the whole piece is cut up into slips of different sizes for mats. Ropes are also made from the small twigs; but they are not adapted to long use. The simple instruments of the farmer, as sacks, wheel-barrows, and water wheels, are made of the bamboo. Grosier says that the leaves are made into a kind of rain cloak, by sewing them together in one direction; the rain falls off as from a roof. The leaves are used to thatch the houses of the poor, manure the soil, and line the chests of tea. Hats and umbrellas are made of bamboo to a great amount. Lampwicks are made of the pith of the young plants, which are, however, ill adapted to that use. The handles of the writing pencils, arrows, pikes and spears, and also scaffolds and baskets are formed of different parts. In ancient times, before the discovery of paper, the large bamboos were split and flattened by means of water and heat, and the sides attached to each other by wires; in this state, they were used instead of scrolls and books. Upon the smooth, hard surface, figures are now carved, which are much more delicate and beautiful than upon ivory. Incrustations of gold and silver are put over these, and the appearance is elegant. The cuticle is of sufficient hardness to produce fire by friction. Much skill and taste is shown in the manufacture of fans, which are an indispensable article to every Chinese; the work sometimes bestowed upon a single one is sufficient to give employment to a laborer for weeks. The tubes of tobacco pipes are almost universally made of the bamboo; as are also a great portion of the walking canes which are exported to western countries. Finally, the bamboo is used by the government of China as one of the most efficient means of maintaining order and enforcing obedience. It is applied to the backs of offenders in cases of small delinquency, and different sizes of the plants are adapted to the several grades of crime. So established has this mode of punishment become by long usage, that the term *bamboosing* is equivalent to the sentence inflicted for minor crimes.

The palms are a family of plants so extensively diffused, that were we to compare the whole of them with the bamboo, the advantage, in regard to their numerous and important uses, would most evidently be in favor of the former. Perhaps there is no tree more useful than the date palm. The inhabitants of the marshy plains near the river Oronoke, in South America, have their dwellings suspended from the top of the palms, and derive a good portion of their subsistence from the fruit. The number of genera of the palms already known, exceeds that of the species of the bamboo; and the former are dispersed over the four quarters of the globe. Were we to select a particular genus to compare with the bamboo, that one, of which the cocoa nut palm is the type, would be the most proper. This palm is employed by the natives of those countries in which it grows, to supply many of their most necessary wants; and these wants are so similar to those which the Chinese gratify by the use of the bam-

boo, that we are almost insensibly led to compare the two together. The contiguity of their localities also induces us to observe more particularly these two plants in connection with each other.

The cocoa nut palm (*Cocos nucifera*,) is indigenous in the southern parts of Asia, and in the islands of the Indian archipelago. It is raised from the seed, and, by cultivation and care, produces fruit in four or five years; but in its natural state, the tree does not bear under eight or ten. The trunk rises to the height of eighty feet, and is surmounted with a tuft of large, radiating leaves, which gives the plant an unique appearance, and far surpassing that of other trees in majesty. The interior of the trunk is composed of hard and strong fibres which are arranged in fascicles; the centre, like most monocotyledonous plants, is softer than the wood near the outside. The exterior is covered with the cicatrices of the fallen leaves, which make the surface of the stem rough. There are no branches, but the long, pinnated leaves serve in their stead; these are from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and are supported beneath by a reticulated substance; the midrib is strong and keel-shaped. New leaves are continually coming up from the centre of the tuft to supply the place of the old ones as fast as they fall off; the tuft of new leaves is called the cabbage of the palm.

The fructification of the palm is arranged by threes, or the multiples of that number. The plant has six stamens; the nut is three-sided, and there are three divisions to the calyx and corol. The flowers are enclosed in a sheath when they first appear; but as they become more mature, this sheath withers and the flowers open. The tufts of flowers, to the number of eight or ten, proceed from the top of the tree; and there are ten or twelve flowers in a sheath. Soon after the flowers have expanded, the male parts gradually fall off, leaving the embryo fruit. The nut usually comes to maturity in six or eight months, and when ripe falls off with the least agitation. It is about the size of a man's head; the rind is green when fresh, but it soon dries, and is then of a brown color. Within the fibrous husk is the nut, with a black shell of great firmness. The nut at first is full of a sweetish, limpid liquor, which gradually deposits that white, firm and oily substance, called the kernel of the cocoa nut. In proportion as the nut grows old, the shell hardens and the liquor diminishes, till at last it is entirely absorbed by the albuminous, milky kernel. The seacoast is not unfavorable to the growth of the cocoa nut palm, and it is found on most of the islands which are in the Pacific and Indian oceans, as well as in the southern parts of Asia, and central countries of South America.

"The whole family of palms are, without doubt, the most interesting in the vegetable kingdom, if we consider the majestic aspect of their towering stems, crowned by a still more gigantic foliage; the character of grandeur which they impress upon the landscapes of the countries which they inhabit; or, their immense value to mankind, as affording food and raiment, and numerous objects of economical importance." These several particulars of beauty and use, the cocoa

nut palm possesses in a great degree. It forms one of the most beautiful objects seen in an eastern landscape, rearing its coronal of long, pinnated leaves far above the surrounding trees. This stately and imposing appearance of the palm is very different from the delicacy and grace which characterize the bamboo. The former is contemplated with feelings approaching to awe, while the latter is regarded with pleasure for its easy and graceful pliancy. The consideration of the various uses to which the several parts of the cocoa nut palm are applied, will show us some applications peculiar to it, and some which it has in common with the bamboo.

The root is sometimes masticated instead of the areca nut; and of the small fibres, baskets are made in Brazil. The trunk is composed of longitudinal fibres, soft in the centre, but hard as horn itself near the outside. That part of the outer surface near the root is sufficiently hard to receive a beautiful polish, when it resembles agate. This case of the stem, as it has been well called, is made into drums, and used in the constructions of huts. Rude boats are also made from the trunk by scooping out the interior. The boards made from the wood are at first spongy, but afterwards become hard. Posts and rafters for buildings are likewise constructed from it. The nut is one of the most useful parts of the plant. The fibrous husk, which envelops the nut an inch or more in thickness, furnishes the material of which the natives make their cordage. The small lines made of it, known under the term of *cinet*, possess great strength. Cables are made of it with great skill; and in the estimation of Dr. Roxburgh, it is the best material in use for them on account of its elasticity and strength. These ropes, called *coir* ropes, together with the dried husks, form important articles of commerce between the islands of the archipelago and the continent. The Chinese junks usually carry a supply of the latter to fill up any deficiency in their rigging; the Arabian vessels, trading to Jeddah have their cordage made of the cocoa nut. The husk is also manufactured into a coarse sail cloth, and is applied to scouring floors and polishing furniture. The shell is employed in the making of domestic utensils, as bowls, cups, and lamps. It is susceptible also of being carved, and the work is not destitute of a finish and elegance. The kernel has a pleasant taste and is eaten by all classes wherever the tree grows, but from its oily qualities is rather indigestible. It furnishes oil by expression, which is used extensively for lamps, and to some extent in cooking; it is a constituent of soaps, and forms an article of commerce under the name of palm oil. To extract the oil, the kernel is scooped from the shell in thin slices, and put into troughs to drain; it is then poured into vessels and corked up for use. The refuse which is left after the oil has been extracted, is given to swine and poultry, which eat it with avidity. The fluid within the nut, called the milk of the cocoa nut, is well known to every one who has seen the cocoa nut. It is one of the most grateful, cooling, and harmless beverages known, and seems to have been particularly designed for tropical climes. The leaves furnish materials for thatching the habitations of the natives, and for making mats, which

are used as carpets and matrasses. The reticulated support at the base of the leaf is made into cradles, and, as some say, into a coarse cloth. The midrib serves for oars, paddles, fences, warlike weapons, and many similar purposes. When the leaflets are reduced to fine fibres, a very beautiful and costly carpeting is made for the use of the higher classes of natives; the coarse fibres are employed in the construction of brooms, baskets, and such like articles. The leaves are also used for writing; they make excellent torches; and potash in abundance is obtained from their ashes.

The terminal bud is sometimes cut off and used for food; it is said to be more delicate than brocoli cabbage, which it resembles. It is so costly, however, that it is seldom procured, for when the young leaves are cut off, the pith is exposed and the tree dies. The juice which flows from the wounded sheaths of the flowers, is a very grateful and cooling beverage, as well as a gently aperient medicine. This juice is obtained by making an incision into the sheaths, and fixing pots to catch the liquor as it flows out; these pots are placed there in the evening and removed in the morning before the sun has had any effect upon it. This is sold in the bazars under the name of toddy, and is eagerly sought for by every one. In appearance and consistence it is like water, and is an excellent substitute for yeast. It is also obtained by boring the tree, and gathering it as often as it is needed for use. After the toddy has been kept a few hours, it begins to ferment, acquires a sharp taste, and a slight intoxicating quality. By distillation, the toddy yields the spirituous liquor called arrack, which is so much drunk by the lowest classes in the southern countries of Asia, and the Indian archipelago. The intoxicating and pernicious properties of the arrack obtained from the toddy, are increased by the addition of rice and molasses, either of which yields a more spirituous liquor than the juice of the palm. The arrack manufactured at Goa is the sweetest, and is considered the purest; but that which is called Batavian arrack, contains only about five or six hundredths of toddy. The juice of the palm is sweet, and by boiling yields a coarse sugar, called *jaggery*. Great quantities of this article are consumed by the inhabitants of the Indian islands, and of the neighboring continent. By fermentation, the toddy yields an agreeable wine called palm wine, which has none of the pernicious qualities of arrack. Those trees from which the juice is taken, do not yield any fruit. Thus it will appear that this vegetable affords wine, oil, spirit, flour (by grinding the kernel), sugar, thread, household utensils, weapons, food and habitations. The peculiar products of the date palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*, and the sago palm, *Sagus Rumphii*, are not found on the cocco nut palm; the three together would afford sufficient sustenance, clothing and habitations to keep alive the inhabitants of the countries in which they grow.

ART. VII. *A funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of the right honorable William-John, lord Napier, his Britannic majesty's chief superintendent in China.* Preached at Canton, on Lord's day, the 26th instant, by the reverend E. C. BRIDGMAN.

[I would here advertise the reader that a few slight alterations have been made in the discourse since it was preached: yet still, it is not without much hesitation that it is laid before the readers of the Repository. It was written with much haste, and while numerous other duties were pressing upon me; but the melancholy and afflictive providence which occasioned it, seemed to forbid silence; and very glad should I have been, if an abler pen than mine had performed this solemn task. I have aimed carefully at a plain and simple exhibition of the truth; and in whatever degree the discourse shall serve, by the blessing of God, to induce those who heard, or those who may read it, to prepare themselves for the last conflict, for a victory over death, and a crown of glory, in the same degree the object of its publication will be accomplished. E. C. B.]

Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his. NUMBERS xxiii, 10.

SHORT and precarious is human life. One generation after another appears on the stage of action, engages for a little time in these busy scenes, and is quickly hurried off by the messengers of Death. Then rank, riches, friends are all of no avail; and naught but righteousness is valuable; the crowns of the Cæsars and the gold of Ophir are worthless; all the honors, the gaieties, and the pleasures of this world are swept away; and the disembodied spirit ascends to God who gave it, and by the same omnipotent hand which formed it, but in a manner not revealed to us, is introduced into that state where the righteous shall be righteous still; or to that where the unholly shall remain forever alien from God and glory.

The repeated instances of death, which have occurred in our limited community during the last few months, address to us, my hearers, solemn admonition, warning us to be also ready; 'for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh;' in such a time as we do not anticipate the awful event, we shall be called from the active scenes of this life, our only state of probation, and shall be hurried away to the awards, the endless bliss or the endless woe, of the life to come. Very recently we saw one of the youngest of the foreign residents, who seemed the picture of health and buoyant with hopes of long life, suddenly arrested, and in a few short hours numbered with the great congregation of the dead. Equally sudden, and scarcely less unexpected, was the departure of one, who during a period of nearly twenty-seven years, enjoyed almost uninterrupted health; and even after the signs of fatal disease warned him and his friends of the fast approaching hour of dissolution, fond hopes were cherished that his life would be prolonged to a good old age, and the result of his long acquaintance with the Chinese prove, in an eventful crisis, of peculiar advantage, both to his own country and to this.

Familiar with the language, habits, manners, customs, and laws of this people, Dr. Morrison seemed eminently fitted to be a counselor in aught that regarded the relations of this with the other nations of the earth. But these anticipations, cherished the most fondly by those who knew him best, were all blighted in an hour. And while the recollections of his last moments were fresh in our minds, another summons came forth and took from the midst of us one, who of all seemed to enjoy the fairest prospect of health, and the last of all who could be spared from the society and the station which he held. But who can fathom the deep things of God! In each of the events to which I have alluded, friends would have wished it otherwise than it has been: and could the most assiduous care of physicians, or the anxious solicitude and prayers of relations and friends have retained the 'vital spark,' then surely we should not have been called to the solemnities of this mournful occasion. It is indeed a dark and mysterious dispensation of God's providence, which has removed from us the right honorable lord Napier; yet we know that it is all right; and we bow with submission, and say, "Not our wills, O God, but thine be done."

It is not my intention to dwell long on the personal character of the individual, whose sudden removal from this life we now deplore. Three short months have scarcely elapsed, since he arrived here, a perfect stranger to us all. The new and very arduous duties which at once devolved upon him, left to him very little time for the kindly offices and formalities of society. Moreover, the sickness which so soon attacked him, not only deprived his friends of the opportunity of enjoying with him his leisure moments, but in a few days extinguished the hope of his restoration to health. Let, therefore, a very brief narration of the principal circumstances of his life suffice for this occasion; and if any apology is needed for an allusion to his early history and that of his family, it must be found in a wish to gratify those who now hear me, and to place before their minds the example of men who have combined great proficiency in science, with an ardent love of the study of the Sacred Scriptures and the performance of the delightful duties of our holy religion.

The right honorable WILLIAM-JOHN NAPIER, baron Napier of Merchistoun, baronet of Nova Scotia, and captain in the royal navy, was descended from John Napier, the author of logarithms. That celebrated scholar, after completing his studies at the university of St. Andrews and making the tour of Europe, sought retirement and devoted his life to the study of the Holy Scriptures and of mathematics. He died in 1617. Ten years subsequently to that date, his son and heir, sir Archibald Napier, was raised to the peerage; and for the the decided part which he took in favor of the royal cause, was imprisoned by the covenanters. Francis, lord Napier, father of the deceased, sat fifteen years as lord high commissioner in the general assembly of the church of Scotland: this, considering that his lordship was an Episcopalian, was not less a proof of the high respectability of the nobleman, than of the liberality of the general assembly. The

late William-John, ninth lord, was born on the 13th of October, 1786. His parents were both exemplary; and he enjoyed in the home of his youth the best example, both moral and religious. At the age of eight years, he was sent to school in the north of England; where, at two different seminaries, he continued till the age of fourteen. He was then removed to the neighborhood of Edinburgh, where he attended the university, and was boarded at Duddingstone with a clergyman of highly accomplished character. It was his father's wish that he should go to India, where he enjoyed every prospect of rapid advancement. His own inclination, however, was bent on a different course; and when he had arrived at the age of sixteen, he entered as midshipman with his father's consent, on board one of his majesty's ships on the North Sea station. He bore a part in the memorable scenes of Trafalgar; and was with lord Cochrane during the period of his most brilliant achievements. *Ready, aye ready*, was the motto of his family, and he acted accordingly. He was always found at his post, ready and faithful in the performance of his part in every scene of danger. Once, while serving on board the *Imperieuse*, he received a slight wound, a ball having passed through his ear and grazed his cheek; but as soon as the wound was dressed he returned to his duty. He was devotedly fond of a seafaring life, was early and rapidly promoted in the naval service, and did not retire from it till the peace of 1815.

Notwithstanding the ardor with which he performed the duties, and perfected himself in the scientific branches of his favorite profession, his thoughts at length turned to the enjoyment of domestic life, from which during his whole naval career he had been entirely excluded, with the exception of a few weeks. He now spent a short time at the university of Edinburgh. And in 1816 he married and retired to a remote and uncultivated property belonging to his family in Selkirkshire, where he resided most of the time for eight years. During that period of his life, little is known to the world concerning him, except that he was ardently and constantly engaged in endeavoring, by every means in his power, to benefit the tenants of his paternal estates, as well as all those who were around him. He attended much, and personally, to the wants of the peasantry, building them cottages and encouraging them in education. In these delightful labors, his efforts were bounded only by his means of doing good; and even when his means failed, there was ever some kind word, some small token, or some ready plan, to show them the interest which he felt in their welfare.

He succeeded his father in 1823. In the following year he was again called to the duties of his profession, and was about two and a half years on the South American station, in the command of his majesty's ship *Diamond*. Previous, however, to his going to sea in 1824, he was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and was reelected during the period of his service abroad. He returned to Scotland in 1827; and, until near the end of 1833, resided chiefly on his estate of Thirlestane, except when engaged in his parliamentary duties, or in attending personally on his present ma-

jeisty, William IV. When called to act among the legislators of his country, he showed himself the decided friend of reform and catholic emancipation; and he lost his seat in parliament in consequence of having voted in favor of the former question. In all his measures, his conduct was marked by great frankness and magnanimity. During his parliamentary career, in the course of a debate on the abolition of slavery, he introduced a motion for the appointment of commissioners, from both houses of parliament, to proceed to the West Indies and make personal examination in regard to the condition of the slaves; and his lordship, fearing that the unhealthiness of the climate might be urged as a difficulty in carrying the measure into execution, volunteered himself to proceed as commissioner from the upper house. For the good of his country, and his fellow-men, he seemed ready at all times to encounter any difficulty and to sacrifice aught that he possessed, not excepting his own property and life.

His general information was extensive. His peculiar turn of mind, like that of his illustrious ancestor, John Napier, led him to the study of mathematics and of the lively oracles of God. He took a peculiar interest in the erecting of the Edinburgh observatory; and was president of the astronomical society of that city. He was not deeply read in works of theology; but *he was deeply read in his Bible*. His views respecting divine subjects were clear, simple, and scriptural. In matters of religion, as well as in regard to all other subjects, he thought and acted for himself, unbiassed by the opinions of other men. His ancestors were all pious and devoted royalists; and in their religious worship they followed the episcopal order, for which he ever had a high respect: but in his own he adopted the forms of the Presbyterian church. He had an humble opinion of himself, and a charitable one of all mankind. The prevailing features of his character were remarkable benevolence and liberality united with great decision and energy of mind. He was exceedingly careful in the discharge of all his duties; and in a degree, not less eminent than pleasing, seemed ever the most anxious to discharge those moral and religious obligations which he owed to his fellow-men and to his God. Under the influence of such opinions and views, it was not strange that the intellectual and moral improvement of mankind was a subject that often occupied his thoughts. Accordingly, on his appointment to China,—than which, perhaps, none in the world could involve more important interests, and on which he at once centered all his ambition,—we find him immediately, after giving the special objects of his mission the first place in his thoughts, looking forward to the gradual extension of commerce and a free and well regulated intercourse with China, and, through such means, to the gradual diffusion of knowledge, the removal of prejudice, the overthrow of idolatry, and the complete triumph of pure Christianity.

And little did we anticipate that he was so soon to be removed from the new scene of his labors. Suddenly, however, as the fatal hour approached, he was not, we trust, taken by surprise. No doubt that his mind often reached forward to the goal to which he was so

rapidly hastening. Sometimes he used to speak of scenes beyond the grave; but, even when it was evident that he must soon put off his earthly tabernacle, he said nothing concerning how or where it should find a resting place. Spiritual and eternal things engrossed his thoughts. And in the last hours of his life, it was pleasing to observe with what readiness and confidence his mind turned to the only true source of support and consolation. And if he did not enjoy all that assurance which is sometimes vouchsafed to those who fall asleep in Jesus, yet he was able to resign himself with great composure to the care of his almighty Father. He knew where to look for help; and again and again he said, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." His views of his own unworthiness in the sight of God, were very striking; his own righteousness and merits all seemed to him as nothing, and less than nothing; and he sought only for the pure and spotless robes of Christ's righteousness. The great truths of the Holy Scriptures, which he had so often and so fondly pondered in the season of health, yielded him rich consolation in the last days and moments of his life. About an hour before he expired, he cast his eye upon the dial of his watch, and seemed conscious that the time for his departure had arrived, and in feeble and broken accents uttered his last words, indicating more clearly than ever before, his hope and confidence in God. He then, after a few minutes, and without a struggle or a groan, ceased to breathe.

Such, my dear hearers, was the end of him whose death we now mourn; and such, so far as those around him could observe, were the feelings and expressions of his last hours. We do not know the secrets of man's heart; they are with God, reserved for the disclosures of the last great day. As the life and death of the deceased bore the striking marks of real goodness and true piety, we may, and we do indulge the pleasing hope that he is now participating in the exalted blessedness of those who bow and adore before the King of glory.

In attempting to portray the character of a righteous man—one whom we may imitate in every respect,—we must not take for our pattern any merely human person; nor must we draw the rules for the regulation of his conduct from our own maxims or our own views of what is right, irrespective of revelation. Exercise our own reason and judgment we must; but to look for infallible rectitude here, were exceedingly unwise. As the offspring of the high and holy ONE, and among those to whom he has graciously given a *sure* word of prophecy, it is our bounden duty to be perfect even as our Father in heaven is perfect; and if we fail in this, then there will be occasion for repentance, reformation, and more strong endeavors to rise to the high standard: but as Jesus Christ, notwithstanding his divine nature, was in all respects fashioned like unto ourselves, he is to be taken for our pattern,—and he is a *perfect* pattern. His mission, as he came down from the court of his heavenly Father, was indeed most peculiar: none but the mind of infinite wisdom could have devised, and none but omnipotent power could have carried into execution, such a wonderful plan; and if we do not now comprehend it in all its parts

and in all its relations, yet cold indeed must be our hearts if we do not adore the matchless love and mercy which are evidently revealed in it;—particularly in his giving us (in connection with the other great objects of the mission,) a complete pattern for our imitation. For in all things, sin only excepted, he was like one of us. Often was he tempted, tried, and afflicted. He was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. And over the remains of departed friends, even when he was about to restore them to life, “Jesus wept.” In all the temper of his heart, therefore, and in his words and actions, we have in him a perfect pattern, a complete guide.

If, then, we would covet the best gifts—the white robes of Christ’s righteousness, and the heavenly treasures that fail not,—let us look to the great Captain of our salvation; and whatsoever we find him to have been, such in all things let us be. Was he holy and harmless? Was he meek and gentle? Did he go about doing good? To the sick and the afflicted, to the naked and the hungry, and to the poor and the despised, did he administer comfort and support? Was he careful to observe and do all the things written in the book of the law? Was he wont to join those who went joyfully up to the house of the Lord to worship in the public assembly? Did the social circle and the closet witness his devotions? Was his a life of spotless purity and perfect blamelessness? Did he hallow the Sabbath day, forgive his enemies, and even become poor that we through his poverty might become rich? Oh, how amiable, how lovely, how convincing, and how animating is our Savior’s example! How loudly, and how imperiously too, does his conduct preach to us! Let it never be said, let the thought never be cherished in the heart, that we cannot be the followers of our divine Redeemer; for if so, then never can we be the partakers of his redemption, or of his righteousness, or of his eternal glory and blessedness? In short, there is no grace or virtue, benevolence or charity, which a perfectly innocent being could, in his own person, exhibit for the imitation of sinners like ourselves, which is not beautifully exemplified in his life.

If, therefore, we would *die* the death of the righteous, and like him inherit a glorious immortality, then must we *live* the life of the righteous man. This is not a subject for vain speculation; but a plain matter for serious thought and careful calculation. A thoughtless, reckless life, or one of mere formality or vain hypocrisy, will lead to inevitable ruin. As well may we think of reaching the stars by delving to the centre of the earth, as of gaining heaven without a pious and godly life. Without holiness we can never dwell with God; and holiness cannot be obtained when death has laid his cold hands upon us; if, therefore, we defer repentance till we have reached that dread hour, then our eternal doom will be as awful as our lives have been sinful. And here let it be borne in mind, that righteousness will not only not diminish any of the substantial joys and comforts of this life, but, on the contrary, will yield its possessor peace and happiness which this world cannot afford, and which, blessed be God, it can never take away.

It is a very solemn thing to leave this world and go into eternity ; and when we see our friends expire, or, as is oftener the case with us in this place, when we hear of their decease, we then *feel* that it is a solemn thing to die ; and even the thought of entering that ' undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns,' often makes the gay and the thoughtless sad, and for a moment turns their attention to the scenes of eternity. But death, so far as we can discover, will make no radical change in our moral character ; it is not on death, therefore, but on *life*, on these few fleeting moments, that our eternal bliss or woe depends. Only let us be clothed with the righteousness of Christ, ' let but his grace our hearts renew,' and death will lose its sting and the grave its victory.

Happy, thrice happy, then, are all those who, knowing the will of the Lord, keep his commandments and walk in all his statutes and ordinances ; yes, happy shall they be in life, happy in death, and happy in eternity : " even so saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors." But ; " and if the *righteous* scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear." " Be not deceived ; God is not mocked : for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption ; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Does any one need motives to induce him to live a holy and a righteous life, to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness ? Is there any such one in this assembly ? If so, then bear with me, my hearer, while I earnestly entreat you to think again of the bliss and the songs of heaven, and of the misery and the wailings of the prisoners in despair, and urge you to estimate, *if you can*, what it will profit you if you gain the whole world and lose your own soul. And if none of these things move you : if neither the example nor the commands of our Savior ; the full glories of the upper world nor the flames of the bottomless pit, nor yet even these solemn and afflictive dispensations of God's providence, can wake you to righteousness, then in vain do I raise my feeble voice of entreaty : " but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." And if, after all, you *will* persist in remaining unreconciled to God, and *choose* to live in your sins, say not that you were never warned to flee from the wrath to come. Even to-day after so long a time, life and death are set before you. The way of wisdom, which is the way of peace and pleasantness, though straight and narrow, opens before you on the one hand ; and on the other, is the way of sin and folly, which is indeed broad and easy, and many, it is true, walk therein, but it will lead you down to hell. Which of these two ways will you choose ? In one of them you must walk ; nay, in one of them you are now traveling to eternity : is it the way which leads to life ? Whatever is done, whatever we have to do for eternity, must be done quickly ; for death will soon overtake us ; and there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither we are hastening.

There seems to be a natural disposition in man, even when rushing on-towards danger, to shut it out from his view ; this is particularly

the case in regard to that danger which relates to our condition in the world to come. The folly, nay, the madness of this conduct none will deny: but it is not easy to overcome the propensity to it. Yet it must be overcome, or we are lost. The heart is deceitful and desperately wicked; and men choose darkness rather than light. They refuse to receive the whole truth, to look at all their danger, and to use the means which God has given them to escape from it. Riches, honors, and emoluments, cannot be gained without means and effort. So in like manner, to secure the salvation of the soul, and an inheritance among the redeemed, means must be used; and *that man*, who neglects the use of means, such as God has appointed and deigns to bless, dishonors his Maker and *destroys his own soul*. The great plan of our redemption is fraught with divine love and mercy; and the chief object of our being, is to honor God, by securing in his own appointed way, the redemption and salvation of our own souls, and the souls of our fellow-men. But this cannot be done without effort. While, therefore, we should strive first to make our own calling and election sure, we should not fail, at the same time, to use our utmost endeavors to promote the present and eternal welfare of all men.

Here, I would bring to view the important declaration of Holy Writ, that our salvation is by grace through faith in Jesus Christ; "for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Yet how unavailing will this great salvation be to those who have never heard the gospel—"the glad tidings of a Savior's righteousness." Though Christ died for the sins of the whole world; and through faith in his name forgiveness is offered to all men, and will be obtained by all who exercise repentance towards God; yet how can men seek for the righteousness of one of whom they have not heard, and in whom they believe not? Many, there is reason to fear, who hear the gospel, will never believe in Jesus and obtain the salvation of their souls. And though it is certain that God will not do injustice to any of his creatures, yet I know not how any one who is ignorant of the true God and Savior, can obtain deliverance from the thralldom of sin and death. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Of all the scenes on earth, none, it seems to me, is more glorious and truly sublime than the last trial of the good man, when in the dark valley single-handed he meets the King of terrors, and triumphantly exclaims, "O Death, where is thy sting! O Grave, where is thy victory!" But how unlike the death of a true Christian must be that of those millions around us, who have never heard of a Savior's righteousness? What dark forebodings must they feel, when all the visions of this life are closed up around them! Before them, all is one dark, cheerless unknown. No rod, nor staff comforts them. No hope of pure and immortal blessedness cheers them. Indeed, a large part of the inhabitants of this land deny the immortality of the soul; others believe in its transmigration; while not one in a hundred, and probably not one in ten thousand, has any just idea of its capacities for an endless existence in the world to come. ~~And is such darkness to brood over this land for ever. No; for the~~

time will come,—may it come quickly,—when the gospel shall be published to every creature, and *righteousness shall fill the whole earth*: the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it; his promises are all sure; not one faileth. But, under God, it depends on those who bear the name of Christ, to publish the gospel to those who have it not, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of sin to the service of the true God. The work to be accomplished is vast. And it is not less our privilege, than our duty, to aid in the advancement of truth and righteousness, and to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

It is righteousness that exalteth a nation. When divine truth shall have won its dominion over all hearts, and the reign of righteousness is everywhere established, then will all the nations of the earth stand together; and losing their strong antipathies, their intercourse will become free, equitable, and mutually beneficial. The din of arms will cease, and garments will no more be rolled in blood. And is there joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth? What then must be the feeling when nations are born to God in a day?

Could the spirits of departed believers, who while here below, toiled and mourned as we do now,—could they look down from their heights of glory, and view the progress and triumphs of truth and righteousness on the earth, and see the full accomplishment of the works in which they were once engaged, what ecstatic joy would be felt, what hallelujahs would be heard through all their shining ranks! And as one and another, redeemed from among the children of men, arrived at the heavenly mansions and were recognized by those with whom they coöperated while tabernacled in the flesh and absent from their father's house, what new songs of praise and loud hosannas would echo through all the wide expanse of heaven! But do the spirits of the departed take cognizance of what transpires among those whom they have left here to mourn their loss? And do friends and acquaintances recognize each other in the world of spirits? These are questions which often arise in the minds of the inquisitive, when, the darling objects of their affections having been torn away, they are called to mourn for the loss of dear relatives and friends. How far it is right for us to push our inquiries on these points I dare not undertake to say. To whatever extent the light of revelation guides us, we may go safely; but there we must stop, resting in the assurance that 'what we know not now, we shall know hereafter.'

To the first question, the Scriptures seem not to afford us any very explicit answer. "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise," said our Savior to the dying malefactor. Again, it is said in the Scriptures, that when the silver cord is loosed, then the dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. It appears, therefore, that the soul after death returns immediately to God, to give an account of its conduct in the present life, and of course is capable of reviewing the scenes through which it has passed. Hence it seems most probable that the soul is capable of extending its cognizance to scenes immediately connected with those in which it participated

here. Angels are ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation; and the spirits of departed saints are equal or like unto the angels of God; and hence there is a probability that they too are employed to watch over those Christians who have to endure trials and difficulties in this world. In the parable of the rich man, his five brethren are represented as exciting his compassion, and calling forth from him an earnest, but vain, request in their behalf.

In answer to the second question, the evidence is more satisfactory, because it is more ample. The same instances which were cited in proof of the first, bear with equal or greater force on the second question. The rich man and Lazarus and Abraham, are all exhibited in the parable as well known to each other. And moreover, our Savior informs us, that many shall come from the east, and from the west, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God, with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. In order to the complete fulfillment of the intention of this promise, it seems necessary that the persons here spoken of, should know those patriarchs: and if they are capable of recognizing those whom they never saw in this world, much more will they be able to know those with whom they were familiar here.

From these passages of Sacred Scripture, and others like these, it seems very probable that departed spirits have cognizance of what takes place among those whom they left behind them in this world, and quite evident that they recognize each other in that state to which they have gone. And oh, what sweet consolation must it afford the weary traveler, as he struggles onward in the rugged path of this life, to know that heavenly visitors are around him, witnessing all his toils and conflicts. But it is only to the *righteous* that the angels are sent forth to minister; and it is only on them that the heavenly hosts can look down with complacency. And those heavenly hosts are all the ministers of Jehovah; they do his will, and fly at his command. They are the instruments; he the power. He sustains, guides, and governs all. He is the true and the faithful friend, and is ever ready to hear and answer those that call upon him with faith and humility. Jehovah loveth the righteous, he never leaves nor forsakes them, nor can any pluck them out of his hand. His favor is life, and his care and lovingkindness are better than life. In Jehovah, therefore, let us put all our confidence; keep all his commands; and on his promises build all our hopes. Then shall we be safe—safe and happy amidst all the trials and afflictions of this life, and safe and triumphant in the hour of death. Even so: Amen.

Supplementary to the *Funeral Sermon*, which appears on the preceding pages, we will add here a few notices concerning the sickness, death, and burial of the late lord Napier. His death occurred at his private residence in Macao, where he enjoyed the most careful attention of his physicians, and all the solace which an affectionate family could afford. The mournful event was announced to the Chinese in Canton by the following note:—

To Howqua and Mowqua, the senior hong merchants.

Gentlemen, It is my painful duty to announce to you the demise of his majesty's chief superintendent of British commerce in China, the right honorable lord Napier, this day at 10 o'clock and 20 minutes P. M.; and to request that you will cause this sad event to be made known to his excellency, the governor of Canton.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
(Signed) T. R. COLLEDGE,

Macao, (Saturday) Oct. 11th, 1834. Surgeon to H. M. superintendents.

The above note, though sent off by an express about two hours after its date, did not reach Canton, until 3 o'clock P. M. Monday, the 13th, when a translation of it by Mr. J. R. Morrison, Chinese secretary and interpreter to his majesty's superintendents, was immediately delivered in person to the hong merchants. A full week, however, elapsed before they deigned to make any reply; and which was not done until after the same sad event had been reported to the governor by the assistant foo magistrate at Macao. The Chinese express the decease of individuals by different terms, appropriate to their respective ranks. The appropriate word for speaking of the demise of a nobleman, and which was used in the translation of Mr. Colledge's letter, is, in the hong merchants' reply, exchanged for a term that denotes the death of any person, even one of the lowest rank, or of no rank at all. The three following short papers were received in reply to Mr. Colledge's announcement of lord Napier's death.

First Answer.

A respectful reply. We have received your honorable letter, stating that the officer of your honorable nation expired in consequence of illness, on the 19th day of the 8th moon; and entrusting us to announce it to his excellency, the governor. We have reported it on your behalf. For this purpose we reply, and present our compliments. (Signed) Woo Shaouyung. (Howqua.)
To Mr. Colledge. 9th moon, 18th day. Loo Wankin. (Mowqua.)

Second Answer.

A respectful communication. We the other day received your letter, informing us of your honorable officer, Napier, having expired. We have before reported it on your behalf to the governor, and have before sent an answer to you. We have now received an edict from the governor in reply; which, as is right, we copy and send for your perusal, praying you to examine it accordingly. This is the task we impose, and for this purpose we write; and presenting compliments, are, &c. (Signed) Woo Shaouyung.
To Mr. Colledge. 9th moon, 21st day. (October 23d.) Loo Wankin.

Governor's Edict.

Loo, governor of the provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c. &c., in reply (to the hong merchants). The report being authenticated, its contents are fully known. Await also a proclamation from the hoppo.
Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 18th day. (October 20th, 1834.)

The funeral took place on Wednesday, the 15th inst., at 10 o'clock A. M., attended by the authorities of Macao, the military, and a long line of Portuguese and foreign gentlemen. Several of the principal British merchants of Canton were present also, having closed their counting-houses during that and the preceding day. While the procession moved to the grave, minute guns were fired from his majesty's ship *Andromache*, which was then lying in Macao roads, where just

three months before she had fired a salute, announcing his lordship's arrival in China. Minute guns were also fired by the British shipping at Lintin and Whampoa; and over his grave three volleys of musketry were fired by the Portuguese troops. The funeral service was read by the Rev. G. H. Vachell, chaplain to the commission.

Order of Procession at the funeral of the late lord Napier.

The Guard of Honor, composed of Portuguese troops.

The Chaplain and Physicians to his majesty's superintendents.

The British Colors, borne by two British seamen.

Captain Blackwood,
H. B. M. R. N.

Captain Elliot,
H. B. M. R. N.

Captain Jonge,
H. B. M. R. N.



The Governor of Macao,
Capt. H. M. F. M. R. N.

Captain Chads, C. B.,
H. B. M. R. N.

Captain Loureiro,
H. M. F. M. R. N.

Relations of the deceased.

His Majesty's Superintendents.

Rev. E. C. Bridgman.

William Jardine Esq.

Secretaries to His Majesty's Superintendents.

Officers of His Majesty's Navy.

Officers of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Navy.

Officers of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Army.

James Innes Esq.

James Matheson Esq.

Followed by numerous British and Portuguese gentlemen.

The preceding order, copied from the Canton Register of the 21st instant, was prefaced by the following editorial remarks:—

Before Sunday, the 14th of September, when his lordship announced to the Chinese his desire to retire from Canton, he was confined to a sick bed. His physician had urged, that for the sake of his health, he should give up the labors of business; but such was his ardor in the public service that no persuasions could prevail, till increased debility, on the 18th, induced his medical adviser peremptorily to advise discontinuance of business. It was hoped his removal from his own very close apartments (formerly occupied by the chief of the factory,) to the airier residence of Mr. Innes would produce some benefit; and so far good was got, that sleep, before unattainable was arrived at, and a lessened pulse; but great debility continued, and, as we before remarked, it was with difficulty and not without support, that on Sunday the 21st, he walked the short distance from the factory to the boat in which he embarked for Macao. The last time he put pen to paper was in signing an order for the frigates to proceed to Lintin, which was now given to the hong merchants. During the passage to Macao on the 23d, he had an accession of fever that excited the physician's alarm; the more so, as having no previous suspicions of the treacherous detention to which they were subjected, he was unprovided with medicines suited to the new symptoms that appeared. Not all the skill of the medical art, the soothing attentions of his family, nor the pure air of Macao, sufficed to arrest the fatal progress of his lordship's indisposition. His only relief from suffering was in devotional exercises, in which he was assisted by the Rev,

Mr. Bridgman; whom he had learned to esteem as a preacher when attending his public worship at Canton. On Wednesday, the 8th inst., though very feeble and drawing near to his end, he was aroused by the Portuguese forts saluting a direct arrival from Lisbon; some question took place as to the vessel's flag, in his lordship's hearing, when he distinctly said, "If it is the Portuguese arms between white and blue, it is Donna Maria's new flag." During his lordship's illness he had been disturbed by the frequency of the Macao church bells, which the religious communities at his request most considerably discontinued. Two days before his lordship's death he instructed his private secretary to return his thanks for this mark of attention.

The two following documents, are also from the Register.

Extracts from Dr. Colledge's private notes.

On Sunday the 21st instant, about 6 p. m., Howqua and Mowqua waited upon me for the purpose of delivering the 'chop,' or usual pass for foreigners, to proceed to Macao; and I, in conformity with the arrangement which had been acceded to by myself on the part of the right honorable lord Napier, was prepared with an order from his lordship for H. M. ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* to leave Whampoa; which order I promised to deliver to Howqua and Mowqua on their procuring lord Napier and suite a proper conveyance to Macao by the Heangshan passage; stipulating that the conveyance should in every respect be suited to the rank and dignity of his lordship's high office, as the representative of our most gracious monarch, William IV. This compact was made by myself on the part of lord Napier, and by Howqua and Mowqua on the part of his excellency, the governor of Canton, at the consoo house on the 19th instant, in the presence of my friend, William Jardine Esq., in nearly the following words:

"I, T. R. Colledge, engage on the part of the chief superintendent of British commerce in China, the right honorable lord Napier, that his lordship does grant an order for H. M. ships now at Whampoa to sail for Lintin on my receiving a chop from the governor for his lordship and suite to proceed to Macao, lord Napier's ill state of health not permitting him to correspond with your authorities longer on this subject. One condition, I deem it expedient to impose, which is, that H. M. ships do not submit to any ostentatious display on the part of your (the Chinese) government." Howqua replied, "Mr. Colledge, your proposition is of a most serious nature; and from my knowledge of your character I doubt not the honesty of it; shake hands with me and Mowqua, and let Mr. Jardine do so likewise." We all joined hands. Howqua and Mowqua then left us to go to the governor, and in the evening returned with an answer that all was arranged according to my proposition, and that no mark of insult would be shown to the ships in passing the forts at the Bogue. The following morning Howqua and Mowqua sent to say that we could not leave Canton that day, as they, the merchants, were engaged in a further discussion with the governor, relative to our departure, which lasted until 10½ p. m., when I saw Mowqua, who told me all was settled, and that we might go next day.

The foregoing is the substance of the agreement; and both Mr. Jardine and myself expected that lord Napier and suite would be permitted to go to Macao in the usual manner foreigners do, viz. stopping only at the Heangshan chop-house. However, to my great mortification we had not left Canton two hours, before I discovered we were under a convoy of armed boats, and that we should not be allowed to pass beyond a few miles from Canton that night,—the boats having anchored at the pagoda fort, in sight of a part of Canton. Monday 22d, we again got under way, and proceeded *slowly* and *tediously* under a convoy of eight armed boats, two transports carrying a military, and another boat with a civil mandarin, in charge of the whole squadron. Although the wind was generally favorable, we did not reach Heangshan till about midnight of the 23d

And it is now that I have to describe a scene of treachery practiced upon his lordship, which was not only annoying, but so greatly injurious as to aggravate the symptoms of his complaint, and cause a relapse of such as he had nearly recovered from previous to his leaving Canton. We were detained here from the time of anchoring the boats on the 23d, until 1 o'clock P.M. of the 25th, amidst noise, confusion, and beating of gongs, such that his lordship could barely support. This was by me repeatedly complained of. At daybreak of the 25th, I sent a message to the civil mandarin through a linguist, informing him that I could not hold myself responsible for the safety of his lordship, if such an unwarrantable course of oppression was persisted in; that I had no medicine with me applicable to the change that had taken place in his lordship's complaint. The linguist was received by the mandarin, but could elicit nothing satisfactory as to the probable time when we should proceed to Macao. Provoked at length beyond all endurance, by this cruel display of power, I requested the linguist to accompany me to the mandarin's boat, which he did without any kind of reluctance; and on the linguist's sending up my name, an interview was immediately afforded me. Through him, I most fully explained lord Napier's sufferings, and the danger of delay under such circumstances. The mandarin replied, that he must consult with the Heangshan authorities, before he could promise to *release us*, but that he would lose no time in representing my statement. No further communication took place until 1 o'clock P.M., when this said mandarin, accompanied by two others of an inferior rank to himself, came to us, and handed me the Heangshan pass.

I consider that lord Napier's illness was much aggravated by this unjustifiable, and, as far as I can learn, unprecedented detention.

Macao, September 28th, 1834. (Signed) THOMAS R. COLLEDGE.

To the Editor of the Canton Register.

Sir, Considering it due to the memory of the late right honorable lord Napier, and to the feelings of an anxious and kind public, we are desirous to convey our opinion with regard to the cause of his illness, through the medium of your paper, and to state that we conceive the origin of his complaint to be wholly attributed to the severe labor and anxiety which devolved upon him while at Canton.

His lordship's health began to fail about the beginning of September, and an attack of fever supervened on the 9th, a period replete with events of a most harassing description, and under circumstances the most disadvantageous to the nature of such an affection. Feeling compelled from a high sense of obligation to his country to persevere in the execution of his duties, he refused to leave Canton until the 18th, on which day Mr. Colledge prevailed on his lordship to relinquish the toils of office, and proceed to Macao for the more complete recovery of his health; at this time the violent symptoms of the fever subsided, and a change alone was looked upon as necessary for its re-establishment. The 21st, his lordship embarked for Macao, accompanied by Mr. Colledge, and passed the following day comfortably, although much annoyed from occurrences already detailed. On the 23d, during the cruel, needless and vexatious detention, experienced amongst the noise of gongs, crackers, and firing of salutes, which our mandarins kept up by the boats in attendance in spite of repeated remonstrances, his lordship suffered a relapse of fever; and he landed at Macao on the morning of the 26th, more exhausted and altogether in a worse state than he had ever been from the commencement of his illness. And from this time, notwithstanding the comforts that surrounded him, and the unremitting attention of his affectionate family, he continued to decline until the day of his death.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

T. R. COLLEDGE,

ALEXR. ANDERSON,

Surgeons to H. M. Superintendents.

Macao, October 20th, 1834.

ART. VIII. *Journal of occurrences: lord Napier's observations on governor Loo's edict; and the governor's reply.*

The imperial commissioners, noticed on page 192, have returned to Peking, leaving affairs worse than they found them; and the triennial examination went off with great dissatisfaction. We omit any further notice of these and other local matters, in order to continue the account of the controversy between the English and Chinese authorities.

(No. 9.)

Lord Napier's observations on governor Loo's edict of September 2d; dated Canton, Sept. 8th, 1834; and addressed to William Sprott Boyd Esq., secretary to the merchants.

Sir, WHEREAS, Mr. Morrison has laid before me the translation of an edict of the 2d of September, issued by Loo, governor of Canton and Kwangse, and Ke, fooyuen of the province of Canton, wherein, among other things, it is stated that, "on examination of the rules of the celestial empire, they find that ministers have no outward intercourse with outside barbarians, and that it cannot be known whether lord Napier is a merchant or an officer," I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the said hong merchants, and Loo and Ke, that during the last 200 years a constant personal intercourse has been maintained between the viceroy of Canton and the British subjects resorting hither. For example: in the year 1637, on the part of captain Weddell, after having destroyed the fort at the Bogue. In 1734, on the part of the supracargoes of the E. I. company. In 1742, on the part of commodore Anson. In 1754, on the part of the supracargoes. In 1759, on the part of Mr. Flint and the supracargoes. In 1792, on the part of a committee from England. In 1796, on the part of the supracargoes. In 1805, on the part of Mr. Roberts and sir George Staunton. In 1806, on the part of Mr. Roberts, and again on the part of Mr. Drummond and Mr. Elphinstone. In 1811, on the part of sir George Staunton. In 1817, on the part of sir Theophilus Metcalfe and captain Clavell, R. N.; and on many other occasions, by the chiefs of the factory on their annual return from Macao to Canton. So far, therefore, the allegation of the said Loo and Ke is not founded on fact.

Again, that they know not whether lord Napier is an officer or a merchant, is equally false; for the Kwangchow foo, the Chaouchow foo, and Kwangchow hee waited on lord Napier, when they saw him in the uniform of a captain in the British navy; and when they might have assured themselves of that fact, as well as of all others connected with his mission to China, had they carried his letter to the viceroy, or had his excellency given him the same reception as had been usually accorded to others.

AND WHEREAS; it is further stated in the said edict that the trade was stopped by the request of the hong merchants on the 16th of last month, but that he, the viceroy, replied to them, "commanding indulgence and delay," which command was issued on the 18th ultimo, and was never obeyed by the hong merchants; AND WHEREAS, in the present edict of the 2d instant, it is now declared by Loo and Ke, that from the 16th day of August, all buying and selling on the part of the English nation is wholly put a stop to, with the exception of all goods, the sale or purchase of which was settled previously to the stoppage; AND WHEREAS, in full reliance on the honor of the viceroy, and the authority of the edict, "commanding temporary indulgence and delay," the British merchants have transacted considerable business with the merchants of China, between the 18th of the last month and the 2d of the present; and in the face of that edict, and in the forgetfulness of his 'command to grant indulgence and delay,' the viceroy now joins with the fooyuen in the very unjust measure of stopping the trade altogether from the 16th of last month, to the great prejudice, not only of the British merchants, but of that of the subjects of his imperial majesty, the emperor of China: I DO HEREBY, in the name of his Britannic majesty, protest against this act of unprecedented tyranny and injustice, thus decreed by the said viceroy and fooyuen.

AND WHEREAS, notice has been taken, in the said edict of the 2d instant, of the expected arrival of ships from England with cargoes to be given in exchange for teas and other merchandise; AND WHEREAS, all merchandise is allowed to be embarked up to the 16th ultimo, and ought in justice to be extended to the 2d

instant; and as the permission to embark such merchandise implies the delivery of outward cargoes for such purpose, and still the trade is wholly put a stop to, which prevents the delivery of such cargoes, and the embarkation of the merchandise already so permitted to be shipped: I do HEREBY again protest in the name of his Britannic majesty, against the absurd and tyrannical assumption of power on the part of the governor and lieutenant-governor.

AND WHEREAS, by a letter of the hong merchants of September the 6th, giving notice, that "the governor has ordered all the forts and guard-houses, that the English boats and ships are only allowed to go out of port, and are not allowed to enter," and that such a prohibition is altogether at variance with the edict permitting a certain part of the trade to be embarked, I have to request that you will hereby give notice to the hong merchants, that it is a very serious offense to fire upon or otherwise to insult the British flag.

AND WHEREAS, they are already aware that there are two frigates now in the river, bearing very heavy guns, for the express purpose of protecting the British trade, I would warn the hong merchants, again and again, that if any disagreeable consequences shall ensue from the said edict, that they themselves with the governor and lieutenant governor are responsible for the whole. Recommend them, then, to take warning in time; they have opened the preliminaries of war; they destroy trade, and incur the loss of life on the part of the unoffending people, rather than grant to me the same courtesy which has been granted to others before me. They are all aware that the king, my master, sent me here in consequence of Howqua's advice to governor Le, and, therefore, why do they vainly contend against their own actions to the destruction of trade and the misery of thousands? But let the governor and the lieutenant-governor know this, that I will lose no time in sending this true statement to his imperial majesty, the emperor of China at Peking; and I will also report to his justice and indignation the false and treacherous conduct of governor Loo, and that of the present Kwangchow foo, who has tortured the linguists and cruelly imprisoned a respectable individual, Sunshing, a security merchant, for not having acquiesced in a base lie, purporting that I arrived in Canton river in a merchant ship, whereas, they are both aware that I made my passage, and arrived in one of the ships of war now at anchor in the river. His imperial majesty will not permit such folly, wickedness and cruelty to go unpunished: therefore, tremble governor Loo, intensely tremble!

AND AGAIN, governor Loo has the assurance to state in the edict of the 2d instant that "the king, my master, has hitherto been reverently obedient." I must now request you to declare to them that his majesty, the king of England, is a great and powerful monarch, that he rules over an extent of territory in the four quarters of the world more comprehensive in space and infinitely more so in power than the whole empire of China; that he commands armies of bold and fierce soldiers, who have conquered wherever they went; and that he is possessed of great ships of war carrying even as many as 120 guns, which pass quietly along the sea, where no native of China has ever yet dared to show his face. Let the governor then judge if such a monarch "will be reverently obedient to any one."

AND now, I beg you to inform the hong merchants: knowing their duplicity, I suspect they will not communicate the foregoing to the governor and to the lieutenant-governor; I would, therefore, give them warning, that if I do not receive an answer from his excellency touching the points narrated in this letter, by Monday, the 15th, I will publish it through the streets, and circulate copies among the people, one of which may peradventure find its way into his excellency's presence.

I beg to remain,

Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) NAPIER.

(No. 10.)

Loo, governor of the province of Kwangtung, &c. to the hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance with the contents thereof.

In every thing relating to the trade of the English barbarians at Canton, there have long been established rules. There has never been such a thing as the residence here of a barbarian officer or superintendent. The great ministers of the celestial empire, unless with regard to affairs of going to court and

carrying tribute, or in consequence of imperial commands, are not permitted to have interviews with outside barbarians. The affairs of the former Ming (dynasty) need not be brought into discussion. When have any officers of the great Tsing dynasty had intercourse to and fro with barbarians? As to the intercourse between barbarian officers and those who have formerly held the office of governor in the years of Keñlung and Keiking (from 1736 to 1821), referred to in the paper copied by the said merchants, perhaps, when the said nation has sent tribute, there may have been interviews given to the tribute-bearers; otherwise, there certainly has not been this ceremony. This, even the said nation's private merchants must all be aware of. I, the governor, have been obedient, maintaining the national dignity. From the first I have not been commencing what is strange, or sounding forth my loftiness.

In the 10th year of Taoukwang, the said hong merchants having reported that the English company would, after the 13th year of Taoukwang, be dissolved and ended, that the merchants of the said nation would trade for themselves, and that they feared affairs would be under no general control, the then governor, Le commanded them to enjoin orders on the said nation's merchants to send a letter home, that, if the company was ended and dispersed, a chief (taepan) should still be appointed to come to Canton, to manage affairs. The books of records are still existing: there is no word of a superintendent. The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, styles himself superintendent come to Canton. Whether a superintendent should be appointed over the said nation's barbarian merchants, or not, it is in itself needless to inquire about minutely; but we Chinese will still manage through the medium of merchants; there can be no alteration made for officers to manage. Besides, the business is one newly commenced; it is incumbent to present a memorial, requesting the mandate of the great emperor to be obeyed and acted on. The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, brought not any written communication from the said nation's king. Suddenly he came. I, the governor, knew not what business he was to transact. I sent the said merchants to inquire and investigate, and to require him to inform them of the causes of his coming, and what was the nature of the business he has to perform, to afford grounds for a full memorial. In what was this not accordant with reason? Even though the said barbarian eye were indeed an officer, why should he communicate to the merchants of the central, flowery (nation) not a word? If unwilling to converse with the said merchants, still what should prevent him from commanding the said nation's private merchants to revolve the matter with them, and inform them fully? But on four successive occasions, when they inquired and investigated, he remained as though he heard not, determined in the wish to have official correspondence and letters to and fro with all the public officers of the inner land. The said nation and this inner land have never had interchange of official communications and letters. Nor in the celestial empire is there this rule: how could I, the governor, in opposition to rule, permit it!

The said (hong) merchants had before solicited that a stop should be put to the said nation's buying and selling. I, the governor, because the said nation had had an open market here for upwards of a hundred years, and because the said nation's king had several times sent tribute, so that I could not but call him reverently submissive; but still more because the said nation's separate merchants had, many of them, crossed the seas and come from a distance, so that I would not, for the fault of one man, involve the mercantile multitude; I, therefore replied, commanding an indulgent delay. Again, apprehending that the said merchants, in enjoining the orders, had not attained perfect clearness, I also sent officers to proceed to the barbarian factories, and personally make inquiry. On the part of me, the governor, it was the utmost, the extreme of careful regard and perfect kindness. But the said barbarian eye, even in the presence of the deputed officers, did not speak plainly of the object of his mission. Still, apprehending that their words might not be truly delivered, I commanded them to take with them linguists, and proceed thither. When the flowery (Chinese) and barbarians have oral intercourse, linguists interpret what is said. Throughout the empire it is in all cases thus. Yet neither would the said barbarian eye employ the linguists to interpret for him, so that the deputed officers could not say every thing.

Since the said barbarian eye has come for the purpose of examining and directing trade, but has not told clearly the object of his mission, whether after the company was dispersed, affairs should be conducted as before or not, or how they should

be conducted, by what means could trade be carried on? I could not but, according to law, close the ships' holds: that I, the governor, did it not willingly, but with extreme pain of mind, has been already clearly explained in the proclamation. The said merchants having orally stated that they had fully taken account of the goods, the purchase of which was settled before the 12th of last moon (the 16th of August), and had wholly stopped, not having since had any commercial dealings, I, therefore, ordered the stoppage from the day of the said merchants' petition: it was in noway a former and a latter two modes of acting. I, the governor, six times successively issued official replies, all in conformity with the old established regulations. - I, in no way, forced into difficulties; nor did I thrust forward my own notions; neither did I, by a single word, rudely reprehend the said barbarian eye. The replies have all been printed, and publicly displayed; all eyes may see them. Even the said nation's king, if he see them, cannot say that I, the governor, have not spoken what is reasonable.

The said barbarian eye has not learned to arouse from his previous errors, but has further called to him many persons, bringing in boats, military weapons, which have been moved into the barbarian factory: a great opposition towards the laws and prohibitions! Into the important territory of the provincial city, how can outside barbarians presume to bring military weapons, causing alarm to the inhabitants! I, therefore, commanded the fort, called Leëth, that should any sampan boats proceed towards the city, they should be stopped and authoritatively informed that if the said barbarian vessels perversely opposed and disobeyed, the military would, of course, fire off the guns, which would be but what their offense brought on them. Yet several times, when barbarian merchants were stopped, they were at once sent back to the place whence they came, without being brought to investigation or punishment. Thus it may be seen that I, the governor, have not tyrannically treated the outside barbarians. Even with regard to the said barbarian eye, when, instance upon instance, he has presumed on force and power, what difficulty would there be in my meeting him with military terrors! But I cannot bear forcibly to drive him out. The celestial empire cherishes those from afar virtuously. What it values is the subjection of man by reason: it esteems not awing them by force. The said barbarian eye has now again opposed the laws in commanding the ships of war to push forward into the inner river, and in allowing the barbarian forces to fire guns, attacking and wounding our soldiers, and alarming our resident people. This is still more out of the bounds of reason, and renders it still more unintelligible what it is he wishes to do.

The soldiers and horses of the celestial empire, its thundering forces, guns, and weapons, assemble (closely) as the hills; if it were desired to make a display of conquering chastisement, how could the petty little war ships afford any protection? Besides, I, the governor, treat most liberally all the merchants trading here; what need is there of protection? By such ignorant and absurd conduct, entering far into the important territory, he is already within my grasp. Arrangements have been now made to assemble a large force, ranged out both by sea and land. What difficulty will there be in immediately destroying and eradicating? Therefore, that I am slow, dilatory, and cannot bear to do so, is because I consider that such movements are not according to the wishes of the said nation's king, nor are they according to the wishes of the several merchants. I, the governor, looking up, embody the heavenly benevolence of the great emperor. Only by reforming his errors can he avoid cutting himself off, and obtain reformation. If the said barbarian eye will speedily repent of his errors, withdraw the ships of war, and remain obedient to the old rules. I will yet give him some slight indulgence. If he still adhere to stupidity and do not arouse, maintain his wickedness and do not change, he will be sinning against the great emperor, and I, the governor, will certainly find it difficult again to display endurance and forbearance: I apprehend that when the celestial troops once come, even precious stones will be burned before them. On no account defer repentance till afterwards.

Uniting circumstances, I issue this order. When the order reaches the said hong merchants, let them immediately act in obedience to it, and make it known to all the English merchants, with even temper reasoning upon it. If hereafter, things come to a rupture, do not say that I, the governor, caused it by my errors. Let them also enjoin the orders on the said barbarian eye, and let them write home to cause it to be known. A special order.

Taoukwang, 14th year. 8th moon, 9th day. (September 11th, 1834.)

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—NOVEMBER, 1834.—NO. 7.

ART. I. *Portuguese in China: Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao.* By A. L. KNT. Canton, China: 1834. pp. 53.

This little work is a continuation of a 'Contribution to an historical sketch, principally of Macao,' published in 1832, and reviewed in former numbers of the Repository. (vol. I. pp. 396, 425.) The same commendation which was then awarded to the author and his book, is due in the present instance. We appreciate highly the labors of any man who devotes his leisure hours to collecting and recording historical facts, which illustrate the character and condition of man, and which, but for such labors, would soon be lost. And efforts of this kind are especially praiseworthy, when, as in the present instance, they are put forth by a veteran of threescore and fifteen years. But lest commendation of the industry and ability of our author should be construed into an unqualified approbation of all his sentiments, we will stop here and notice some of the points, concerning which our opinions are entirely different from those contained in the book before us. The frankness with which sir A. L. publishes to the world his own views, will induce him to excuse, if any excuse is necessary, the same freedom in ourselves.

"It is to be lamented," he says, on page 17, "that human ingenuity should have borrowed from the Bible the groundwork of more than four hundred sects: each of them faithfully believing themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not within the pale of their confraternities; an uncharitableness which a miracle alone, the greatest (if any) ever wrought, may erase from the minds of prejudiced Christians. Until this unexpected

ed event shall have eradicated the animosity that still rages among theologo-polemie combatants, may it not be reasonable to conclude with a king of Siam, 'that the true God takes pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way.' The few lines which we have here quoted, so far as they have any force, and they are not without meaning, seem to us designed to disprove and to bring into discredit the Christian religion and the Scriptures upon which that religion is founded. Possibly we have mistaken the meaning of our author; but if we understand him, when he says 'if any (miracles) ever were wrought,' he doubts that fact; and in so doing gives the influence of his opinion to destroy all the evidence, in favor of Christianity, which is derived from miracles. If we are wrong, in the view we have taken of his language, we shall rejoice to be corrected; but if we are right, we hope that the worthy veteran may be induced, not so much in deference to our opinion, as in regard to our best wishes, to re-examine the evidence which Paley, Campbell, and others have adduced in favor of miracles, as well as that which miracles afford of the truth and verity of the Old and New Testaments.

It is very "reasonable to conclude" that the *true God* takes pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way; because we know that "in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." But where is the evidence that "a king of Siam" ever had any knowledge of the true God? Mr. Crawford, it is true, has represented one of the kings, as speaking of the true God: but where is the evidence that Mr. Crawford, rightly understood, or has correctly reported, the words of his Siamese majesty? The present king is a worshiper of idols; and in doing this he follows in the footsteps of his fathers. What Mr. Crawford has said may be true; we hope it is, and do not doubt his integrity in the least: but how the mind of any one can receive such an assertion, under such circumstances, as *undoubted* truth, and at the same time *doubt* the testimony adduced in proof of miracles, and doubt too the truth of miracles, seems to us unaccountable. And where is the evidence to prove that human ingenuity has borrowed from the Bible the groundwork of more than four hundred sects? And where and what is the testimony to prove that each of them faithfully believe themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not within the pale of their confraternities? If this statement of our author is true, (and he advances it as an unquestionable fact,) then there is "an uncharitableness" in the world which is truly lamentable, and which must go far to prove the utter depravity of the human heart. If then human ingenuity should borrow the groundwork of ten thousand sects from the Bible, would that prove the Bible, untrue or unintelligible? Would it not rather prove the perversity of the human mind? To us, the Bible has always seemed to be a plain book, and one the most perspicuous and easy to be understood, especially those parts of it which relate to the practical duty of man. And furthermore, we frankly confess, that we never knew more

than one or two sects of religionists, that "faithfully believed themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not in the pale of their confraternities:" that there are individuals among some of the religious orders of the present day, who think themselves to be the only ones in the way to heaven, we will not deny: but it seems wrong to charge against whole denominations the errors and absurdities of individuals.

Our author concludes his sketch of the Roman catholic church at Macao with the following note and quotation:—"The striking similarity of behavior, (which assimilates to a certain degree the reforming apostles, who, by an intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies, are in the nineteenth century improperly obtruded on the world, with those of Rome, who in the seventh century, propagated in the northern parts of Germany, by any means, the principles of their doctrines,) is a sufficient apology for our transcribing from Mosheim the following: 'These voyages, undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favorable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their character without reproach is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case with them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonored the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power which they had received from the Roman pontiffs of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes; and exercised princely authority over the countries where their ministers had been successful.' &c. Mosheim's Eccl. His. Vol. II., 155. London, 1806."

By the foregoing remarks and quotation our author indirectly affirms, or at least insinuates, that the greatest part of modern missionaries are bad men, and that the missionary societies are engaged in a system of operations which is wholly beyond their proper sphere of action. These are serious charges, demanding careful consideration; and disposed as we are to avoid controversy, we would not enter on an examination of them, did not the cause of truth require us to do so. Every careful observer of men and things, who has studied the history of the world, and is watching the progress of society in every clime, must perceive that the best interests of the human race are closely connected with the destinies of Christianity: and by the wise arrangements of Divine Providence all the interests of our holy religion, especially those which regard its extension, are made to depend in no inconsiderable degree on the efforts of its professors. We care little for the merely nominal distinctions which exist among Christians; while we regard the whole church militant, which is bound together by the triple band of "faith, hope, charity," as one

community, upon which rests the solemn injunction of the world's Redeemer, to go into every part of the earth, and *preach the gospel to every creature*. This one community—the church militant—we regard in the strictest and most legitimate sense of the term as a missionary society; and all who are sent out by this community to promulgate the glad tidings of a Savior's righteousness, we regard as Christian missionaries. The whole history of the sect of the despised Nazarene shows that these men, by whatever name they are called, whether missionaries or reforming apostles, have always been the chief agents in extending those heavenly principles, which, when they take full possession of the hearts of men, make the proud humble; the cruel and savage, mild and humane; the deceitful and sluggish, honest and industrious; and in a word, they cause the haters of God and man, to become true *Theophilanthropists*, and the sincere worshippers of the Most High.

We wish, therefore, to know whether the men who are now engaged as Christian missionaries in extending the knowledge contained in the Holy Scriptures are bad men, and whether they are improperly obtruded on the world by the intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies. We will not attempt to compare the protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century with the Romish of the seventh. In bold enterprises there may be a striking similarity between the two; and, in arduous labors and painful sufferings it may be that the latter have outdone the former. It is not our object here to impugn the motives or reprehend the conduct of any body of men, or even of any individual: we wish merely that men and things may be seen in their true light, and be regarded accordingly. Moreover, we shall here leave out of view the Romish missions; because, in the first place, we are not particularly acquainted with their operations at the present day; and because, in the second place, it is not so much against them as against protestant missions that the charges in questions seem to be directed.

The great founder of our religion, when he appeared among men, declared that his kingdom was not of this world; and the primitive heralds of the cross went forth, in obedience to their Lord's command, not to do their own will, not to enrich themselves, nor to seek their own glory, but on the contrary to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to heal the sick, to visit the afflicted, the widow and the fatherless, and in a word, to employ every talent they possessed, in some way or other, for the benefit of their fellows of the human race. And modern protestant missionaries have done in like manner; or at least they have taken Jesus Christ and his apostles for their patterns: and though they have come very far short of accomplishing what they ought to have done; yet they have had a similar aim and endeavor. The signs of the times are as pleasing as they are striking; and it seems to us that the spirit of primitive Christians is reanimating those of this age; and sure we are that the missionaries of the present day—we here include protestants of every denomination—are doing what has not been done or attempted since the era of the

apostles. And who now are these men? They are educated men; and in this respect they will not suffer by comparison with any other class of professional men. They are philanthropic men, who can sacrifice their own time and property for the benefit of others, and relinquish inviting prospects and easy circumstances at home, for the sake of doing good to strangers. They are laborious and enterprising men, who delight to labor, and will not shrink from difficulties. That they are perfect men, entirely free from evil passions, pride, ambition, &c., we do not contend. Yet, as they have been sent out by public societies, composed of learned, talented, and pious men, to whom they are well known, it is right to suppose that they are worthy of the office and trust which have been confided to them. And such their conduct proves them to be. This is not the age of priest-craft; nor the time for vain and idle undertakings; and were the missionaries, or a majority of them, or any part of them, bad men, we know that the societies with which they are connected would dismiss them from their service. Now and then an individual has proved delinquent and has been removed from his trust: but,—and to the honor of Christianity be it said, these cases have been very few. On the point in question, we ask no more for missionaries, than is granted to other Christians; but whatever is conceded to the latter, is certainly due to the former. And any person will be convinced of the justice of this claim, if he will only take the trouble to examine one by one all the missionaries who are connected with any of the principal societies. Let him examine the missionaries of the English church missionary society, or of the United Brethren, or of the London missionary society, or of the English and American Baptist missionary societies, or of the German missionary societies, or of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and then let him say whether the majority, in either of the instances which we have cited, are bad men.

The policy and the regulations of the several missionary societies are not the same; so that what is true of one may not be true of another; still they are so much alike, that an account of one of them will afford a tolerable idea of the character of the whole. One of these societies, and it is not the largest nor the oldest, was formed in 1812. At the close of last year, it had under its care 56 stations, 85 ordained missionaries (four of whom were regularly educated physicians, and six others have prosecuted the subject so far as to be highly useful in that department of labor), 6 physicians not ordained, 6 printers, 20 teachers and catechists, 12 farmers and mechanics, and 137 married and unmarried female assistants; making a total of 266: it had also 39 churches, containing about 1940 communicants; 4 native preachers; 50 native assistants chiefly school teachers; 56,000 scholars; and 5 printing establishments, at which about 66,000,000 of pages had been printed, in sixteen different languages, exclusive of the English. According to the laws of that society, no one of its missionaries, or missionary assistants, shall engage in any business or transaction whatever for the sake of private gain; nor shall any one engage in transac-

tions or employments yielding pecuniary profit, without first obtaining the consent of the members of the mission; and the profits, in all such cases, shall be placed at the disposal of the mission. Moreover, no individual receives any salary or aid in any shape, except simply what is necessary for temporary and personal support. Besides this, some of the missionaries have contributed liberally, and a few have given all they possessed, to aid in the general cause. Any individual who enters the service of the society, and continues in it twenty, thirty, or more years, and then leaves it, goes without the least pecuniary compensation. Such are the operations, and such the circumstances under which they are carried on by the missionaries of one of the 'modern societies.' And now, gentle readers, whether these missionaries, and others like these, several hundred in number, ought or ought not to be stigmatized as bad men, and held up for scorn 'to point her slow, unmoving finger at,'—judge ye.

We proceed now to notice the accusation, that Christian missionaries, or "reforming apostles," are improperly obtruded on the world by an intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies. This very serious charge is leveled against 'the many thousands of intelligent and benevolent persons who are banded together with the avowed object of carrying to every child of Adam, all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which intellectual and moral cultivation, in their purest and best forms, can bestow.' In behalf of these many thousands we ask, is the charge true? If so, then where is the evidence of it? And which of the societies is it, that is guilty of this impropriety? Is it that of the Church of England? Or is it that of the Moravians? Or those of the Baptists, the Presbyterians, or the Congregationalists, in Europe or America? And where are the instances in which modern missionary societies have improperly obtruded on the world their reforming apostles? That here and there a solitary case can be found in which a society may have adopted ill judged measures in sending out its agents, we do not deny; nor do we, inasmuch as we are ignorant of any such case, admit the fact. If instances, objectionable, yet well attested, do exist, then let them be pointed out, and receive the censure that is due; but even then let not the offenses of individuals, or of one society, be charged indiscriminately against the whole body of protestant Christians that are now actively engaged in extending that knowledge and that practice which, better than any or all things else, are calculated to promote the welfare of man both in this life and in that which is to come. While we admit that modern missionary societies may now and then have sent an individual where they ought not, we maintain that they have come far short of their duty by neglecting, as they have done, to send able and faithful missionaries among all the uncivilized, and benighted, nations and tribes of the human race. The sum of the Christian's duty in this matter is contained in few words, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. This plain and simple precept is enlisting the noblest minds throughout Christendom in one general effort to pour the light of science and pure religion on all the dark places of the

earth; and for our suffering fellow-men, it kindles a sympathy, deep strong, and lasting; and calls forth action, bold, generous, and untiring. It is this precept which is uniting Christians together in missionary societies, that by united counsel and effort they may more speedily extend the blessings of Christianity to all men. "Point us," say they, "point us to the spot on the face of the earth, where liberty is best understood and most perfectly enjoyed, where intellect shoots forth in its richest luxuriance, and where all the kindlier feelings of the heart are constantly seen in their most graceful exercise; point us to the loveliest and happiest neighborhood in the world on which we dwell; and we tell you that our object is to render this whole earth, with all its nations and kindreds and tongues and people, as happy, nay, happier than that neighborhood."

And by what means do they propose to accomplish their object? 'It is,' we answer in their own words, 'by preaching Christ and him crucified: it is by going forth and telling the lost children of men, that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son to die for them; and by all the eloquence of such an appeal, to entreat them to be reconciled to God. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself; is in practice, the sum of the gospel. We expect to teach one man obedience to this command, and that he will feel obliged to teach his neighbor, who in turn will feel obliged to teach others, until the whole world shall be peopled with one family of brethren. Animosity is to be done away by inculcating universally the obligation of love. It is thus we expect the time to be hastened onward, when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; when nation shall no more lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. How unlike to these are the means, by which men, on the principles of this world, effect a melioration in the condition of their species! Their almost universal agent is evil, threatened or inflicted, and from the nature of the case, it cannot be otherwise. The gospel produces good by the universal diffusion of the principles of benevolence. In the former case, one party must suffer; in the latter, all parties are certainly more happy. The one, like the mountain torrent, may fertilize now and then a valley beneath, but not until it has widely swept away the forest above, and disfigured the lovely landscape with many an unseemly scar. Not so the other:—

- It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
- Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed,
- It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.'

With this public declaration of the societies, accord the more private instructions given to those they send abroad. On this point, let a single extract to one of their missionaries, suffice. "In your intercourse with foreigners," say they, "be frank, courteous, and affectionate; but do not, at any time lose, or appear to lose, the solicitude for their spiritual welfare, which becomes an ambassador of Christ to

sinner. Let it always be evident to them, that you are mindful of their condition as sinners; of their immortality, and of the retributions of eternity. Administer Christian instruction, reproof, and consolation with judgment. Be affectionate while you are faithful. Sympathise with them in all times of affliction. Be attentive and kind, and be especially ready with the instructions and consolations of the gospel, in seasons of sickness and death. Do this from the promptings of your own feelings, without waiting to be solicited. But amidst your other labors, keep it in mind that your primary object is to introduce the gospel among the native population. It may be long, if your life should be spared, before you will see much fruit of your labors; even if you should live to old age, and continue in the field, you may never witness so much advance, as to be permitted to preach a single sermon publicly. There may be a very great and honorable work to be done before that point shall be attained; a work, in which many valuable lives may be worn out, and to good purpose. Do not feel that you will live in vain, if you accomplish nothing more than to open the field, call the attention of the churches to it, and prepare the instruments for facilitating the labor of your successors. The obstacles now in the way must be removed; and the preparatory work must be performed. Still, do not feel that a long period must necessarily elapse before the power of the gospel shall be witnessed in the country to which you go. Though we are not to look for any miraculous interference in the case, yet the providence of God may soon open a wide and effectual door. The political revolutions of the last thirty years, may be only the precursors of others, which shall extend their influence to governments that have been the longest and the most securely established. Labor not as without hope. Feel that the government of God is supreme, and his mercy is boundless, that the hearts of kings are in his hands and he will fulfil his promises to his Son.—In the want of Christian friends and counselors, maintain the most intimate communion with God. Lay all your plans and labors, all your perplexities and sins, before him. Read his word, keep his Sabbaths, and daily offer spiritual sacrifices on his altar. Do not peruse the Bible merely as a book to be studied; peruse it for devotional purposes, trying yourself by it, laboring after an entire conformity to its requisitions, and resting satisfied with nothing short of this. Acquire clear notions of the preciousness and indispensable importance of Christ and his salvation to yourself and to all men. Let it be a matter of thorough conviction. Let this also be a point settled in your mind, that nothing but the spirit of God can sustain you in your arduous undertaking and furnish you with wisdom, zeal and strength, requisite to make you a good missionary unto the end. Keep clearly before your mind, also, the actual character and condition of the heathen as subjects of God's moral government, the prospect before them, and their relation to Christ and his atonement. Think what he has done for them, and how ineffectual it will be, if his followers do not convey to them a knowledge of the gospel."

Such are the declarations and the instructions of modern missionary societies ; and with these, so far as we have had opportunity to observe, all their measures and transactions coincide. It should be remarked here, that the societies are composed of many different denominations of Christians, and of persons of various professions, occupations, and ranks ; who without regard to those denominations, occupations, &c. give voluntarily, and in some cases very largely, of their property to aid in the one common object—the diffusion of Christian knowledge. And where is the impropriety of this conduct ? Now and then there may be failures and wrong designs and motives ; but having made these exceptions, we affirm that the missionary societies have been established, and are supported and carried forward on the genuine principles of benevolence and charity. If it is intrusion for philanthropic men to unite together and send out agents to heal the sick, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to instruct the ignorant, and wherever they go to publish the gospel of peace, then surely missionary societies are guilty of the charge ; and like the apostles and early Christians are truly worthy of persecution. We will now desist from the consideration of these topics, which we fear have already wearied the patience of our readers. Not a love of controversy, but a sincere desire to vindicate the cause of Christian missions, has urged us to pursue the subject in the manner and to the extent we have done : our limits forbid us to say more ; the nature of the charges, and the high source from which they emanate, have not allowed us to say less. Let us now take a brief review of the work before us.

The hierarchy, external rites, objections to Chinese recreations, and the actual state of the Catholic mission in the bishopric, are the topics which form our author's sketch of the Roman Catholic church at Macao. We have read the sketch with care, and in regard to his narrative of *facts*, see no occasion to dissent from our author in a single instance, and shall rely on him as our authority, in the account which we subjoin. Wishing to give our readers the principal facts in as few words as possible, we shall take the liberty of quoting freely—using our own or our author's words as shall best suit our convenience.

The Portuguese had traded to Macao for several years, when, in 1568, Melchior Carneiro, a Jesuit, was placed at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment : he came from Ethiopia a bishop *in partibus* of Nicæa, and by permission of Gregory XIII governed the church till 1581. Francis Peres and Manoel Leixeira, however, seem to have been the first Jesuits that reached Macao : as early as 1565 they secured for themselves a residence at the foot of the ' Monte.' The sovereign of Portugal soon solicited that Macao should be made a diocese : Gregory agreed to this in 1575, on condition that the king should provide the see with vestments, plate, books, and other necessary utensils, and that he should keep the buildings in repair ; and in return, the king should have power to propose subjects duly qualified for the government of the new diocese ;—this diocese extended to the wall that crosses the isthmus of the peninsula, a territory somewhat

less than three miles in length and one in breadth! By a decision of Innocent XII however, it actually comprehends the provinces of Kwangse and Kwangtung, including of course the island of Hainan. For more than 120 years, the diocese was ruled by governors of the bishopric, who had neither the power of conferring holy orders, consecrating the oil, anointing bishops, nor the right to use the crozier, the ring and the pectoral cross. In 1691, a churchman, John de Casal, succeeded to the governors with the authority of bishop. By a law of 1611, the bishop takes the title of *dom*, and by another of 1789, that of *excellency*, as honorary member of his majesty's council. The bishop has the power of appointing his vicar-general, and of filling vacant places in the secular hierarchy; which appointments, however, must be submitted to the court and confirmed by the king. In 1700, Casal instituted a 'chapter,' composed of a dean, a chanter, a chief treasurer, an archdeacon, and a schoolmaster. In the course of eight days, reckoning from the demise of a bishop, these five dignitaries must choose a capitular vicar, who remains at the head of ecclesiastical affairs till the successor of the deceased has taken charge of the bishopric. Next to these, range six canons, two subcanons six chaplains, and two masters of ceremonies. The bishop's salary is two thousand taels per annum; the salaries of the others are low. In 1831, the whole hierarchichal establishment cost the royal chest 8087 taels; and in 1832, it cost 3273. Expectant individuals of the clergy, or those who have not been provided with an employment or living in the diocese, were, in 1833, five in number. The members of the royal college of St. Joseph have their superiors at the court of Lisbon; the regular orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustin, St. Francis de Assis, as well as the nuns of St. Clare, are accountable to their respective provincials, residing in Goa: nevertheless, in certain cases, the bishop of Macao exercises a sort of syndic magistracy over them all.—The episcopal see was vacated in 1828 by the demise of dom Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cachim.

"At the head of the celestial hierarchy, stands the holy Virgin, queen of heaven, invoked at Macao, under twenty-eight different denominations. Besides eighteen festivals distinctly consecrated to the devotions of the holy Virgin, there are thirteen dedicated to saints, male and female. These solemnities last nine, ten, or thirteen days, and generally end by religious public processions. A flag, adorned with a conspicuous emblem, relative to the object of veneration, is hoisted near the church; and similar signals are occasionally perceived at several parishes and convents. Devout people resort to them every day and pray at the shrine of the saint. Thirty holy days are by command of the Roman see annually and solemnly celebrated. To them, and to the ceremonies above adverted to, we have still to add twenty-seven days, on which the faithful may hear mass, and now and then a sermon in remembrance of a blessed partner in the heavenly glory." Macao can boast of eleven brotherhoods, exclusive of the prototype, 'Misericordia,' and a few in embryo, waiting animation from the pope. Each brotherhood wears a distinctive vestment

at the public processions. The most ancient of the brotherhoods is that of 'our Lord of Mercy'; those of 'our Lady of the Rosary' and of 'our Lady of the Remedies' are the most remarkable for the elegance, splendor, and riches displayed in their processions. "St. Anthony is a favorite saint, particularly with the sailor population. At times the devotee falls on his knees, worships, and solicits the potent intercession of his saint. But no sooner does the claimant fancy that the request has either been slighted or the favor provokingly postponed, than the image is taken from the shelf, upbraided, and beaten: likewise, no sooner does the supplicant presume that the saint has granted his protection, than the darling of the petitioner's heart is caressed and adored, and tapers and incense burnt before the wooden Anthony. We shall proceed from the amusing," says our author, "to the most seriously melancholic procession. The Sunday of the cross, to judge from the emblems exhibited in this procession, represents a transition from heathenism to Christianity. The Redeemer, an image of the size of a man, clad in a purple garment, wearing on his head a crown of thorns, and on his shoulder a heavy cross, bends one of his knees on the bottom of a bier, supported by eight of the most distinguished citizens. The bishop with the secular and regular clergy, the governor, the minister, the nobility, the military, and the whole Roman catholic population, it may be said, assist, deeply affected by a scene which prognosticates a divine sacrifice to be made for the sake of reconciling man to his Creator. Young children, both of clear and dark shades, arranged in fancy dresses of angels, with beautiful muslin moving wings at their shoulders, carry in miniature shape the instruments which were required in the act of crucifixion. This procession takes a range over almost the whole city; and when finished, the image of Christ is deposited in its shrine at the convent of St. Augustine."

In 1593, the senate reported to the king of Portugal that Macao had 'a cathedral with two parishes, a misericordia with two hospitals, and four religious bodies, namely, Augustines, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins.' In 1833, there were four Augustines, three Dominicans and three Capuchins, two of whom had in charge the spiritual and temporary concerns of the nuns, then thirty-seven in number.

Previous to the overthrow of the inquisition at Goa in 1812, delinquents were sent thither for chastisement, and various measures were adopted to free Macao from the Chinese theatres and religious processions. In one instance, a stage on which the Chinese were acting, was, by order of the vicar-general, broken down: the viceroy of Goa, in a letter to the senate, dated 1736, disapproved of this conduct, and gave orders to the chapter to reprehend the vicar-general, and recommend him in future to abstain from similar behavior. "This salutary admonition (says our author) was set aside by a letter of March 18th, 1758, in which the tribunal of the inquisition prohibits any kind of Chinese theatricals or processions to be suffered. However, several of the governors, recollecting that the Portuguese can exercise no

jurisdiction over the Chinese, were prudent enough to connive at their fleeting recreations; but in 1780, at the instigation of a delegate from the holy office, then residing at Macao, the senate gave orders to the procurator to demolish scaffolds, which had been erected on occasion of a solemn festival, which was to wander through the place. His zeal was frustrated. Having permission from the mandarins to raise temporary stands, the insult of throwing them down would be resented; and the Chinese advised the Portuguese not to provoke tumult by an act of intemperate zeal. Convinced that no effort of the civil police could hinder a pagan festival, duly prepared, from showing itself in the town, a bishop resolved to try spiritual influence on his flock. His excellency, dom Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cachim, issued a pastoral admonition, which the curates published in their respective parishes. It was dated 15th of April 1816, and breathes a fatherly exhortation, that all Christians should, for the sake of the salvation of their souls, abstain from having a peep either through the window from behind the Venetian blinds, or in the street, at the pageants the Chinese were going to carry through the city. Disobedience was threatened with the penalty of the great excommunication; a punishment which could not be applied, because out of the whole population there were perhaps not fifty adult Christians, who had resisted the impulse of curiosity; and others gratified it by looking at the gorgeous ceremonies, repeated by the Chinese during three days, and by gazing at night, in the bazar, at ingenious illuminations, theatrical jests, and amusements."

"It is now exactly two hundred and fifty years since the Roman catholic missionaries were allowed to remain at Shaouking foo, in the province of Kwangtung. Two Jesuits were permitted to enter Peking in 1601, where they began clandestinely to teach a doctrine, the success of which has been various. It depended for upwards of a century on the connivance of local officers, till Kanghie, in 1692, enfranchised the new sect, and placed it on the same footing with those of Laoukeun and Budha. This favor Yungching thought proper to repeal; and in 1723, he prohibited in his vast dominions the exercise of Christianity. This prohibition was further enforced in respect to Macao, by the twelfth paragraph of a convention concluded in 1749, between the local government of Macao and the provincial magistrates of Kwangtung. These public impediments, and the scanty means that could be placed at the disposal of missionaries for ingratiating themselves with inferior officers, that they might wink at the violation of the laws, have greatly retarded the labor of foreign priests. At present, no European is residing among the Christian population, which, in 1830, amounted by approximation, in the bishopric of Macao, to 6090 Chinese. The spiritual care is entrusted to the devotion and zeal of seven Chinese catholic priests, who in obedience to the direction of their prelate, the bishop of Macao, or his substitute, the capitular vicar, visit by turn the six still existing missions: viz,

Portuguese Orthography.	English Orthography.	Chinese Christians.
1. Chunte.	Shuntuh.	1250
2. Hauma.	Haema.	555
3. Chaocheu.	Shaochow.	750
4. Choking.	Shouking.	750
5. Namhai.	Nanhae.	1850
6. Namchea.	————	655

6000

"In 1833, there were in Macao, and the villages of Patane, Mougha, and Lapa, 7000 Chinese Christians; which (with the six above named missions,) make a total of 13,090. The salary of each of the priests is eighty-two dollars yearly. Traveling expenses, estimated at from forty to fifty dollars according to the remoteness of the place to which the priest is sent, the pay of catechists, and various other charges, are carried to separate accounts. To meet these pecuniary exigencies of the mission, the revenue of a certain capital is applied; its management is left by appointment of the bishop to three canons, who are bound, at the expiration of a year, to lay before the prelate an accurate statement of the receipts and disbursements of the fund to which I have just alluded."

Such, according to our author, was the state of the Romish church at Macao, when he sent his book to press, about a year ago; how it will be affected by recent changes which have taken place in the west, time will show; we hail, however, with joy the publication of the decree which we subjoin, copied from the London Morning Herald, for June 16th, 1834.

DECREE.

"On the report of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs and justice, and with the advice of the council of state, I think fit, in the name of the queen, to decree as follows:—

ART. I. All convents, monasteries, colleges, *hospices*, establishments whatsoever of monks of the regular orders in Portugal, Algarves, the adjacent islands, and Portuguese dominions, whatever may be their denomination, institution, and rules, are henceforth extinguished.

ART. II. All the estates of these convents, &c., are incorporated with the national domains.

ART. III. The sacred utensils and ornaments employed in the divine service are placed at the disposal of the respective ordinaries, to be distributed among the churches of their dioceses which have most need of them.

ART. IV. Each of the monks of the suppressed convents, &c., shall receive an annual pension for his support, unless he receives an equal or greater income from a benefice or a public employment. The following are excepted:—

(a) Those who took arms against the legitimate throne, or against the national liberty.

(b) Those who abused their ministry in the confessional or the pulpit, in favor of the usurpation.

(c) Those who accepted benefices or public employments from the government of the usurper.

(d) Those who denounced or directly persecuted their fellow-citizens for their fidelity to the legitimate throne and the constitutional charter.

(e) Those who accompanied the troops of the usurper.

(f) Those who, on the reestablishment of the authority of the queen, or since, in the districts in which they reside, abandoned their convents, monasteries, &c.

ART. V. All laws and ordinances to the contrary are abolished. The minister of the ecclesiastical affairs of justice is charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) DON PEDRO, *Duke of Braganza*,
JOAQUIM ANTONIO D'AGUIAR.

Palace das Necessidades, May 28th, 1834."

With regard to the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, which form the subject of the remaining part of our author's little book, our remarks shall be brief and our extracts few. The domestic relations are considered both 'politically' and 'economically.' Under the first head, the author remarks concerning the municipal members, and the subaltern officers of the city; and then proceeds to notice 'the Christian population generally.' He notices the practice of the senate, in former times, of banishing and transporting the inhabitants; and as an instance to what length they stretched their authority, he cites the following sentence from a translation, dated 1712. "Nobody living under the jurisdiction of the senate, whatever may be his qualification or situation, either citizen, inhabitant, pilot, boatswain, sailor, or common man, shall be allowed to transfer himself from one quarter or place of abode in the town to another, without a permission from the senate, in accordance with a royal provision, under the penalty of being held and treated like a suspicious person and enemy of the land, and punished with the loss of his property." The following edict, dated 1744, sir A. thinks may probably excite a smile: "it forbids, under a pecuniary mulct of ten taels, the natives from wearing a wig or carrying a paper umbrella!"

The writer next touches on the military and civil departments, and then gives the following account of the Chinese population:—"The Portuguese, since their first settlement at Macao, have constantly been at variance with those Chinese who wanted to establish themselves there, because at first it was policy to limit their number. From ancient records, we are led to believe, that all those Chinese, who had no fixed abode, went out of the town at night; that not only the gates to the districts, but even the street-doors were shut. In 1691, it was resolved that no other Chinese than those whose names were inscribed on the registers of the senate should remain; the rest had orders by proclamation to leave the city within three days: the refractory were to be handed over to the mandarins as vagabonds.

No more than ninety coolies, selected by three petty police officers, were suffered to stay. In 1749, the senate obtained the consent of the mandarins, that only seventy workmen in wood, and bricklayers, ten butchers, four blacksmiths, and one hundred coolies, should live in the town; and to prevent them from fixing themselves in the place, the senate published an order that no house owner should either let or sell his house to a Chinese,—expecting by this measure that many of them would evacuate the place. Other expedients were also tried for the same purpose, but all proved ineffectual. At last, Francis da Cunha e Menezes, the governor-general, granted permission by his letter of April 29th, 1793, for the inhabitants to let their houses to Chinese.”—In 1830, the Chinese population was estimated to be 30,000, and the foreign, at 4628 souls.

The financial concerns of Macao, or the ‘domestic relations considered economically,’ have for many years past, we believe, been in a very unsettled and unprosperous state. Better things are now hoped for; and we trust that under present circumstances, and those in immediate prospect, Macao will rise and grow in importance. Its foreign relations, to the consideration of which our author devotes several pages, are at present very limited and of little value; but the time was, when they were extensive and exceedingly profitable; and they may become so again. In several respects the situation of Macao is very favorable for commerce; and if the narrow policy of former years is exchanged for a liberal and enterprising line of conduct; if security for persons and property, liberty of conscience, and the freedom of the press, are guaranteed to all; and (what is perhaps not less important than any of the other measures,) if Chinese interference is properly resisted, Macao may become in a few years one of the most important cities in the east.

ART. II. *Our country,—or national partiality among the Chinese, the English, and Americans, with remarks concerning the cause and effects of that partiality.*

All those who are familiarly acquainted with the people of China, Great Britain, and the United States of America, may frequently have observed in each a strong inclination to extol themselves, even at the expense of others. In some instances, this disposition has been carried to a great extreme, and persons of excellent talents have employed their energies to depreciate, not to say vilify others, and simply because they did not belong to their own country. The foreign resident here sees this disposition exhibited by the Chinese in no dubious manner, and on numerous occasions. This feeling is cherished by parents and teachers, and by them it is communicated to the rising generation. The stranger who visits England, and be-

comes familiar with the people of that country, will observe wherever he goes, more or less of the same disposition; and if he cross the Atlantic, he will there also find it producing the same effects as in England and China. We will not undertake to say in which of the three nations this partiality exists in the greatest degree: it will suffice for our present purpose to notice its existence, and point out some of its bad effects. In order to bring the subject the more distinctly to view, we will cite the opinions of a few, who may serve as the representatives of many. We will give the opinions of one from each of the nations named above, and in their own words,—commencing with the Chinese.

“I felicitate myself that I was *born* in China, and constantly think how very different it would be with me, if I had been born beyond the seas in some remote part of the earth, where the people, far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, and live in the holes of the earth: though born in this world, in such a condition, I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the middle kingdom. I have a house to live in; have food and drink, and elegant furniture; have clothing and caps, and infinite blessings: truly, the highest felicity is mine.” *Teën Kesheik.*

“No cloud in summer was ever more fully surcharged with electricity than England is with moral energy, which need but a conductor to issue out in any given direction. England has become the *capital* of a new moral world—the *eminence* on which intellectual light strikes before it visits the nations—the *fountain head* of the rivers that are going forth to water the earth; and it is at her option to have well-wishers in every country, and to place herself at the head of the most numerous sect that ever existed, and which is daily increasing—the men who are panting for civil and religious liberty. * * * * The power and the resources of Britain, pent up at home, will spread themselves as wide as the winds and waves can carry them, and will cause the branches of English population and literature to spread over every soil. Every country will be prepared for the reception of English as the standard of literature, and the medium by which it may be transmitted or promoted, when they feel the superiority of the English brought home to them in all the productions of life, and in the value which their industry confers upon every species of manufacture; but above all, England has *shot ahead of all other nations*, and is more rapidly carried along by the current of events and the influence of the times, and has anticipated those changes and meliorations, of which other nations begin to feel the necessity, and those improvements in which they all acknowledge her to be their precursor and model: this priority of progress, and the belonging, as it were, to a more advanced age, will contribute to the eagerness with which all nations will be brought to the study of English, as the key to modern discoveries, and the storehouse of those truths which are to be beneficial to mankind.” *James Douglas.*

“And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit, which the example of *our country* has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the *head* of the systems of representative and popular governments. If in our case the systems ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced *impossible*. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The *last hopes of mankind*, therefore, *rest with us*; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth. * * * * Let us then cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects, which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, *our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.*” *Daniel Webster.*

The publications from which we have quoted these paragraphs, rank among the popular works of the day; and the sentiments contained in them are quite characteristic of the nations to which their authors respectively belong. And considering the circumstances in which the sentiments were expressed, they cannot be regarded as destitute of force and truth. Mr. Webster, remembering the struggles of his country in the contest for liberty, freedom, and independence, and viewing at the same time the dangers to which it is exposed in the strifes of individuals and of states, would urge his countrymen to preserve their union, and to guard, protect, and improve not this or that state alone, but their whole country. In like manner, Mr. Douglas, contemplating his country's resources, physical, intellectual, and moral, and seeing all that it has done, and looking forward to the future and considering all that it may and ought to accomplish, would stimulate the Britons to new efforts by making them see and feel the full weight of the responsibilities that rest on them. No doubt, also, that our Chinese author was honest in the view which he took of the subject: as a moral philosopher, anxious to see his country contented and happy in the possessions they enjoyed, while at the same time he was entirely ignorant of all the world, except some parts of his own country, and perhaps also some of the petty states which are dependent on the celestial empire, he might very naturally view with complacency his own happy lot, and by citing his own example, induce others to feel as contented as himself. But, if we except the Chinese, who is there that will adopt the language of Teën Kesheih? And, if we except the English, how many are there in all the rest of the wide world that will respond to the above cited declarations of Douglas? Or who, but Americans, will affirm with Webster, that the last hopes of mankind rest with the

republicans of North America? But we have seen only a part of the difficulty; for while a few content themselves with extolling their own country, and whatever belongs to it, others proceed further, and defame both those and that which are not of their own country: witness the Chinese edicts; witness also English and American periodicals, books of travels, &c.

We do not wish to have men become cosmopolites, or wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness; nor do we desire to have the inhabitants of any country believe that they are the people and that wisdom will die with them. Either extreme is bad; the one would make this world a chaos, and the other would make it very much what it now is—a theatre of contending nations. But such it ought not to be. In theory, even the Chinese admit the maxim, that all people under the whole heaven are one family; but on their practice the maxim has no force; and like the ancient Greeks and Romans they regard all people who are situated beyond their own country as barbarians. Out of their own mouths, therefore, the sentence of condemnation is pronounced against them. And how now stands this matter with the nations of Christendom? If we confine the question to England and America, who is there that does not *know* that all the nations of the earth are of one blood, and the workmanship of one hand? In the best sense of the word, therefore they are “brethren.” What then ought to be their feelings and their conduct towards one another? For the Chinese, and others like them, there may be some shadow of excuse for treating others as barbarians, (though in fact there is nothing that can free them from guilt in this case;) yet who will undertake to justify those, who, knowing that all the families of the earth are of one kindred, willingly injure and destroy those who are not of the same country with themselves? The whole truth of this matter is summed up in a few words; whatever tends to create and perpetuate bad feeling among nations, ought at once to be set aside, and the rule of the New Testament, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, adopted in its stead. This would be true philosophy and the best policy.

The age of monopolies is gone, and an age of equal rights and true benevolence is ushered in upon us. It is a glorious age; an age of light and improvements. It consults for the poor, the needy, and the oppressed, and seeks to benefit all without distinction. It strives to dry up the streams of misery, and to turn the bounties of God's providence to their legitimate channels. It determines by moral force, the strength and the rights of individuals and of nations. Such is the tendency of a spirit that is abroad in the earth. But in striving to meliorate the condition of mankind generally, we must take the world as we find it. We must, therefore, consider England with all her military and navel forces, which are maintained at an expense almost sufficient to educate a kingdom; and we must keep in mind that all these forces have been called into existence by the exigencies of past times. So too we must take all the other parts of the world; we must view them as they are. The annual military expenses of

Europe, now in time of peace, are four hundred millions of dollars ; and in war they have been nine hundred millions. The late American war cost a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The whole cost of wars in Europe, for twenty-two years, has been estimated at twelve thousand millions of dollars ; which would make about twenty-five dollars for every member of the human family. Such are the sums expended by Christian nations for mutual murder ! But if the principles for which we contend were in full operation, then the necessity for such expensive armaments would cease, and the means now used for their support might be turned to the direct improvement of the condition of the poor and needy and the ignorant and wretched of every description. The removal of the causes, therefore, which prevent the entire resources of all good men from being united in their endeavors to extend the empire of peace and goodwill, is the grand point at which we have aimed in these desultory and common-place remarks.

The feeling which every one cherishes, or ought to cherish, towards the place—or rather towards the scenes and the persons which give character and interest to the place—of his nativity, is very much like that to which the compassionate Savior alluded, when he declared to his disciples, that he would never forget them. The two feelings are similar in their strength and permanency ; and they are, in both cases, alike worthy to be preserved and cherished. The man that should forget his country, or neglect to protect and benefit it when occasion required, would scarcely be a greater monster, than the mother that should cast out her offspring to perish. The Christian who neglects to provide for his own house, denies the faith and is worse than an infidel ; and so too, if he neglect his country he falls (we think he does) under the same condemnation. Christian ethics are simple : they require just judgment, relief to be administered to the widow and the fatherless, the captive to be set at liberty, the hungry to be fed, and each individual to do good to all men as there is opportunity. When such sentiments prevail, men will cease to boast of their own, or to boast in themselves, but will cooperate in kind offices, as they are bound to do, and strive together to promote the welfare of the whole human family.

ART. III. *Sumatra : murder of Rev. Messrs. Lyman and Munson ; with brief notices of the island, its productions, and inhabitants ; particularly the Battaks.*

We omitted to notice, in the last number of the Repository, the murder of the late Rev. Henry Lyman and Rev. Samuel Munson, in order that we might have opportunity to obtain for our readers a full and authentic statement respecting that horrible transaction, and

to add at the same time such an account of the country and its inhabitants generally, and of the Battaks in particular, as to enable us to form correct opinions of the natives, as well as of the propriety of efforts for extending among them the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Two letters, and three separate reports are now before us, all of which we will here introduce. The first is from the Rev. Mr. Medhurst, dated,—

“Batavia, September 5th, 1834.

“My dear Sir,

“It is with the greatest grief I have to inform you, that the melancholy tidings reached us yesterday evening, of the inhuman murder of both the brethren Lyman and Munson, by the Battaks in the interior of Tappanooly, on the 28th of June. A report has been received from the post-holder at Tappanooly, that on the 17th they arrived there from Pulo Nias, and declared their intention of visiting and exploring the interior of the Battak country. From this, they were strongly dissuaded, by the abovenamed person, a Dutch lieutenant, and the commander of a government schooner at anchor there; but notwithstanding every representation and remonstrance, they insisted on prosecuting their journey, saying that they came with friendly, and not with hostile, intentions, and therefore had nothing to fear. The post-holder accordingly provided them with coolies, a guide, and an interpreter; and on the 23d, they set off on their journey. They proceeded two days journey into the interior, and on the night of the 27th, lodged at the village of a friendly chief, who received them well, and entertained them hospitably, but strongly dissuaded them from proceeding farther, as the natives were in a state of disturbance a little onward, and he could not insure their safety a step beyond his own village. The brethren returned the same answer as before, and proceeded.

“About noon on the 28th, they were met by five armed Battaks, who came, as it would appear, from the Battak chief, requiring them immediately to return, for evil was before them. The brethren said they saw no danger, and the Battaks, after having supplied themselves with tobacco, departed. About four o'clock the same afternoon, the brethren found themselves suddenly surrounded, in a wood, by about 200 armed Battaks, who showed hostile intentions. The brethren gave themselves out as friends, and threw them tobacco, cloth, &c. The Battaks received these, but seemed still hostilely inclined, when the brethren, to remove their suspicions, gave up their pistols, of which they had each a brace. Not satisfied with this, they demanded a musket which was in the hand of Mr. Lyman's servant, who refused to give it up to any but his master. Mr. Lyman then required it from him, and handed it over to the nearest Battak, who immediately turned it round, and with the butt end gave brother Lyman a blow on the chest, which brought him to the ground. The signal for assault being given, the brethren were soon stabbed, their arms chopped off, and their bodies devoured. Their attendants fled; and one of the servants has now arrived in Batavia roads.

" This mysterious event has overwhelmed us as much with grief as astonishment. We are at a loss to account for the reasons of this afflictive dispensation. The Lord's promises, his people's prayers, and the experience of the faithful in all ages, together with the Redeemer's purpose of rescuing every nation under heaven from ignorance and idolatry, would all seem to promise a contrary result. No good purpose (as far as we short sighted mortals can penetrate,) would seem to be answered by such an event; and yet the Lord has permitted it for reasons best known to himself. As far as we can see, the chains which bound the Battaks in ignorance and superstition seem to be faster rivetted, the purposes of the church for their evangelization thwarted, the zeal of future laborers damped, and the objections of the multitude that missionary efforts are only a waste of men and money, apparently strengthened; and yet the Lord can bring good out of evil, make the blood of the martyrs the seed of the church, and render the melancholy end of our brethren only the means of whetting the edge of keen desire with which the youth of our native lands are burning to enter the lists with the prince of darkness. Oh, that we may have grace to say, it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.

" Our afflicted sisters are overwhelmed with grief and dismay. Oh, it was a sad task to break the intelligence to them: a ship had arrived from Padang, they were intensely expecting news, and good news of their beloved husbands, when we called. They read however the contrary in our countenances; and when they each asked after the fate of their partner, it was heart rending to say, 'both gone.' 'Where are they?' 'We trust, in heaven.' We spared them the worst of the recital; but as it was, the shock was almost too much for them to bear. In a moment to be plunged from the height of expectation into the depth of despondency is almost too much for the human mind, and still more for the female mind, to endure. The Lord, however, is in an especial manner a very present help in every time of trouble, and will give strength equal to the day. May our dear sisters find it so, and may the Lord bring good out of this apparent evil.

Yours in great grief,
W. H. MEDHURST."

The foregoing letter expresses so fitly the emotions and sentiments which must spontaneously break forth from every Christian's heart, at the moment of receiving such sad intelligence, that we gladly give it publicity, and trust that Mr. M. will excuse us for the liberty we have taken in doing so. And we hope the 'bereaved widows' will also pardon us for the liberty we take in making the following short extract from their letter on the same subject. It is dated,—

"Java, September 25th, 1834.

"To _____,

"Dear Sir,—It is with hearts deeply pained, that we address you as bereaved widows. We are indeed afflicted, yet the Lord appears daily for our consolation. Clouds and darkness envelope this mysterious, heart-rending providence. But what we know not now, we shall

know hereafter. Our beloved husbands left Batavia, April 8th; arrived at Padang on the 26th; left Padang May 12th, for Nias; visited the Batu group, and arrived at Nias, May 28th. Reached Tappanooly, June 17th; entered the interior of Sumatra on the 23d; and on the 28th, were cut off.

"Inclosed are the received accounts from the post-holder at Tappanooly, from Mr. Munson's teacher who has returned to Batavia, and also from one of their servants, now in our family. We have received journals accompanied by charts, containing accounts of all their wanderings, till the day before they entered the Battak country; and a number of letters, dated June 22d, among which is one written by Mr. Munson to the Board. We have forwarded packages to the Missionary Rooms at three different times, containing all the facts we are in possession of respecting these two sons of the church. Well may Zion mourn: *our* only consolation is, their abundant preparation for an exchange of worlds. * * * *

Truly yours in affliction,

ABBY J. MUNSON.

ELIZA P. LYMAN."

The following is a copy of the report from the post-holder, dated,
"Tappanooly, July 2d, 1834.

"To my bitter grief, I find myself under the necessity of communicating to you the following melancholy account:—On the 17th of June, there arrived here, on board the praoe (prow) Jengah, under the command of Malim Soetan, from Padang and Nias, the Rev. Messrs. Lyman and Munson, both American missionaries of the reformed persuasion, who informed me that it was their intention to undertake a journey into the Battak country, to Tobah, &c., for which end, they requested my assistance in the providing of the necessary guides, interpreters, and coolies for their baggage; which were accordingly provided by me, consisting of 14 persons, viz. Dartoe rajah Mankocta, the head of Kelangan district, together with a police runner, named Si Rakim, and ten coolies; to which were added their own two servants: but not before I myself, together with the second lieutenant Schock, military commandant here, and Mr. Sickman, the commander of his Netherlands majesty's schooner Argo, had most strongly dissuaded them from their purpose, but in vain. On the 23d of June they went from the island on which the fort is built, by way of Tappanooly to Tobah; and on the 30th, there appeared before me, the above named Dartoe rajah Mankoeta, the police runner, all the coolies, and one of the servants of the above named gentlemen called Si Jan, returning out of the Battak country, who both severally and collectively related to me the following tale:—

"That after their departure from Tappanooly, they passed the first night in the village of Si Boenga-Boenga, at the house of rajah Si Boendar; the second night in the village of Rappal, at the dwelling of rajah Swasa; the third at Pageran Lambong, at the palace of rajah Gooroo Si Nongan; and from thence they went to Goeting,

to the house of rajah Amani Bussie: by all which chiefs they were received with hospitality and respect, but who notwithstanding most strongly advised them not to prosecute their journey any further towards Tobah, saying, that at Tobah there existed disturbances; that at that moment the journey was not to be undertaken without danger, and that they could not, and would not be responsible for the consequences. To which Messrs. Lyman and Munson gave answer to these rajahs, that since they came not as enemies, but as friends to visit the Battak country, they had therefore no reason to fear the least danger, and thus they would prosecute their journey to Tobah. In this resolution they remained firm till the 28th, when they again prosecuted their journey from Goeting towards the village of Sakka at Selindong, with the intention of spending the night with the rajah Berampat at that place. While they were upon the march, about half way there, just at noon they were met by five armed Battak people, who entreated them to return, and not to prosecute their journey any further, if they would avoid exposing their lives to danger. That the above named gentlemen, notwithstanding all these warnings, and the urgent request of their own followers to return, would pay no attention to all this; and the five Battaks, after being provided with a little tobacco, were sent back to tell their rajah that they saw no danger in prosecuting their journey to Tobah, since they came to visit them as friends, and not as enemies. Whereupon they proceeded on their march, till about 4 P. M., when suddenly they saw themselves surrounded in a wood, by a band of about 200 armed Battaks, who made them lay down their arms, and then inhumanly murdered both Messrs. Lyman and Munson and one of their servants. In the meantime, the rest were enabled, after having forsaken the baggage, to jump into the thicket, and by flight to save themselves. That they, on their retreat hitherwards, had heard that Mr. Lyman and his servant, the same evening in which they were murdered, and Mr. Munson the following morning, had been made away with by their murderers. You will thus by this declaration, be pleased to observe, that however great this misfortune has been, the gentlemen themselves have been much to blame, because neither here, nor in the Battak country, would they give ear to any one's warning or good counsel. The property of the deceased shall be forwarded by me to Mr. Boyle, at Padang, according to their requests before they went from hence into the Battak country.

(Signed) F. BONNET,
The post-holder of Tappanooly."

The account given by the Chinese teacher who accompanied Messrs. Lyman and Munson to Tappanooly.

"That on the 9th day of the 5th moon (17th June), they arrived at Tappanooly or rather at Panchan, an island off Tappanooly, on which the Dutch establishment is situated, where they remained about six days, when Messrs. Lyman and Munson, accompanied by the post-holder and commandant went to Tappanooly, and from

thence the above named gentlemen proceeded to the interior. On the third day after their arrival, the teacher went to the house of a Chinese from Macao, who was the farmer of opium for that district, where he met with a Battak rajah, of the district of Sibulan, who asked wherefore they were come. The teacher replied, to visit the Battak country. The rajah said, you ought by no means to go thither, because five years ago a white man traveled in the Battak country and took away some of the earth; whereupon, the following year, the Mohammedan Padries made an attack on the Battak country and slew about 20,000 Battaks. On this account the Battaks were incensed against the white men, and would not let them travel into the interior. But if you are set on going, I will first go round to the courts of the various rajahs, and ask them their opinion on the subject; and in fifteen days let you know the result. The teacher reported this to Mr. Munson, who told the post-holder. The latter asked him where he had his information, and was referred to the teacher, who said that a Malay man had told him. The post-holder then called the police runners, and threatened that if any man should spread such a report, he would give him a couple of dozen. The teacher himself did not hear this, but had it from the police runners. The next day, the teacher again reinonstrated with Mr. Munson, on the propriety of waiting at least fifteen days, that they might hear from the interior. Mr. M. at first seemed willing to comply, but the next morning, he told the teacher that they had resolved on proceeding, and had already called coolies. Upon this, the teacher said, that if such was their determination, he would not venture to accompany them. Mr. Munson then said, 'if you will not go, you had better stay here for me, and if I am not back in six weeks, you can return to Batavia.'

"A day or two before their departure, the teacher went to the post-holder, and found the coolies complaining that the Battaks were a dangerous people, and might attempt to do them an injury; that, in such case, they were too few to resist, and if they should run away, and leave the gentlemen to their fate, they would be blamed. To which the post-holder replied, you may escape if you can, and will not be blamed. The teacher then went to Mr. Munson, and told him not to depend on what the post-holder said as to the absence of danger. Mr. Munson then conferred with Mr. Lyman, who said, they did not depend on the post-holder or any one else, but on God."

The account given by Si Jan the servant who accompanied Messrs. Lyman and Munson.

"On a Monday, says the servant, Messrs. Lyman and Munson commenced their journey, accompanied by a number of coolies and police runners, and an interpreter. They were accompanied from Panchan as far as Tappanooly by the post-holder and a Dutch officer who went with them a little way beyond Tappanooly, till they commenced ascending the hills, when they mutually took leave. The road was exceedingly difficult, consisting of hills and ravines, covered with thick forests; so steep in many places that they were oblig-

ed to ascend by means of rattans tied to the tops of rocks, and to descend on their haunches. The coolies were compelled to tie the burdens on their backs, being unable to carry them on their shoulders or heads. The gentlemen, however, were enabled to master these difficulties. The thicket was so dense, that they were not much troubled with the heat of the sun; and the road so solitary, that they seldom met above four or five individuals in the course of a day's march. No houses or villages were seen on the road, and only at the end of each day's journey did they come to anything like a village. The journey was of course performed on foot, and yet they managed to advance about ten or twelve miles per day. When they arrived at a village, they were immediately surrounded by multitudes of natives, men, women and children, who showed no sort of timidity at the presence of Europeans, but came boldly up to the travelers, and examined their persons and dress with much eagerness, asking importunately for tobacco. The Battaks wear no clothing, except a strip of cloth around the loins for the men, and a piece somewhat broader for the women.

"Si Jan says, that he did not see any of the natives tattooed. They live in houses a little raised from the ground, made of brushwood and bamboo, and covered with leaves. Their houses are generally in a row with a small verandah in front, also raised from the ground, in which the gentlemen generally slept. Their villages were surrounded with strong palisades, sometimes in two or three rows. In their houses, arms were found, and the natives never appear out without them. Their large knives or cleavers they carry without a scabbard, resting on their shoulders, with a spear in the other hand. They generally plant rice in the vicinity of their villages, not in irrigated fields, as is customary with the Malays, but in scattered patches of dry land; holes are made at little intervals with a stick, and the seed cast in, and covered over, which in process of time springs up and yields a small increase, but nothing compared with the produce of irrigated rice fields. They have also Indian corn; some yams were seen, and now and then the egg plant; but Si Jan said, no fruit, not even plantains or cocoa nuts.

"Salt is brought to them by traders from the interior, but it is very black and disagreeable. They have nothing to exchange for this and such other articles as they may need, but gum benjamin.

"On the second night after their departure, they fell in with *rajah Swasa*, who told them that it would be better not to attempt to enter the Battak country at first, but stay at Panchan, until he should have time to go into the interior and make inquiry, when he would send them a letter from Tobah, to inform them whether or not they would be well received. They replied, that they came with peaceable intentions, and that there was no necessity for such a measure. On being questioned, whether he had joined in persuading the gentlemen not to proceed, Si Jan replied, that he had not; but while staying at Panchan, and hearing such fearful accounts from the Malays residing there, of the murderous practices and cannibal habits of the Battaks,

he had requested Mr. Lyman to be allowed to remain behind with the Chinese teacher; but that Mr. Lyman replied, he must go, for they could not do without him. He therefore accordingly went. The villages which they afterwards came to, with the names of their rajahs, Si Jan does not recollect; he only remembers crossing a very rapid river, which they effected by swinging across on rattans tied from one side to the other. The day on which they fell, he thinks must be Saturday, because he heard Mr. Lyman propose stopping a day at the next stage for the Sabbath. He has no recollection of the five Battaks met on the day of their murder who cautioned the gentlemen to return, nor of any other warnings but that given by rajah Swasa.

"The last onset, Si Jan describes as follows: About four o'clock in the afternoon of that day, they came suddenly upon a log fort, which was occupied by a number of armed men with muskets, spears, &c.; and they approached within a hundred yards, without being aware of it. On spying the fort and the men, the interpreter was told to go first, and parley with them; after him followed the coolies with the baggage, the gentlemen and their two servants, and the police runner behind. When the interpreter arrived at the fort, Si Jan heard a disturbance, and on looking round, saw a band of about 200 armed men close upon them from the rear. The coolies, upon seeing the troop, and hearing the noise, threw down their burdens and fled; the interpreter also became invisible. Immediately the crowd of Battaks came on them, hallooing and brandishing their weapons, and threatening to dispatch the travelers at once. They came so near with their pointed spears and muskets, that Mr. Lyman was enabled to push by their weapons with his hands, intreating them to wait a little and come to an explanation; at the same time both of them took off their hats which they threw to the Battaks, and also some tobacco in their possession.

"This not pacifying the rabble, Mr. L. delivered up his pistols, as did also Mr. Munson; these were received, and handed to the others, but the disturbance continued. Mr. Lyman then asked Si Jan for the musket which he carried, but he refused to deliver it up saying, he then should be left defenceless. Si Jan offered to fire, but Mr. Lyman withheld him, and asked for the musket for his own use. Si Jan gave it him accordingly, and Mr. L. immediately handed it over to the Battaks. Mr. L. then said, call the interpreter. Si Jan ran a little way to call him, but not perceiving him, turned round to go to Mr. Lyman, when he heard the report of a musket, and saw Mr. Lyman fall, calling out Jan! Jan! A shout then arose from the Battaks, which was answered by those in the fort. A rush was then made on Mr. Munson, who was run through the body and fell. Another shout then followed. The cook who had on a jacket given him by Mr. Munson was the next victim. On seeing the gentlemen fall, he attempted to escape, but was pursued, and by one blow of their cleavers had his arm cut off, while the weapon went through the arm into his side.

"Si Jan and the police runner now fled for their lives, and got into

a thicket at a short distance :—here they concealed themselves under the bushes, and remained all night, (the evening having already set in,) until five clock the next morning. While Si Jan was in the thicket he heard much shouting and rejoicing, and about 7 o'clock in the evening, the Battaks fired off their muskets, and then all remained quiet.

“ At first, while on board ship, Si Jan gave out that he saw the gentlemen cut up by piecemeal and carried away, and afterwards to the Malay teacher, in the presence of Mrs. Munson, he asserted the same; but thinking it might wound their feelings, and having perhaps been cautioned by some friends not to touch upon this painful subject, he altered his story, and said that he saw nothing after he retreated to the thicket. About five the next morning, Si Jan and the police runner set off to return, not by the usual route, but right through the woods, traveling by the sun, and in two or three days arrived at Si Boga in the bay of Tappanooly, where they procured a boat and got to Panchan. In his flight, Si Jan received a wound in his foot from one of the caltrops or sharp pointed bamboos which the natives threw about in order to catch the feet of the fugitives, which gave him great pain in his march, and still continues to lay him up.”

Before we venture to make any remarks concerning the foregoing narrative, or to express an opinion on the conduct of the lamented men who have been so early and unexpectedly cut off, we will pause, and take a survey of Sumatra and its inhabitants. It is truly matter of surprise and regret that so little is known by Europeans of one of the fairest and most fertile islands in the world. Extending more than a thousand miles in length, and, on an average, about one hundred and fifty in breadth, diversified by ridges of mountains and numerous rivers, with a deep, rich soil, yielding a great variety of productions, Sumatra remains to this day the abode of half-civilized men. At a very early period the island was visited by merchants of the west. Yet even now the full extent and value of its resources are unknown; and, except a few stations on the coast, it affords no secure and hospitable retreat for strangers.—Marsden's History of Sumatra, Anderson's Mission, and the papers of Raffles, Crawford, and a few others, all confessedly very defective, are almost the only works on the subject worthy of notice.

The kingdoms and states of Sumatra are so numerous, and yet so unknown, as to make it quite impossible for us to define their boundaries, or even to give a full list of their names :—Acheen, Me-nangkabu, Siak, Jambi, Palembang, and Lampong, are the principal divisions. What Mr. Anderson has remarked concerning Pulo Percha, an extensive territory situated on the east coast between Diamond Point in 5° 16' 32" north latitude, is to a considerable extent applicable to the whole island. He says: “There is not a more marked variety and dissimilarity in the products of the several states in this extensive tract, than there is in the physical and moral condition, habits and customs of the numerous tribes which inhabit it. Many

of the states have been settled for centuries, and have risen to power and an advanced state of civilization: others, which had obtained the summit of prosperity, and were enjoying the benefits of a most extensive commerce, have, in the lapse of ages, and under changes of systems and governments, been gradually retrograding, and their power and authority is much circumscribed. There are others again of a recent formation, and where government and character have not arrived at that stability, consistency, and uniformity, which we find in the more anciently established kingdoms. Some of the states were founded by emigrants from the powerful empire of Menangkabou; others by shipwrecked mariners from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and by settlers from Acheen, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and the Malayan peninsula; many of whom have perhaps been associated together as piratical adventurers, and have derived from the product of their former barbarous avocations, the means of founding a flourishing kingdom. Great distinctions of manners, habits, &c., must be the consequence of such a motley assemblage of different tribes."

Acheen once figured in history; but its ancient power is broken; and the accounts of what it was centuries ago, will afford us but a poor idea of what it now is. Sir T. S. Raffles, while in Sumatra, remarked concerning the country: "The power of the king is daily becoming more precarious, and the government is rapidly breaking up. Almost all the powerful chiefs, whether of the coast or interior, have assumed a virtual independence, without formally renouncing the king's authority; while the power of the young king is too much enfeebled to be able either to compel obedience, or to levy the usual taxes and duties for the support of his dignity. One of the principal of these refractory chiefs is the panghulu of Susa, one of the districts formerly most productive in pepper. The young king is by no means deficient in general abilities, but has been designedly deprived of proper education by his mother, whose influence in the country is still superior to his own. This circumstance has thrown the prince, in a great measure, into the hands of about half a dozen of half-caste Portuguese and French."

Again, immediately after having resided three months at Acheen, in 1819, he remarked concerning that place: "The most important discoveries we made, were the existence of extensive teak forests near the northern coasts, and the general prevalence of mutilated Hindoo images in the interior; of the former, I obtained specimen branches of the trees, and undoubted evidence; and of the latter, the accounts given were of a nature which left little doubt in my mind with regard to the fact. I have obtained also several copies of their annals, and much information regarding their constitution and customs: their line of Mohammedan kings appears to have commenced in 601 of the Hegira, and from that period until that reign of Secunder Muda, or Macota Alem as he is more generally called, Acheen is said to have been tributary to Rum; it then obtained exemption from tribute. The crown and regalia, appear to have been brought from Rum,

shortly after the establishment of Islamism ; and I think it probable that Acheen was the first and most important footing obtained by the Mohammedans to the eastward, and whence their religion was subsequently disseminated among the islands."

Menangkabu is a very ancient kingdom, and its jurisdiction once extended over nearly or quite the whole of Sumatra. It has been famed, since the earliest periods of history, for the riches of its gold mines, its iron ores, and other mineral productions. It was from Menangkabu that the gold which traders found at Malacca, in remote periods, was carried. It was to the gold of Menangkabu that Malacca owed its designation of the golden Chersonesus ; and within its dominions, geographers have marked the situation of mount Ophir. Sir Stamford was of opinion that the Menangkabuan of the Malayan peninsula have emigrated from Sumatra ; and was confirmed in this belief, from the fact that the sultan and all the principal officers of Rumbo, a Malay kingdom about sixty miles inland from Malacca, hold their authority immediately from Menangkabu, and have written commissions for their respective offices : this shows the extensive influence of Menangkabu even now, reduced as it is in common with all the Malay states.

The capital of Menangkabu is the celebrated Pageruyong, visited by sir Stamford and lady Raffles in 1818. It is built at the foot and partly on the slope of a steep and rugged hill called Gunung Bongo, remarkable for its appearance with three peaks. Below the city, under a precipice of from fifty to a hundred feet, winds the beautiful stream of Selo, which passes Suruasa, and takes the name of *Soongy Amas* or the golden river. In front of the city rises the mountain Berapi, the summit of which is about twenty miles distant. Pageruyong and Suruasa have been repeatedly ravaged ; all the adjacent country however is described as being exceedingly populous and highly cultivated. On a moderate calculation, the population within a range of fifty miles round Pageruyong cannot be estimated at less than a million. "The whole country," says sir S., "as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continued scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages, shaded by cocoa nut and other fruit trees. I may safely say, that this view equalled anything I ever saw in Java ; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. In comparison with the plain of Matarun, the richest part of Java, I think it would rise. Here, then, for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power—the origin of that nation, so extensively scattered over the eastern archipelago. The estimated height of Pageruyong above the level of the sea is 1800 feet. In Mr. Marsden's map, the city is placed at about eighty-two miles northeast of Padang, and sixty-six from the coast. By our observations we found it to be not more than fifty miles from Padang, and forty-five from the coast, in a straight line ; the latitude being 14' south, and longitude twenty-eight miles east of Padang."

The principal provinces and districts, which constitute the king-

dom of Menangkabu, are Agum, Datar, Lebban, Allang Panjang, Peia Kumboo, Kapunahan, Ramba, Tumosei Kanto, Ujong Batu, Batu gajah Dedap, Karikan, Kuban, Leantan, and Tandong. Our authority for these names is Anderson; who says that, according to the fabulous Malayan annals, Sang Sapurba, a descendant of Alexander the Great, was the first king of Menangkabu.

Siak was once an extensive and powerful kingdom. To Mr. Anderson, who visited the country in 1823, the following sketch of its modern history was communicated. In the reign of sultan Abdul Jalil Mohammed Shaw, the seat of government was at Buantan. The king's two sons, Buang and Alum, were of a quarrelsome disposition, and mutual jealousy and dislike was the consequence. After a serious dispute with his younger brother, whose part the king was disposed to espouse, Buang fled from the country and became a daring pirate. Having collected many adherents, he proceeded to Malacca, then in the hands of the Dutch, and in concert with that government projected a scheme for taking Siak. The plan was successful; Alum fled, and, the king being old and infirm, Buang seized the reins of government; and, in consideration of the assistance rendered to him by the Dutch, he allowed them to establish a factory at Pulo Guntong. About eight years after this he set out on a piratical expedition. A few months afterwards he returned, and anchored his fleet, consisting of twenty-five large vessels, close to the Dutch factory at Guntong. The unsuspecting Dutch received Buang, and four of his chiefs, with the greatest attention. While sitting beside the Dutch resident, the commandant of the garrison, the pirate king, rajah Buang, drew his kris and stabbed him to the heart; a few other officers in the room were murdered with equal dispatch. This was the work of a moment; and the crews of the vessels, at a given signal, rushed sword in hand amongst the people of the garrison, and about 180 Dutchmen perished in the general massacre. This event took place in the year 1150 of the Hegira, which makes it upwards of ninety years since the Dutch occupied the settlement. And to the present time the state of the country continues to be unsettled. Vessels from Java, Borneo, and Celebes used to resort to it in great numbers, and carried on an extensive commerce. The population of the kingdom, though still very large, has greatly decreased; and the trade has been almost annihilated by the *Rinchi*s, the chiefs of a religious sect, who a few years ago extended themselves into the interior of Siak from Menangkabu. These chiefs "are most rigorous in preventing the consumption of opium; and punish with death all who are detected in this indulgence. They prohibit colored cloth of any description from being worn, and allow only pure white. Seree, tobacco, and betel, articles in such general use in all the Malay countries, and considered so essential to their comfort, are not permitted. Every man is obliged to shave his head, and to wear a little skull-cap. No man is permitted to converse with another's wife, and the women are obliged to cover their faces with a white cloth, having only two small holes for their eyes."

Jambi was visited in 1820 by lieutenant S. C. Crooke of Penang; from his journal we gather the following particulars:—The country is flat; and towards the sea it is low, swampy, and subject to inundation. The land rising in an inclined plane from the sea towards the great central chain of mountains which divide the island lengthwise, is probably of an alluvial formation. At Jambi (town), its surface is about twenty feet above the level of the river in the dry season. It is composed of a rich vegetable mould, covering a bed of clay, mixed with fine sand; under which, at the depth of eleven or twelve feet, there is a stratum of peat, four feet in thickness, containing trunks of trees of various dimensions, the bark undecayed, and the fibres of the wood retaining much of their natural color, strength, and elasticity. The substratum is a fine light colored clay, slightly mixed with decayed vegetable matter. The banks presents a section of successive layers of sand and clay; neither stone nor gravel were found in the soil, though pebbles of quartz and fragments of ironstone, washed down the river from the interior, have been deposited on the sandy banks. The climate at the town of Jambi is considered healthy and agreeable. During Mr. Crooke's residence there, which was in July, the mean of the thermometer hanging in a close and hot cabin, was at sunrise from 76° to 77°; at the hottest time in the day, generally from two to three o'clock, 86°; and at 8 P. M. 79° of Fahrenheit.

The people have no regular forms of law, police, or government in any of its modifications; but the sultan is nominally supreme, and arbitrary. Ignorant and weak, however, in reality; his authority is slighted or usurped by every ambitious chieftain; and the kingdom is throughout in a state of confusion and misrule. The lower classes of the people are generally below the middle size in stature: they are ignorant, poor, and indolent; but do not appear to possess that character of vindictive treachery so commonly ascribed to the Malays. Their arms are the kris, spear, and more rarely fire arms of a heavy and clumsy make: these are said to be manufactured in Sumatra.

Of Palembang and Lampong we have very little information that can interest our readers. The capture of Palembang in 1812, by colonel Gillespie, was a most gallant achievement. The expedition reached the city on the 25th of April, and took possession of the place while the Malays were exulting in the destruction of the Dutch garrison. When Gillespie gained possession of the fort, the palace, and batteries, the horrors of the scene were dreadful. With only seventeen British grenadiers, and a few officers and seamen, sufficient to man a barge and a gig, the colonel landed at eight o'clock at night; and, undismayed in the face of numerous bodies of armed men, he marched through a multitude of Arabs and treacherous Malays, whose missile weapons, steeped in poison, glimmered by the light of torches. Huge battlements, with immense gates, leading from one area to another, presented the frightful spectacle of human blood still reeking and flowing on the pavement. The massive gates closed upon the rear and the blood stained courtyards through which the party were conducted, appeared as if they were the passage to a

slaughter house. The palace exhibited a melancholy picture of devastation and cruelty. In every direction spectacles of woe caught the sight, and were rendered peculiarly awful by the glare of the surrounding conflagration, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning and loud peals of thunder.

We intended to add in this place some brief notices of the mountains, lakes, rivers, coasts, and harbors, as well as of the animal, vegetable, and mineral productions of Sumatra; but our limits forbid; and we turn, therefore, to take a view of the inhabitants of the island. Of the Malays, it is not necessary to speak; but the *Orang Pati*, or *Padries*, must not be passed over without some notice. They are said to resemble the Wahabees of the desert. They are Mohammedans; and have proved themselves most unrelenting and tyrannical. In 1822, sir Stamford described them as rapidly gaining ground throughout the northern parts of Sumatra. "It is the practice of the people," says the writer just named, "when they are attacked, to place the women and children in front; and in the last onset by the Dutch, it is reported that not less than one hundred and twenty women, each with a child in her arms, were sacrificed, the women standing firm."

The Battaks deserve particular attention. Our best authorities on this point are sir Stamford Raffles and Mr. Anderson. In February, 1820, sir Stamford, in a letter to the duchess of Somerset, gave the following account of this singular people: "I have just left Tappanooly, situated in the very heart of the Battak country, abounding in camphor and benjamin, and full of interest for the naturalist and philosopher. If you have looked into Mr. Maraden's history of Sumatra, you will recollect that the Battaks are cannibals. Now do not be surprised at what I shall tell you concerning them, for I tell the truth, and nothing but the truth. To prepare you a little, I must premise that the Battaks are an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, occupying the whole of that part of the island lying between Acheen and Menangkabu, reaching to both the shores. The coast is but thinly inhabited, but in the interior the people are said to be as thick as the leaves of the forest; perhaps the whole nation may amount to between one and two millions of souls. They have a regular government, deliberative assemblies, and are great orators; nearly the whole of them write, and they possess a language and written character peculiar to themselves. In their language and terms, as well as in some of their laws and usages, the influence of Hindooism may be traced; but they have also a religion peculiar to themselves; they acknowledge the one and only great God, under the title of *Di-bata Assi Assi* (?), and they have a trinity of great gods, supposed to have been created by him. They are warlike, extremely fair and honorable in all their dealings, and most deliberate in all their proceedings. Their country is highly cultivated, and crimes are few.

"The evidence adduced by Mr. Maraden must have removed all doubt from every unprejudiced mind, that, notwithstanding all this in their favor, the Battaks are strictly cannibals; but he has not gone half far enough. He seems to consider that it is only in cases of prison-

ers taken in war, or in extreme cases of adultery, that the practice of man-eating is resorted to, and then that it is only in a fit of revenge. He tells us that, not satisfied with cutting off pieces and eating them raw, instances have been known where some of the people have run up to the victim, and actually toru the flesh from the bones with their teeth. He also tells us that one of our residents found the remains of an English soldier, who had been only half eaten, and afterwards discovered his fingers sticking on a fork, laid by, but first taken warm from the fire: but I had rather refer your grace to the book; and if you have not got it, pray send for it, and read all that is said about the Battaks."

"In a small pamphlet lately addressed to the Court of Directors, respecting the coast, an instance still more horrible than anything related by Mr. Marsden is introduced; and as this pamphlet was written by a high authority, and the fact is not disputed, there can be no question as to its correctness. It is nearly as follows: 'A few years ago, a man had been found guilty of a very common crime, and was sentenced to be eaten according to the law of the land; this took place close to Tappanooly; the resident was invited to attend; he declined, but his assistant and a native officer were present. As soon as they reached the spot, they found a large assemblage of people, and the criminal tied to a tree, with his hands extended. The minister of justice, who was himself a chief of some rank, then came forward with a large knife in his hand, which he brandished as he approached the victim. He was followed by a man carrying a dish, in which was a preparation or condiment, composed of limes, chillies, and salt, called *sambul*. He then called aloud for the injured husband, and demanded what part he chose; he replied, the right ear, which was immediately cut off with one stroke, and delivered to the party, who turning round to the man behind, deliberately dipped it into the *sambul*, and devoured it; the rest of the party then fell upon the body, each taking and eating the part most to his liking. After they had cut off a considerable part of the flesh, one man stabbed him to the heart; but this was rather out of compliment to the foreign visitors, as it is by no means the custom to give the *coupe de grace*.'"

It was with a knowledge of all these facts, that sir S. visited Tappanooly, with the determination to satisfy his mind most fully in everything concerning cannibalism. Accordingly he caused the most intelligent chiefs of that place to be assembled, and in the presence of witnesses, Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which neither of the gentlemen had the least doubt. It is the universal and standing law of the Battaks, that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases: 1st, for adultery; 2d, for midnight robbery; 3d, in wars of importance, that is to say, in one district against another; the prisoners are sacrificed; 4th, for intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and 5th, for a treacherous attack on a house, village, or person.

It is calculated, the same author affirms, that not less than from sixty to one hundred Battaks are annually eaten in times of peace. The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, are the delicacies of epicures! Formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents when too old for work; this practice, however, has been abandoned. When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately and on the spot; and whether dead or alive alters not the case; and it is usual even to drag the bodies from the graves and eat the flesh. It is certain that it is the practice *not* to kill the victims till the whole of the flesh is cut off, should the party live so long. Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true that they are the result of much deliberation; and seldom, except in cases of prisoners of war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. With regard to the relish with which they devour the flesh, a great many of the people, perhaps a majority, consider it preferable to beef or pork. After all this, sir S. considered that he could say a great deal on the other side of the question, 'for the Battaks have many virtues.' "You know," says he, in concluding his letter to the duchess, "you know that I am far from wishing to paint any of the Malay race in the worst colors, but yet I must tell the truth. Notwithstanding the practices I have related, it is my determination to take lady Raffles into the interior, and to spend a month or two in the midst of the Battaks. Should any accident occur to us, or should we never be heard of more, you may conclude we have been eaten."

The character of the Battaks is portrayed in terms equally distinct by Mr. Anderson. When at Siak, great numbers of these people visited him; one told him that he had partaken of human flesh seven times, and specified the parts of the body which were esteemed the most delicate. Others told him they had repeatedly eaten of human flesh, and expressed an anxiety to enjoy a similar feast upon some of their enemies, then in their neighborhood. Another displayed, with signs of particular pride and satisfaction, a kris, with which he said he had killed the seducer of his wife, and whose head he had severed from his body, holding it by the hair, and drinking the blood as it ran warm from the veins. Mr. Anderson, after relating many instances of cannibalism, gives his opinion on the subject in the following words:—The existence of this barbarous and savage practice, so revolting to the ideas of civilized man, has long been doubted, and is only partially credited even to this day. Being, I own, rather sceptical on this point, I determined to omit no opportunity of arriving at the truth. I am fully justified then, not only from what I witnessed, but from the concurring testimony of the most respectable and intelligent natives whom I met, in asserting, that cannibalism prevails even to a greater extent on the east side of Sumatra, than according to the accounts received, it does on the west. It is not for the sake of food that the natives devour human flesh, but to gratify their malignant and demon-like feelings of animosity against their enemies. Some few there are, however, of such brutal and depraved habits, as to be unable, from custom, to relish any other food. The rajah of

Jawa, one of the most powerful and independent Battak chiefs, if he does not eat human flesh daily, is afflicted with a pain in the stomach, and will eat nothing else. When no enemies or criminals can be procured for execution, he orders one of his slaves to go out to a distance and kill a man now and then, which serves him for some time, the meat being cut into slices, put into joints of bamboo, and deposited in the earth for several days, which softens it. The parts usually preferred, however, are the feet, hands, navel, ears, lips, eyes, and tongue."

Mr. Anderson published his book in 1826; a review of it appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 67, the same year, and a rejoinder in the *Malacca Observer*, No. 10, for July, 1827. In an explanatory note to the last named paper, the editor says, that "the Battaks are not ashamed to own that they are cannibals. Some years ago a Battak servant of a gentleman in Malacca, on seeing his master's child washed, made the following remark; 'in our country it would be unnecessary to wash the child, he might be roasted at once;' intimating, that as the boy was white and looked clean, he might be eaten without being washed. Another servant of the same gentleman told him, that when her grandfather and grandmother became old and useless, a large fire was kindled at the foot of a tree, from the top of which they were let fall into the fire, where they were roasted alive and afterwards eaten. This she declared to be the customary mode of dispatching old people. She also remarked, that the palm of the hand was the most delicious part of the body."

We have been thus particular, in narrating the facts concerning both the murder of Messrs. Munson and Lynnan and the people who committed that inhuman deed, in order to put our readers in possession of the best means possible for forming an opinion on the subject. Perhaps the first impression made on every mind, by reading the account, will be that the men were too precipitate and venturesome. We do not know all the considerations and circumstances which induced them to pursue the course they did; enough, however, is known to prevent us from saying that they did wrong. Their grand object was to benefit their fellow-men. They were anxious to become acquainted with the character and condition of the inhabitants of the archipelago; and they knew they were exposing themselves to danger and putting their lives in jeopardy. Had they resolved to hazard nothing and encounter no difficulties, surely they would not have left their native land, where they enjoyed all the ease and quiet, heart can wish. How many lives are put in jeopardy, and sacrificed too, in the pursuit of wealth and worldly aggrandizement? In such cases men are bold, daring, and enthusiastic, and willing to encounter dangers and difficulties. And their conduct is commended. As an instance in point, we may refer to sir Stamford, whose enterprise is worthy of all commendation. 'On my arrival at Padang,' says he, 'I found, that notwithstanding my previous instructions, no arrangements whatever had been made for facilitating the proposed journey into the interior. Here, as in a former instance at Manua, when I proposed to proceed

to Pasmah, the chief authority had taken on himself to consider such an excursion as altogether impracticable, and to conclude that on my arrival, I should myself be of the same opinion. I had, therefore, to summon the most intelligent European and native inhabitants, and to inform them of my determination. At first, all was difficulty and impossibility. Besides physical obstructions, the whole of the interior was represented to be under the sway of Tuanku Pasaman, a religious reformer, who would undoubtedly cut me off without mercy or consideration: but when they found me positive, these difficulties and impossibilities gradually vanished; distances were estimated, and a route projected; and in three days everything was ready for the journey.' The results of his expedition are well known. But, suppose Messrs. Lyman and Munson had turned back, what then would have been the consequence? They saw no danger; and had they desisted from their course, what report could they have made to their constituents? Have not the natives, and the Dutch residents, always dissuaded persons from entering the interior? We deeply regret the loss of the men, and would warn others to take every proper precaution to avoid a similar end; but never, until more light is thrown on the case, or until we know that their conduct has been disapproved by the great Captain of their salvation, shall we dare to say they did wrong.

ART. IV. *British authorities in China; their arrival at Canton; letter to the governor; governor's edicts; stoppage of trade; statement of facts made to the Chinese; servants driven from the factories; English marines arrive in Canton; frigates enter the Bogue; memorial to the emperor; battle at the Bogue; military operations; second memorial to the emperor, and his majesty's answer; illness of lord Napier; frigates leave Whampoa, and the commission retires to Macao; third memorial, and a second answer; circumstances connected with lord Napier's death; and imperial order for the appointment of a new chief.*

The first act in the new drama—the English free trade to China,—has closed, and is now a proper subject for review. In order to form correct opinions of the act, its several parts must be considered separately. The appointment of the new authorities; the opinions of Staunton, Majoribanks, Auber, and of writers in the Quarterly and Westminster reviews, with the king's commission to the superintendents, and their arrival in Canton, were noticed in the Repository for last July. (Pages 130, 143.) In the Repositories for the last three months there is a series of official papers, to which, as they are numbered, we shall have frequent occasion to refer. With these brief preliminaries we proceed to review the principal measures of the commission since its arrival in China, on the 15th of July.

In January, 1831, the governor of Canton declared it incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to *come to Canton*, for the general management of commerce. Accordingly, with 'reverential obedience,' a superintendent was appointed to take up his residence in this port, within the Bogue, and *not elsewhere*. Foreseeing the difficulties that might arise from not being recognized by the local authorities, the chief superintendent, before leaving England, requested that, in case of necessity, he might have authority to treat with the government at Peking: this request being denied, he desired that his appointment to Canton might be announced at the capital: this not being granted, he wished that a communication from the home authorities might be addressed to the governor of Canton: but this was deemed inexpedient; and he was directed to come to Canton, and to report himself by *letter*. To Canton, therefore, he came, and forthwith dispatched a letter, acting in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of his instructions, and with the wishes of the Chinese government, as hitherto expressed. And how was he received? As a king's officer? As a friend? A *barbarian eye* and an *English devil* was the courteous language in which he was reported by the police; and by his excellency, the governor, *his letter* was rejected and himself denounced in the harshest terms. From the fact that the superintendents reached Canton about midnight, the Chinese authorities have averred 'that such coming was manifestly a clandestine stealing into Canton,' hinting at the same time that it was done at the instigation of the hong merchants and linguists: which is false.

The day after the commission reached Canton, the letter was sent to the gates, in the hands of the secretary of H. M. superintendents. The senior hong merchants now came forward to act as mediators between the governor and the bearer of the letter; and, being the well-known advisers of his excellency, used all their influence to have the letter delivered into their own hands. In this, they were foiled; and the governor issued a new edict, one having already been lodged in the hands of the hong merchants. (See Nos. 1, and 2, page 187.) In his second document the governor places foreigners *beyond the bounds of civilization*, and orders the hong merchants, linguists, and compradors to become their instructors in the great principles of dignity and obedience. The barbarians, the governor says, are permitted to reside only at Macao; and only when they have business of buying and selling are allowed to request a permit to come to the provincial city. The fact is, that for many years past, it has been unnecessary to procure permits for European boats; and the superintendents came to the city in the usual and most convenient way, just as scores of visitors arrive here every year; yet in so doing they are charged with 'a great infringement of the established laws.' In tender compassion the governor will not strictly investigate. The barbarian eye must not be allowed to loiter about; and "it must be required, that when the commercial business regarding which he has come to inquire and hold jurisdiction is *finished*, he immediately return to Macao." (No. 2.)

Four edicts (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4,) from the governor had at length accumulated in the hands of the hong merchants; and on the 15th of

August they addressed a letter to the British merchants, declaring that, in consequence of the disobedience of lord Napier, they "dare not hold commercial intercourse" with them, and must stop the trade. This they did the next day, August 16th.

Two days afterwards, Aug. 18th, the governor issued another edict, (No. 6.) in which he says there are no means of knowing whether lord Napier is an officer or a merchant. But "looking up and embodying the great emperor's most sacred, most divine wish, to nourish and tenderly cherish as one, all that are within and that are without" the limits of the celestial empire, and at the same time "considering that the said nation's king has hitherto been in the highest degree reverentially obedient," he again, in tender commiseration, gives "temporary indulgence." While considering the misery that would overtake the barbarians by stopping their trade, "I feel," said his excellency in a strain of unrivaled bathos, "I feel that I cannot bring my mind to bear it." However, it seems due to the governor to say, that throughout all his measures he manifested an inclination, though feeble and wavering, to accommodate. This disposition seems to have induced him to send the deputation to the factories, on the 23d of August. But, on account of the counsel of the merchants, or for some other reason, he continued to decline all direct communication with the new authorities, or to make any arrangement with them, at the same time allowing the said merchant to stop the trade, and continuing to avow himself ignorant of the real character and object of the chief superintendent.

It was this conduct, it appears, that induced lord Napier to publish in Chinese "a true and official document," in order to exhibit the "present state of the relations between China and Great Britain." (No. 7.) This measure has been considered by many, if not by most foreigners, as premature. Perhaps it was so. Its immediate effects at Canton were certainly bad; but it opened the eyes of the governor and his colleagues; who now sought, though by other means, than the hong merchants, to ascertain the real object of the chief superintendent: its remote effects, therefore, may be most salutary. If we may credit well authenticated reports, the chagrin of the governor at this moment was extreme. By the representations of the merchants he had been deceived, and led on to a point, from which his colleagues would not allow him to retreat. In conjunction with the fooyuen, he now published a new edict; (No. 8,) interdicting all trade with the English, and denouncing as traitors all natives, whether linguists, compradors, or hired servants, that might enter the factories of the said barbarians. From the house of the chief superintendent in Canton, as well as from all the English houses in Macao, the natives fled in a panic; and consternation spread among the Chinese in every direction. At Macao, the Portuguese government kindly interfered in behalf of the deserted families; and a small guard of marines were ordered to come to Canton. On the 7th of September the frigates entered the Bogue. The next day, September 8th, the following document was dispatched to Peking; it reviews the whole controversy down to that date.

(No. 11.)

Memorial from the Canton government to the emperor, forwarded Sept. 6th, 1834.

Further, on the subject of the English nation's trade with Kwangtung. The said nation has hitherto had an establishment called Kung pan ya, (office for public management or company, from the Portuguese, *companhia*,) for directing the buying and selling of the whole country, which was also named Kung sze (public managing body). The said company (kung sze) appointed chief, second, third, and fourth supracargoes, to come to Canton, for the general direction of commercial affairs, and for a restraining control over the barbarian merchants. In the 10th year of Taoukwang (1830), the hong merchants reported, that in the 13th year, the period of the said nation's company (kung sze) would be accomplished, and the said nation's barbarians would each trade for himself. Fearing that affairs would be under no general control, the former governor, your majesty's minister Le, commanded the hong merchants to enjoin or derson the taepan, (chief supracargo,) requiring him to send a letter home to his country, (to the effect) that if the company were indeed dissolved, it was directed that a taepan acquainted with affairs should still be appointed to come to Canton, to control and direct the trade.

This year I, your majesty's minister Loo, with the superintendent of customs, Chung, having ascertained that the said nation's company was dissolved, commanded the hong merchants to deliberate well on the subject, as it was imperative that affairs should be made subject to some undivided responsibility in order that they might not be totally without combination, order and arrangement.

In the 6th moon, an English ship of war brought to Canton a barbarian eye, lord Napier, one individual, who said that he came to Canton for the purpose of examining into and directing commercial affairs. He brought with him a family—females and young children—five in all, whom he settled at Macao. The ship of war, which was ascertained to have a crew of 190 persons, anchored in the outer sea; and the said barbarian eye changed his vessel, and came up to reside in the barbarian factories outside of the city. I, your majesty's minister Loo, having received reports hereof from the civil and military district officers, immediately addressed a communication to the naval commander in chief, for him to station cruisers about and keep guard at the Bogue and other places; I gave order also to the men and officers in the forts to keep up a strict and close preventive guard, not to permit the said ship of war to enter the port, or the foreign females to come up to Canton. I also commanded the hong merchant, Woo Tunyuen (Howqua) to investigate why the said barbarian eye had come to Canton; that if it were, because it was requisite, the company being dissolved and at an end, to establish fresh regulations of trade, he should immediately inform the said hong merchants, that they might present a report, and so enable me to make a complete memorial, reverently awaiting the receipt of the mandate and pleasure (of your majesty), to which obedience should then be directed.

The said barbarian eye would not receive the hong merchants, but afterwards repaired to the outside of the city to present a letter, to me, your majesty's minister Loo. On the face of the envelope, the forms and style of equality were used, and there were absurdly written the characters, ta Ying kwö, 'great English nation' (for Great Britain). Examining, at that time, it appeared, that in keeping apart the central and the outside (people), what is of the highest importance is a maintenance of dignity and sovereignty. Whether the said barbarian eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But, though he be really an officer of the said nation, he yet cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the celestial empire. As the thing concerned the national dignity, it was inexpedient in the least to allow a tendency to any approach or advance, by which lightness of esteem might be occasioned. Accordingly, orders were given to Han Shaouking, the footseäng in command of the military forces of Kwangchow foo, to tell him authoritatively, that, by the statutes and enactments of the celestial empire, there has never been intercourse by letters with outside barbarians; that respecting commercial matters petitions must be made through the medium of the hong merchants, and that it is not permitted to offer or present letters.

Again, considering that he was stupid and unpolished, having come from without the bounds of civilization, and that, it being his first entrance into the central, flowery land, he was yet unacquainted with the rules and prohibitions, it appeared

undoubtedly right first to explain to him and guide him, to enable him to know what he was to obey and act in compliance with. (I, Loo,) selected and made an arrangement of the rules and orders established by reports at various periods (to the throne), for the regulation of the trade of the barbarians, and commanded the hong merchants to enjoin the same, pointing out, and guiding him in the way, and also to inform him. that the outside barbarians possess an open market at Canton, only because of the good favor of the sacred empire towards the dwellers on the sea-coasts; but that in no way are the mean, paltry, commercial duties regarded as of importance; that the said nation has traded here for beyond a hundred and some tens of years, and for all affairs there are old regulations; and that, since the said barbarian eye has come for commercial purposes, he should at once obey and keep the regulations: but if he do not so, he shall not be permitted to trade at Canton. First and last, on four several occasions, were clear orders given.

Afterwards, the said merchants reported in answer, that the said barbarian eye would not obey the orders enjoined by them, but averred, "that he is an officer and superintendent of the barbarians, and not one with whom taepans can be compared; and that hereafter all affairs ought to be conducted by official communications to and fro with the various public officers, for that orders cannot, as formerly, be enjoined through the medium of the hong merchants, nor can he offer petitions, but can only write official letters, and deliver them to officers to transmit." The said merchants replied, that heretofore there has been no such mode of conducting affairs. But the said barbarian eye, continuing obstinate and perverse, without altering, they requested that an embargo should be put on the said nation's buying and selling. The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, has repeatedly been perverse and stubborn and indeed extremely obstinate, but having considered that the said nation's king has heretofore been always reverently submissive, and that the said nation's several merchants are all still quiet and peaceful; that if, for the error of one man, lord Napier, all the ships' holds should be closed, they cannot but be overwhelmed with grief, I, your majesty's minister Loo, looked upward to embody my august sovereign's liberality, (extensive) as heaven and earth, which beholds with the same benevolence the central and the outside people, and stoops to treat with compassion. I accordingly replied clearly and perspicuously to the said merchants, that the commercial affairs of outside barbarians have hitherto been under the management of hong merchants, and there has never been an officer to direct and control; that England has heretofore had no interchange of official communications with the central, flowery land, and therefore what the said barbarian says, cannot be permitted to be brought into operation. Also, that the ships' holds should properly indeed be closed, but that temporary indulgence and delay are given, from tender compassion towards all the separate merchants. With these particulars they were also commanded to make clearly known (to lord Napier), that if he repented, aroused, and became reverentially obedient, trade should continue as usual, but that if he again offered opposition, and continued perverse, the ships' holds should be immediately closed. It was hoped that, by the truth and sincerity of reason, his brute-like fierceness and overbearing might be reformed; so that, if only the great principles of dignity were not hurt, it would be unnecessary to make any severe requisition. But the said barbarian eye, when the merchants enjoined orders on him, remained as if he heard not; and when the said merchants copied out the words of my official reply, and gave the reply to him, he laid it down and would not peruse it.

Further, the naval tsantseing, Kaou Eyung reported, that another English ship of war had come and anchored with the ship of war that had come before, in Macao roads. It was ascertained that the number of seamen in her was also 190; and, on being questioned, it was averred, that she would not at all enter the port, but was awaiting a favorable wind to sail out. Again did I address an official communication to the naval commander in chief, and to the officer in command on the Heängshan station, that in every place a preventive guard should be maintained with increased diligence. Directions also were sent to the magistrates of all the seaboard districts, that they should strictly prohibit the trading and fishing boats from approaching the ships of war to engage in barter or afford supplies.

At the same time I again and a third time consulted with your majesty's minister Ke: (and we came to the conclusion) that the common disposition of the English

barbarians is ferocious and what they trust in are the strength of their ships and the effectiveness of their guns: but that the inner seas having but shallow water, with very many sands and rocks, the said barbarian ships, though they should discharge their guns cannot do it with full effect; also, that the barbarian eye having placed his person in the central, flowery land, distant from his own country several myriads of miles, we are in the state relatively of host and guest; if he should madly think to leap the bounds, our troops may composedly wait to work with him, for, that he will be powerless is manifest and easy to be seen. But the matter concerns those out of the bounds of civilization, and it is necessary that investigation should be made and care taken, beyond what is ordinary, in order to break the mind down to submission.

What the merchants had reported being but the assertions of one party, it was not right to give hasty credence to them. We accordingly commanded the assistant foo magistrate, Pwan Shuangyeh, to proceed, accompanied by the Kwang-chow heh, to the barbarian factories, personally to investigate, and at the same time to command that the ships of war should immediately get under weigh and return to their country. The said barbarian eye still did not tell clearly the particulars of what he had come to Canton to do, nor did he plainly and definitely answer for what the ships of war had come, and when they would return. Because the said barbarian eye directed a barbarian acquainted with the Chinese language to interpret, we apprehended that, in transmitting information, there might have been a want of truth; and therefore commanded them to take linguists with them. The said barbarian eye would not receive the linguists to interpret, so that the officers deputed had no means of giving clear orders. And, after having repeatedly commanded the hong merchants to inquire and investigate, the origin and occasion of his mission still could not be at all ascertained.

On humble examination, (it appears) that the commerce of the English barbarians has hitherto been managed by the hong merchants and taepans; there has never been a barbarian eye, to form a precedent. Now, it is suddenly desired to appoint an officer, a superintendent, which is not in accordance with old regulations. Besides, if the said nation has formed this decision, it still should have stated in a petition, the affairs which, and the way how, such superintendent is to manage, so that a memorial might be presented, requesting your majesty's mandate and pleasure, as to what should be refused, in order that obedience might be paid to it, and the same be acted on accordingly. But the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, without having made any plain report, suddenly came to the barbarian factories outside the city to reside, and presumed to desire intercourse to and fro, by official documents and letters, with the officers of the central flowery land; this was indeed far out of the bounds of reason. Repeatedly have the hong merchants enjoined orders, and the deputed officers inquired and interrogated; there has been no want of bending and stooping to investigate clearly, nor has he been forcibly troubled with any difficulty. Yet the said barbarian eye has not at all told plainly what are the matters he has come to attend to, and what the occasion of his mission; but has imperatively desired to have intercourse by official communications and letters with the officers of the inner land. And he has presumed to publish a notice, telling all the separate merchants not to regard the entire cutting off of trade as a matter for concern; thus showing that he has a disposition to excite agitation and disobedience of the laws and statutes. If not amply punished and repressed, how can the national dignity be rendered imposing, and the barbarians be intimidated?

Hitherto, it has been the rule, that when the barbarians are lawless, their ships' holds should be closed. We, your majesty's ministers, have, in conjunction with the superintendent of customs of Canton, your majesty's minister Chung, deliberated, and have also maturely consulted with the general commandant, the lieutenant-generals, and the Sze and Taou officers, (heads of the territorial and financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments) in the city, (and have agreed,) that it only remains to close the ships' holds according to law, and temporarily put a stop to the English nation's buying and selling. Should the said barbarian eye, with awe and fear, pay reverential submission, and obey and act according to the enactments and statutes of the celestial empire, we will then again report, requesting your majesty graciously to permit the opening of the ships' holds for traffic; thus may a warning punishment be clearly manifested.

Commerce is originally the business of the separate merchants; but since the said

nation has not yet appointed another taepan, and the said barbarian eye, after having first said he was to examine and direct, has, on a second occasion, styled himself a superintendent, so that we cannot find on inquiry what things he is to attend to; and since, besides such obstinate adherence to error, and refusal of restraint and control, he leaves affairs without any responsibility, it is difficult even to hope for the trade of the separate merchants being properly and securely conducted.

Of late the commercial barbarians have gradually assumed a great degree of daring; at this time of commencing a new order of things, it is requisite that they should, with severity, be brought to order and directed. At present, we have issued a proclamation and plain order, regarding lord Napier's repeated opposition and perverseness, wherein we close the ships' holds according to law; at the same time explaining that this has no relation to the several separate merchants, and that all nations besides may buy and sell as usual. As to whether this be right or not, we, looking upwards, pray for (your majesty's) sacred and luminous instructions, that the same may be obeyed and acted on.

Further; of late years, the hoppo's receipts of commercial duties from barbarian ships from England have been about 5 or 600,000 taels. In itself this affects not the treasures of the revenue to the value of a hair or a feather's down. Yet the national resources being of importance, we dare not neglect to calculate thoroughly in devising a course of action. But the barbarians are, by nature, insatiably avaricious; and the more forbearance and indulgence are shown to them, the more do they become proud and overbearing. At present, the barbarian ships which clandestinely sell opium in the outer seas are daily increasing. Just when the laws were being established to bring them to order, there came this mad, mistaken, barbarian eye. If at this time, indulgence be at once shown to them, they will then advance step by step, begetting other foolish expectations. It is unavoidable but that a slight display should be made of reducing and repressing them.

The said country exists by commerce, and all its merchants, coming in crowds with their goods, are in haste to dispose of them, and to take advantage of the northerly winds of the autumn and winter, for returning with goods to their country. They assuredly will not lightly cast away their goods and capital, waiting till a wrong season. The several separate merchants, seeing that lord Napier has repeatedly resisted and caused agitation, have all in their hearts become in a great degree submissive; and it is now authenticated that they have presented a petition at the hoppo's office, requesting that the ships' holds might be opened; to which it has been replied by proclamation, that if lord Napier change and repent, and obediently keep the old regulations, they may then be permitted to report and request that the ships' holds be opened. The said merchants certainly will not bear to have their livelihood injured by much obstinacy.

Besides, the rhubarb, tea, China ware, and raw silk of the inner land, are things absolutely necessary to the said country. On investigation, it appears, that in the 13th year of Keäking (1808), and in the 9th year of Taoukwang (1829), the ships' holds were closed in consequence of the said barbarians creating disturbance; and afterwards they humbly supplicated and requested their reopening. This is clear proof that the said nation cannot be without a traffic with the central flowery land.

The said barbarians, except in guns and fire-arms, have not one single peculiar talent. We have now, on consultation with general Ha and others, posted military within and without the city, at the various guard stations, directing them to patrol about with increased vigilance. At Macao and all about, officers have also been secretly appointed, to spread themselves about at various posts, on land and water, to maintain quietness and keep a preventive guard, in order that no evils of remissness may arise. There decidedly must not be the least tendency towards what will occasion the commencement of a bloody quarrel and disturbance. In addition, orders are given to the foo and heën magistrates, to search after Chinese traitors, and with severity to bring them to trial and punishment.

As to the commerce of the outside barbarians, the undivided responsibility rests on the hong merchants. Now, since, on the barbarian eye, lord Napier's coming to Canton, they neither at first reported it beforehand, nor, when repeatedly commanded to enjoin orders, were they able to do a single thing, showing a great degree of contemptuous negligence, orders have also been given to inquire if they have or have not been in fault, that they may be proceeded against with severity.

Of the particulars of all that is done, we, your majesty's ministers (Loo and Ke), in conjunction with the superintendent of the customs at Canton your majesty's minister Chung; the general, your majesty's minister Ha; the general of the left, your majesty's minister Lun, of the imperial kindred; and the general of the right, your majesty's minister Tso:—respectfully prepare this memorial, secretly reporting, and prostrate imploring a sacred glance thereon. Respectfully reported.

The foregoing memorial reached Peking on the 20th of September, having gone thither in thirteen days, which is only about one half of the time allowed to ordinary dispatches. It was, as intimated in its last paragraph, a *secret* memorial, and was forwarded as a supplement to a public document. Important papers are often forwarded to Peking as secret or supplementary memorials, it being the policy of the government to keep such from the eyes of the people. These 'secret' memorials, written without any suspicion of their ever being liable to fall into the hands of barbarians, are particularly valuable to those who wish to know the true character and condition of the Chinese; and it is not strange that such papers should be read with avidity, whenever they happen to fall into the hands of the people. In the memorial given above, there are several things deserving particular remark, a few of which we will here notice.

It is stated that the barbarian eye, having anchored the ship of war in the outer sea, "*changed his vessel*" and came to the provincial city. If leaving the frigate and entering the cutter, (a boat of about eighty tons, which was formerly the property of the honorable company and for many years employed in running between Canton and Macao,) is '*changing his vessel*,' then the memorial is correct; and if the governor was compelled to state the simple truth of the case he would probably affirm that such was his meaning. But that he did not intend to be so understood is made evident beyond all question, by the statement of the well-known fact that one of the hong merchants, *Sunshing*, has been imprisoned on the charge of having allowed the barbarian eye to come to Canton in one of the regular ships, for which he became the security merchant. It is almost incredible that even a Chinese should have the hardihood, against all evidence, and without any shadow of proof, to prefer such a charge. But so it has been; and, until the frigates entered the Bogue, the governor endeavored to hold the hoppo responsible for lord Napier's coming to Canton,—repeating the affirmation that his lordship came in a merchant ship and not in a man-of-war. And it is equally surprising that, after the chief superintendent left Canton, and the frigates the river and the coast, the government should still keep the said hong merchant in confinement. It is rumored, and generally believed, and not without reason, that money is now the object: if it be so, and the man is entirely innocent—and no one doubts his innocency—it presents us a striking illustration of "the justice and reason" that are current in the "sacred empire."

There is another notable point: the foo and heën magistrates were ordered to search after Chinese traitors, and to seize and bring them to severe punishment. But where was there any evidence that

natives had acted the part of traitors? And where and how was there any occasion for any traitorous conduct? If visits to the foreign factories by individuals, who were not hong merchants, was traitorous conduct, then there were hundreds who were worthy of being denounced and treated as traitors; and even his excellency's own household would not be innocent: but no suspicion lighted on such visitors. If being employed by foreigners as teachers of the Chinese language, could expose natives to the charge of being traitors, then individuals were guilty; for such have been constantly employed by the English company or by private individuals during the last twenty years; this has not been done without the knowledge of the government; and during the late dispute, the names of some of those men were in its possession. The laws, so far as there are any that bear on this point, have been allowed to lie inactive. But why were these men, in the present instance, suspected of traitorous conduct and obliged to escape for their lives? Because a document in pure and elegant Chinese had been translated and printed, his excellency was of opinion that barbarians could not thus write and publish in the language of the flowery nation, without the aid of "traitorous natives." But the document was translated without the aid of the celestial *dominies*, and was printed by lithography—to the vexation and astonishment of the Chinese. Of both these facts, the principal local authorities are now, we believe, thoroughly convinced: but this was not done until their underlings had seized, bamboed, and imprisoned several natives who were perfectly innocent and wholly unacquainted with the matter.

Because the said barbarian eye employed a barbarian acquainted with the Chinese language to interpret, their excellencies, Loo and Ke, apprehended that, in the interview with the deputation on the 23d of August, there might be a want of truth; they therefore ordered the linguists to go and be in attendance; and because the linguists were rejected, the governor and fooyuen affirm that the deputed officers had no means of giving clear orders. This reasoning looks well enough in the memorial; but there is no foundation for it in fact. The linguists, so called, do not pretend to read, write, or even speak the English language, except in the very limited and almost unintelligible jargon of Canton; and in any matters of importance, are utterly incompetent to act as interpreters.

Following events in the order of time, we have now to notice the progress of the frigates to Whampoa, and the military operations that resulted from that measure. The circumstances which led to this, are briefly stated in a letter of the chief superintendent to the secretary of the British merchants, dated September 5th: "Referring back to the 16th of August," says his lordship, "it appears that an order was issued by the hong merchants, to suspend the trade. On the 18th, an edict from the governor appeared, 'threatening to cut off the trade forever, but out of commiseration granting indulgence and delay.' In spite of this indulgence, no chops for embarking or landing cargoes were issued, and consequently there has been a com-

plete stop to foreign trade since the 16th ultimo. In the meantime, however, in full reliance on the edict of his excellency of the 18th, a great deal of business has been done in the way of buying and selling between the British and Chinese merchants; which obligations do not appear to be acknowledged by the edict of the 2d instant. (No. 6, p. 238.) This forms the ground of grave complaint and remonstrance to the governor on the part of the British. The permission to embark goods, paid for up to the 10th, is vitiated in a great measure by the prohibition to land cargoes, from those ships which are daily expected, for the very purpose of embarking the cargoes so contracted for. This anomaly presents a second ground of remonstrance. These two points shall be made subjects of discussion with the authorities. The edict goes on further to state, that all workmen, boatmen or others, are no longer allowed to receive hire; and, consequently, all such persons, including servants and watchmen, have deserted the service of the superintendents. To remedy this inconvenience, and to afford a sufficient protection to the treasury of the East India company, it has been requested that a guard of marines may be landed within the premises, and that his majesty's ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* may pass the Bogue, and take up a convenient position at Whampoa, for the more efficient protection of British subjects and their property." The next day, the hong merchants addressed a letter to the British merchants, saying they had "just received an order from the governor, which states that he has ordered all the forts and guardhouses, that English boats and ships are only allowed to go out of the port; they are not allowed to enter." This was immediately laid before lord Napier, and on the same evening, the 6th of September, his lordship addressed a second letter to the secretary of the British merchants, in which he says:—"It appears to me, from the delay and difficulty which will be experienced by vessels arriving from England before they can deliver their cargoes, that it may be absolutely necessary for the same boats or vessels to pass between Lintin and Canton several times before the trade even up to the 16th can be embarked. Under these circumstances, I am desirous of letting the governor know, as soon as possible, that any such insult as firing on the British flag, before the trade is all embarked, will be duly resented. If any one of the merchants have any remarks to offer, either on this head or those mentioned to you in my letter of yesterday, I shall be obliged by their doing so as soon as possible." Two days after this, September 8th, a communication (No. 9.) was addressed to the secretary of the British merchants, who placed a translation of it in the hands of the hong merchants, by whom it was transmitted to the governor. Such was the state of affairs at Canton, when the ships passed the Bogue;—the particulars of which we now proceed to detail.

Friday, Sept. 5th, at 6 o'clock p. m., H. M. ships *Imogene* and *Andromache*, under the command of captains Blackwood and Chads, cleared for action. At 9, p. m. sir George Robinson arrived from Macao, bringing with him Mr. W. to pilot the ships to Whampoa.

Saturday, 6th. At 11 P. M., the cutter arrived from Macao, bringing Mr. Davis and captain Elliot.

Sunday, 7th. The sea breeze did not spring up until 11 A. M.; and then it was light and from the westward. At 12 o'clock and 20 minutes, the ships weighed anchor; at 12:25, the junks and forts in Anson's bay commenced firing blank; at 12:47, tacked; at 12:56, the forts at Taikawktow fired a shot, and at the same time two were fired from the fort in Anson's bay; at 1:16, the fort on Wangtong island fired three shot, which were returned with the guns of the Imogene standing towards the fort on one tack, and the Andromache towards Anunghoy on the other. At 1:25, a shot from the Wangtong; and at 1:27, another, both of which were returned with two maindeck guns of the Imogene; and at the same time the Andromache commenced firing, returning the shot from the old fort on Anunghoy. At 1:35, the firing commenced from both ships, on the new fort of Anunghoy and on the Wangtong fort. At 2:5, shots were fired from the fort on Tiger island; the Imogene now ceased firing, the guns not being able to bear; the Andromache at the same time engaging the forts on Wangtong and Anunghoy. At 2:15, ships anchored; wind being very light. On board the Imogene, no one was killed, and only one slightly wounded by a splinter; she received two shots in the larboard bends, one of which passed quite through, the other remained in; one of the larboard main chain plates was shot through; one shot went through the larboard second deck hammock netting, and grazed the mainmast; one main shroud and half a dozen ropes of minor importance, were shot away. The Andromache received still less damage than the Imogene.

Monday, 8th. During the whole day, calms or baffling airs prevented their moving from their anchorage, just below Tiger island.

Tuesday, 9th. At 2:11 P. M. they weighed with a light breeze from the south; at 2:12, a gun was fired from the Wangtong, and one from the new fort of Anunghoy; and at 2:20, shots came from the Tiger island fort, with which the general action commenced, distant about 200 yards; at 2:30, a shot went through the Imogene's forecastle hammock netting, and killed one man, and slightly wounded two others. The Andromache likewise had one man killed, and three slightly wounded. The forts stopped firing at 2:45; the frigates at 2:55; and at 4 P. M. they anchored below Second Bar creek, neither having sustained any damage to speak of either in hull or rigging.

Wednesday, 10th, they moved about five miles up the river, and anchored. The next day, at 7:15 P. M. they anchored at Whampoa. In coming up, the Imogene grounded near the second bar, and again on the Brunswick shoal; but was soon off in both cases: the Andromache touched also at the second bar.

While the British fire lasted on the first day, it silenced the forts; but as it soon appeared that any pause on the part of the ships, caused a renewal of the fire from the batteries, it became necessary to keep up the fire until they were beyond the reach of the forts.

The action was the most brisk, while the ships were in the middle of the channel ; " but the Chinese fired like men in a panic, aiming very wild, or rather letting fly as the ships arrived at the line of fire for each gun as it was laid. There could not have been much reloading or training of the guns, after the first discharge. The only tolerable firing on the part of the Chinese was from the fort on Wangtong island. The little damage experienced from the enemy, during the whole of the slow working passage and the frequent tacks, so often exposing the ships to be raked by the batteries, sufficiently demonstrates their want of steadiness and skill. They ought to have sunk both ships. The round stern armaments proved extremely useful." While at anchor on the 8th, the Chinese were observed to be busy in adding to their means of annoyance ; a number of boats brought additional supplies of men and arms ; and a parade of some hundred soldiers with matchlocks took place on the rampart. On the 9th, the battery reserved its fire longer, and after commencing, maintained it better than was expected ; but the damage was probably much greater than that sustained by the forts on the 7th. Many thirty-two pound shot entered the embrasures, or shattered the stone parapet ; a small temple within the fort became a heap of ruins ; and the loss of the Chinese must have been considerable.

The sensation produced at Canton by the " hammering " at the Bogue was various : the report of the firing on the 7th, reached the ears of the hong merchants and some of the Chinese officers, early the next morning, and in the course of the day, some of the heaviest shot were brought to the city. The ire of the Tartar general was kindled to a high pitch ; but the governor, who seemed not to have been prepared for such an emergency, was panic struck, and for several days could scarcely compose himself so as to eat, drink, or sleep. From the 7th, all foreigners, and foreign boats, were prohibited from coming to the city ; commercial business was almost entirely suspended ; and until Friday, the 12th, every one was hourly expecting the arrival of armed boats from Whampoa. In this attitude of affairs, overtures of accommodation were made by the Chinese ; and a messenger forthwith dispatched to Whampoa. The expectation of a speedy and satisfactory arrangement was now very strong. But a few hours only had elapsed when the overtures were withdrawn, and affairs soon wore a more unfavorable aspect than ever before. Soldiers to the amount of eight or ten thousand were immediately called out ; some were posted on the hills about Whampoa ; others were stationed along the river ; and others were sent to guard the factories and the gates and streets of the city.

It was now the duty of the governor to report these extraordinary proceedings to Peking : accordingly, on Monday, the 15th of Sept., he " united with Tsang, the commander in chief of the land forces, his excellency Ke, the fooyuen, and Chung, the hoppo, in forwarding by post conveyance a duly prepared report of the English ships of war having sailed into, and anchored in, the inner river ; of precautionary measures having been taken against them ; and of those officers

who, having guarded the port with remissness, had been severally degraded and subjected to inquiry." That memorial, of which we have heard nothing except what is stated in this short extract, reached the capital about the end of September; and early in October, the emperor gave the following reply in 'vermilion,' i. e. in his own handwriting:—

"It seems that all the forts are erected in vain; they cannot beat back two barbarian ships;—it is ridiculous, detestable. The military preparations being reduced to such a state as this, it is not surprising that the outside barbarians regard them slightingly. My further pleasure shall be given. Respect this."

This vermilion colored reply, and a supreme mandate, received by the cabinet on the 5th of October, reached Canton by an express from the tribunal of war, on the 19th of the same month; they came addressed to the governor: the following is the supreme mandate.

(No. 12.)

This day, it is authenticated that Loo and his colleagues have sent a report, by post, of the English ships of war having broken into the inner river, and of their having dispatched forces to drive them out.

On this occasion, the English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having come to Canton to trade, did not obey the laws. The said barbarian ships of war, two in number, with 300 and some tens of men, having anchored in the outer seas, the said governor did, during the 6th moon, address a communication to the naval commander in chief Le, for the appointment of a tsantseäng, Kaou Eying, to proceed to the maritime entrance and maintain a preventive guard, and for directions to be given to the officers of the admiral's own division, to command and maintain a strict lookout in the forts. And, after the said governor and colleagues had, according to law, closed the ships' holds, he again addressed a communication for a preventive guard to be maintained, that the barbarian ships might not be permitted to enter the port. But, after all, they were so remiss in keeping up guard, that the said ships of war, on the 5th day of the 8th moon (September 7th), taking advantage of the flood tide broke in through the maritime entrance: and when the military of the several forts opened a thundering fire on them, the said barbarian ships discharged their guns, attacking them in return, and passed on. On the 9th, they arrived at Whampoa reach, at a distance of sixty *ls* from the city, and there anchored. The said governor and colleagues have now appointed a naval force, with severity to drive them out.

Kaou Eying, tsantseäng of the admiral of Kwangtung's own division, having been sent, in the 6th moon, to maintain a preventive guard at the maritime entrance, his presuming to suffer the said barbarian force to sail into the inner river, was extremely negligent. As to his further assertion, that the said barbarian ships took advantage of the tide, and sailed in with the wind, so that they could not be hindered, it is difficult to insure that it has not been his purpose to embellish and gloss over the thing. Let Kaou Eying be first degraded from his rank, and made to bear the cangue, before all men, at the maritime entrance. And further, let the said governor ascertain clearly if he be guilty of the offence of having, with contemptuous waywardness glossed the matter over, and if so, let him immediately forward severe accusations against him, awaiting the further expression of my pleasure. Let all the officers who kept the forts with such carelessness and neglect, since there were other men appointed to aid in keeping them, be all in the first instance, subjected to wear the cangue, in all the forts publicly, as a warning. At the same time let inquiry be made respecting the circumstances of their neglect and wayward indulgence, and let accusation be also preferred against them.

With regard to Le, the naval commander in chief, the maritime guard is under his especial care: but the said barbarian ships broke in through the entrance, and all the forts, and the military in charge thereof, could not beat back two barbarian

vessels. It is indeed deserving of most bitter detestation. It seems that all the forts are erected in vain. If preparations are reduced to such a state as this, what is it that the said commander in chief is daily attending to? *Le*, at present, on account of illness, preferred a request for relaxation. He is certainly unworthy of employment. Let him be in the first instance, degraded from his rank, and after the affair is settled, my further pleasure and decree shall be delivered.

The governor of the two Kwang provinces, *Loo*, having stated that, in the 6th moon, he addressed communications, and held consultations respecting the adoption of preventive measures, the affair is not to be compared with one unanticipated, to which the hand cannot be at once applied; he ought certainly to have selected and appointed active individuals to make preparations and maintain a strict guard. How comes it that the said barbarian ships were suffered to enter the inner river, and could not be hindered or kept back? It arises from the said governor's want of plans and lack of valor. The blame he cannot cast off. He has injured the majesty of the nation, and greatly failed of the duties of his ministry. Let *Loo* be deprived of the title, 'guardian of the heir-apparent'; let his two eyed peacock's feather be plucked out; and let him for the first instance be degraded from his official standing, but temporarily retained in the office of governor of the two Kwang provinces, that, bearing his offenses upon him, he may direct the management (of the affair). Should he truly arrange it speedily, and end it with perfect security, he may yet receive some little indulgence, and slight diminution of his sentence. If he continue to involve himself in errors, and cause future misfortunes, he must be dealt with according to martial law, without admission of any indulgence. Trample with fear hereat. Be attentive hereto. Respect this.

On the same day; October 19th, the governor received from the great ministers of his majesty's council a letter addressed jointly to himself, general *Ha*, and the fooyuen, containing the following mandate, issued October 6th.

(No. 13.)

Loo and his colleagues have sent a report, by a speedy post conveyance, of the English barbarian ships having broken into the inner river, and of forces having been dispatched to drive them out. My decree and pleasure have already been plainly delivered, directing severally the punishments of the said governor and others.

On this occasion, the English ships of war having anchored in the outer seas, during the 6th moon of the present year, *Loo* did address communications to the naval commander in chief, *Le*, calling for a strict and close preventive guard. Had indeed a preventive guard been kept with fidelity and vigor, how could the inner river have been broken into? But on the 5th day of the 8th moon (Sept. 7th), the said barbarian ships of war, taking advantage of the flood tide, broke in through the maritime entrance: and when all the military opened a thundering fire upon them, they had the presumption to discharge their guns, returning resistance. And after the passage of the forts at the Bogue and the Wangtung had been forced, they further, on the 7th, passed straight on by the Tiger island fort, and on the 9th arrived at Whampoa reach, sixty *le* distant from the city, and there anchored. It seems that all the forts have been erected in vain. They cannot beat back two barbarian ships. It is ridiculous, detestable! If the military operations be reduced to such a state as this, it is not surprising that the barbarians regard them with contempt.

Now, the said governor and colleagues report, that they have set apart twelve large vessels, and filling each of them with a thousand peculs of stones, have sunk them crosswise; that in the water they have had large cables stretched across; and that they have further had wooden spars laid on the surface of the water, to stop up the passage by water to the city. Also, that they have appointed two large war vessels of the admiral's division, six large vessels of the main squadron, and twenty-two river cruising vessels from the various stations of the districts Sihway and Shunth, with men and military munitions, to keep up a close and strict cruising guard. They have further appointed 300 troops from the lieutenant-governor's own regiments, 700 from the commander in chief's division, and 300

able men of the district militia, to prepare guns and musketry on either shore, in order to guard the land passage. To the Tahwang haou branch of the river, they have sent the tsantsaang, Loo Peibynen, with above twenty cruising boats, to obstruct the passage there: and wooden spars are also used to stop up the river. Likewise on the river opposite, wooden palisades have been set up, and the tsoasse, Hung Fakko, has been sent, at the head of 500 veteran troops of the governor's own, and with a naval force of one hundred men to move hither portable guns, and also large guns, calculated to rend even the hills, causing alarm far and wide; of these men, one hundred and fifty have been placed in charge of the fort (in the Macao passage), and three hundred and fifty have been encamped without, ready to come up to their aid.

Loo, fearing that the Macao barbarians, the Portuguese, might be enticed over by the English barbarians, dispatched the footsaang, Tsing Yuchang, with a civil officer, to issue plain commands to them, and to spread themselves about; and also to keep watch over all things, that no evils of remissness might arise. The said Portuguese barbarians manifested in a high degree reverential submission, and were roused to express their willingness to keep guard themselves. These arrangements were exceedingly proper.

Further, in a supplementary report, it is stated, that at this time the passage before (the ships of war) has been completely stopped up in two places, and behind them also, at Changchow kang (near second bar), large stones have been quarried and made ready, and three hundred troops of the 'brave and pure' regiment have been sent under the command of the yewkeih, Wangliub, to maintain guard, that as soon as the war vessels from Keasheih and other places have entered the river, the stones may be immediately used to block up the river within. The said barbarian vessels will then have no passage for going out. They have further prepared a hundred and some tens of vessels, large and small, in which have been secretly concealed saltpetre, sulphur, firewood, straw and other combustibles, for the purpose of an attack by fire.

The English barbarians are of a violent and overbearing disposition, and they cherish plans great and deep. This has long been the case. On this occasion the barbarian vessels are only two in number, and the foreign sailors do not exceed three or four hundred men. If indeed, the passages for advancing and retreating be both cut off, 'the beast will then be taken, the fish caught'; what difficulty can there be in making a clean sweep in a moment? The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, having stated that he came to Canton to trade, why, when the ship's holds had been closed, did he craftily think to carry a purpose, and go to the daring extreme of having the inner river broken into, and of having guns fired off, returning resistance? He went indeed far out of the bounds of reason. It is to be apprehended that there are yet other ships, staying at a distance ready to bring in aid to him. It is very requisite to inquire fully, with sincerity and earnestness, taking into view the whole field (of action): When the said governor and his colleagues receive this my pleasure, they are required immediately, and with full purpose of heart, to meet for consultation, and arrange the business, securely and speedily. When once the said barbarian eye is brought under, his schemes exhausted, his strength wasted, so that he bows his head and confesses his fault, a light, trifling indulgence may then be extended to him.

Immediately direct the hong merchants to explain to him the evil consequences (of his conduct).—to reprove his presuming to bring in the ships of war and their presuming to use guns and fire, and also to demand of him the cause of his coming to Canton. If he still continue obstinately blinded, and do not arouse, but remain perverse as before, let the said governor and his colleagues arrange and direct military operations, and set in motion the machinery of expulsion and destruction. It is absolutely requisite to make the said barbarian eye tremble and quake before the celestial majesty, and penitentially arouse to reverential submission. Should the said governor and his colleagues continue their former negligence, and cause great misfortune, I, the emperor, will know only how to maintain the laws. If disturbance be occasioned, there decidedly shall be no abance left of indulgent favor. Tremble hereat. Let this be forwarded by a dispatch traveling 500 *le* (daily), and let all the commands herein contained be made known. Respect this.

Before the two preceding mandates (Nos. 12 and 13,) were received in Canton, the commission had retired to Macao, the frigates had left the river, and ten of the Chinese military and naval officers had been handed over to the criminal judge to be tried by *torture*, in order 'to ascertain if, they were guilty of illicit connection with foreigners.' What ground there could have been for suspecting those officers were guilty of *any* intercourse with the 'barbarians,' we cannot even conjecture. And we leave this point in order to notice the situation of the commission.

By referring to a letter of the surgeons of the superintendents, which appeared in our last number, (see page 284,) it will be seen that his lordship's health began to fail about the beginning of September, and that an attack of fever supervened on the 9th. It is probable that a knowledge of this fact was one of the principal considerations which induced a retraction of the overtures by the Chinese on the 12th. Lord Napier's determination to leave Canton was made known to the British residents by a letter, dated the 14th of September, addressed to Mr. Boyd, secretary to the Chamber of Commerce: He says,—"Having read the translation of the special edict of the 11th instant, (No. 10,) forwarded to me yesterday, I find that any further endeavors on my part to reason his excellency into a more becoming line of conduct would be quite superfluous; and whereas it has been stated by the hoppo, in his reply of the 7th of September, 1834, to a petition of Messrs. Whiteman and Co. to open the trade, that the same should take place as soon as I had taken my departure for Macao; I have now to request that you will be pleased to move the proper authorities to order up the British cutter, now at Whampoa, that I may take the earliest opportunity to give effect to the same." The next day his lordship addressed the following letter to the British merchants:—"My letter to Mr. Boyd of yesterday would prepare you for the present. I now beg leave to acquaint you that I cannot any longer consider it expedient to persist in a course by which you yourselves are made to suffer. I therefore addressed Mr. Boyd, that the authorities might provide me the means of doing that which all parties must anxiously desire, namely, 'to retire and admit the opening of the trade.' When I consider that the subject in dispute is not of a commercial nature, but altogether personal in reference to myself, I can retire with the satisfaction of knowing that your interests are not compromised thereby, indulging a hope that the day will yet arrive when I shall be placed in my proper position, by an authority which nothing can withstand. I considered it my duty to use every effort to carry his majesty's instructions into execution, and having done so [thus] far without effect, though nearly accomplished on two occasions, I cannot feel myself authorized any longer to call on your forbearance." For particulars of his lordship's departure to Macao, and of the frigates from Whampoa, the reader is referred to our last number, page 283. How the events were reported to the emperor and viewed by him will be seen by the two following documents. The copy of the first, as it

came into the hands of the barbarians, was without date, but was probably forwarded very soon after the events took place.

(No. 14.)

Memorial to the emperor, respecting the departure from Canton and from Whampoa, of lord Napier and of his majesty's ships Imogene and Andromache.

A reverent memorial forwarded by post conveyance, wherein your majesty's servants,—Ha, general-commandant of the garrison of Canton city; Loo, governor of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse; and Ke, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, kneel and report: That the English ships of war and the barbarian eye have all been driven out of the port, and that the naval and military forces have been returned to their stations, on which report they, looking upward, entreat that a sacred glance may be cast.

An English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having presumed, without previously obtaining a permit, to enter the river of Canton; having also irregularly presented a letter, and having, in disobedience to repeated orders plainly given, continued obstinate and perverse, I, your majesty's minister Loo, closed, according to law the holds of the said nation's merchant ships. The said barbarian eye having further ordered two ships of war to push in suddenly through the maritime entrance up to Whampoa in the inner river, I, your majesty's minister Loo, stationed guards of civil and military officers and soldiers: and wrote for the appointment of a number of naval vessels, from the Tartar force and from those under the admiral's command, as well as of river cruisers from Sinhway and other districts, to spread themselves along the passage before the frigates, even to the Leëth fort (Howqua's), near the city, and the Tahwang haou reach of the river:—also in narrow and important passages, preventive forces were stationed on either shore, under the direction of the commander in chief of the land forces, your majesty's minister, Tsang Shing. These circumstances and the measures taken have been already reported for your majesty's hearing, in a reverent memorial; wherein, also, the conduct of the naval tantseing of the admiral's own division, for his neglect of guarding the passage inward, was severely animadverted on, according to the facts; and on the conduct of myself, Loo, investigation and censure was requested. This is on record.

The commander in chief, your majesty's minister Tsang, marched up his forces, spread them out, and placed them in their stations in perfect secrecy and good order. The people of the said barbarian ships of war saw, in the passage before them, spars ranged out across and all around, with guns and muskets as it were a forest, large and small naval vessels ranged along for several miles, and soldiers stationed and encamped in every place on shore, their force compactly joined, their military array imposing and alarming. The ships of war being anchored at Whampoa, among the merchant vessels, plainly perceived boats full of firewood and straw, and fearing nothing less than an attack by fire, remained subdued among the vessels. They did not dare to advance one step. Nor did one person dare to ascend the shore. Among them also were some persons who came from Macao, wishing to go to Canton to see the barbarian eye, and they too were turned back by our men. The barbarian eye, when he found that the passage by water was intercepted, became timid and fearful, and told the said nation's private merchants to say for him to the hong merchants, Woo Tunyuen and the others, "that the ships of war were to protect the trading barbarian ships;" in order thus to show that he had no other purpose.

When our soldiers accumulated daily, the said barbarian eye, seeing the internal and external communication cut off, and no way open to come in or go out, became still more alarmed and fearful, and again wrote to the private merchants to speak for him to the hong merchants, to beg that a sampan boat might be given him, to leave Canton. We, your majesty's ministers, considered that the said barbarian eye had presumed to come up to Canton without having obtained a permit, and that the ships of war, also had sailed into the inner river; which acts, although in noway heavy offenses against the laws, were yet committed in willful opposition to the prohibitory regulations, showing an extreme degree of daring contempt; and we thought, if he were immediately to leave Canton, thus coming and going at his own convenience, how could it be possible to display a warning example, or to show forth his fear stricken submission! We therefore again com-

manded the hong merchants to question him with authoritative sternness as to what he wished to do in presumptuously coming to Canton without having obtained a permit, and in suddenly bringing the ships of war into the inner river; and we required that he should make plain and distinct answers, in which case he should be permitted to leave Canton; but if otherwise, (we threatened) that exterminating power should assuredly be brought into operation, and that there decidedly should be no alleviation or indulgence.

Thereafter, on the 16th day of the 8th moon (September 18th), the hong merchants, Woo Tunyuen and the others, reported that the said nation's private merchants, Colledge and others, had stated to them, that lord Napier acknowledged that, because it was his first entrance into the inner land, he was ignorant of the prohibitions, and therefore he had come at once to Canton, without having obtained a permit; that the ships of war were really for the purpose of protecting goods, and had entered the Bocca Tigris by mistake; that now he was himself aware of his error, and begged to be graciously permitted to go down to Macao; and that the ships should immediately go out, and he therefore begged permission for them to leave the port. We, your majesty's ministers, again considered, that, although the said barbarian eye repented of his fault, yet it had been repeatedly inquired on what account he came to Canton, and what was written in the letter originally presented; but from first to last he had not told plainly; that as to the statement, "that the sudden entrance of the ships of war into the port was an offense committed through mistake," that was but a glossing pretense; and that when the soldiers opened from their guns a thundering fire upon them, they had the daring presumption to discharge their guns at them in return, thereby causing rafters and tiles within the forts to be shaken and injured;—how came they to be thus bold and audacious! On these points we further commanded the hong merchants to inquire with stern severity.

This being done, the said barbarian merchant, Colledge, on the 18th day (Sept. 20th), again stated to Woo Tunyuen and the others, that lord Napier had really come to Canton for the purpose of directing commercial affairs, and therefore considering himself an officer, is called superintendent; that what was written in the letter formerly presented was that he, being an officer of the barbarians, was not the same as a taepan (supracargo), and wished therefore to have official correspondence to and fro with the civil and military officers of the celestial empire, which is what courtesy entitles to; nothing else whatever was said in the letter. That, as to the ships of war entering the port, it was really because the merchant ships having their holds closed, apprehensions were entertained, that owing to the long continuance of the goods therein, evils of remissness might arise, and therefore they entered the port for the purpose of protecting. That the soldiers of the maritime pass having opened on them a thundering fire, the barbarian force also fired off its guns in self defense, whereby the forts received injury; and that the error is deeply repented of, and the damage done shall be immediately repaired; but that he, lord Napier, begs to be graciously permitted to have a passport to go down to Macao.

A prepared report; as above, having come before us, we, your majesty's ministers, with the Sze and Taou officers, (the heads of the territorial, financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments,) have maturely consulted together. Lord Napier has repeatedly resisted and adhered to his own opinion, that, he being an official eye among the barbarians, there is no distinction of honorable and low rank between him and the officers of the inner land; and he has thought to contend respecting ceremonies. But the dignity of the nation sets up a wide barrier; and we, your majesty's ministers, would not suffer the progress of encroachment. The ships of war, having entered the port nominally, for the purpose of protecting goods, immediately felt themselves to be closely restricted. At this time the naval and land forces were ranged out in order, arrayed as on a chess-board; the fire vessels also were made ready: were advantage taken of this occasion while the ships still found it impossible either to advance or recede, and an attack made on them on all sides, there would be no difficulty in instantly having their lives within our power. But our august sovereign cherishes those from far virtuously, and soothingly treats outside barbarians, exercising to the utmost limit both benevolence and justice. If any be contumacious, they are corrected; if submissive, they are pardoned; but never are extreme measures adapted towards them. Although lord

Napier has entertained absurd visionary fancies, he yet has shown no real disregard of the laws: it would not be well precipitately to visit him with exterminating measures. Besides the private merchants of the said nation, several thousands in number, all consider the barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws to be wrong. There is not one who unites and accords with him. Still more improper, therefore, would it be, to make no distinction between common and precious stones. Now, lord Napier, having acknowledged his error, and solicited favor, and all the separate merchants having repeatedly made humble supplications, there certainly should be some slight indulgence shown; and he should be driven out of the port; to the end that, while the foreign barbarians are made to tremble with terror, they may also be rendered grateful by the favor of the celestial empire shown in its benevolence, kindness, and great indulgence.

We having all consulted together, the views of every one were accordant, whereupon permission was given that he should be let go. And it is authenticated, that the said hong merchants went to the Canton custom-house to request and receive a red passport; while I, your majesty's minister Loo, deputed trusty civil and military officers, who on the 19th (September 21st), took lord Napier, and under their escort (or guard) he was driven out of the port. At the same time orders were given to wait reverently until the imperial mandate has been received, that it may be obeyed and acted on. The two said barbarian ships of war got under weigh, also, on the same day, and dragging over shallows the whole way, were on the 22d, driven out of the Bocca Tigris. All the government forces, naval and military, which had been appointed to guard places, were ordered back again, and returned severally to their regiments, or to their cruising grounds.

With regard to Macao, Lantao, and other places, I, your majesty's minister Loo, ordered the footsailing in command on the Heängshan station, Tsin Yuchang, and the (santseäng of the Lymoon station, Tan Seungming, severally to cruise about, guarding those places. Afterwards I also appointed, in addition, the tootze commanding at Woochow, Wang Kinsew, to proceed with a body of 300 soldiers to Macao, to join the garrison in guard of the place: and I appointed also a naval force of vessels from Yangkeäng to cruise about, with real activity, in the anchorages near to Macao. The said barbarian ships of war having now gone out of the port, it is still more requisite and necessary to keep up a strict and close preventive guard. While we again inculcate directions to cruise about with fixed purpose of maintaining guard, and also to bring to trial the careless and negligent naval officers, that they may suffer the punishment of their stupidity; we will prepare likewise a distinct memorial respecting the regulations of the forts. Besides which, we now respectfully take the circumstances of having driven out, under guard, the barbarian eye and the ships of war, and in conjunction with the garrison lieutenant-generals, your majesty's minister Lun, of the imperial kindred, and your majesty's minister Tso, as well as with the commander in chief of the land forces, your majesty's minister Tsang, we unite in forming this reverent memorial, to be forwarded by the post conveyance, whereon we, prostrate, beg our august sovereign to cast a sacred glance, and to grant instructions. Respectfully reported.

(No. 15.)

Imperial edict in reply to the government report of lord Napier's having left Canton; and of the frigates having retired without the Bogue, dated at Peking, October 7th. 1834.

A report has this day been received, by a speedy post conveyance, from Ha Fungah (the general-commandant of Canton,) and his colleagues, announcing that the English ships of war and the barbarian eye had all been conducted; tender guard, out of the port.

On this occasion, the English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having come to Canton for trade, did not pay obedience to the laws and statutes, and the said governor, according to law, closed the ships' holds; after which, the said barbarian eye still did not request a permit, but presumed to order two ships of war to push in through the maritime entrance, and to proceed straight up to Whampoa in the inner river. The said governor appointed civil and military officers with troops, and addressed communications, requesting the appointment of naval vessels from the Tartar force, and from those under the admiral's command, as well as cruising vessels from Sinhwuy and other districts; which he stationed severally along the passages before the ships of war, and at narrow and important places on either shore.

The people of the said barbarian ships of war saw before them wooden spars ranged across and all around on the surface of the river, with guns and muskets (in number) as the trees of a forest, and large and small naval vessels stationed over a space of several miles in length, while on shore military officers and men were encamped, presenting a compact and united force, and a military array imposing and alarming. The said barbarian eye and others remained therefore secluded in their boats, there being no interchange of intelligence between those within and those without, and no way either to advance or to go out. With dread and fear they repented of their offenses, and supplicated earnestly for a permit to go down to Macao.

The said governor considered, that as the said barbarian eye and others had transgressed the prohibitions with daring contempt, if they were at once permitted to leave Canton, thus coming and going at their own pleasure, there would not be the power sufficient to intimidate and bring under the barbarians' tempers; and therefore he commanded the hong merchants, Wootnyuen and others, to question them sternly as to what the said barbarian eye wished to do; why he came to Canton without having obtained a permit, and presumed to bring the ships of war suddenly into the inner river; also why, when the soldiers opened a thundering fire upon them, they presumptuously dared to discharge their guns and return resistance; requiring from them plain and explicit answers, before permitting them to leave Canton..

Afterwards, a merchant of the said barbarians, Colledge, answered, saying, "that lord Napier is indeed a barbarian eye, not the same as a taepan; that he was unacquainted with matters of dignity; that the cause of the cruisers coming into the port was really for the protection of goods, in consequence of the holds of merchant ships having been closed: and that, in consequence of the military of the maritime entrance having opened a thundering fire upon them, the barbarian force also discharged its guns in self-defense; but that they have deeply repented of their fault." Also, the said nation's merchants and seamen, several thousand in number, all considered the said barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws and statutes to be wrong, and there was not a single person who joined in harmony with him.

The said governor considered that, as the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, had confessed his fault and besought favor, and as all the merchants had repeatedly made earnest supplications, it doubtless behoved him to extend a slight trifling indulgence and to drive him out of the port; and he therefore permitted the said hong merchants to proceed to the superintendent of customs, to request and obtain a red permit. The said governor immediately appointed trusty civil and military officers, who, on the 19th day of the 8th moon, took lord Napier under guard, outside of the port. Both the said barbarian ships of war, also started on the same day, and were conducted under guard, outside of the maritime entrance of the Bogue. All the naval and military officers and men who had been stationed at various places were every one recalled, and returned severally to their stations.

At the time when it was equally impossible for the said barbarians to advance or to recede, what difficulty would there have been in immediately exterminating them? But these outside barbarians are in search of gain; to intimidate them on points whereon they are altogether unacquainted with the laws and prohibitions, and to refuse altogether arguing with them, is, what I, the emperor, am extremely unwilling to do. If contumelious, they should then be chastised; if brought under subjection, they should then be tolerated. The said governor and colleagues, in conducting this affair, have yet acted skillfully and correctly. Before, on account of the said governor and colleagues not having been able to take due preventive measures before the business, thereby admitting the said ships of war to push into the river, causing to the military the labor of driving them out, my pleasure was therefore made known, that they should be severally degraded from their rank and openly punished. Now, having driven the said barbarian eye and others out of the port, the said governor and others, although at the beginning they filled in a preventive guard, having in the end been able to settle the thing well and securely, without loss of the national dignity, and without incurring any bloody strife, I, the emperor, am exceedingly well pleased.

Let Loo have favor shown him, by restoring to him the title of 'guardian of the heir apparent'; and also let the double eyed peacock's feather be given back to him.

The neglect of guard on the previous occasion rendered it difficult for him to free himself wholly from blame; let him therefore still continue degraded from official rank, though retained in office. With regard to all maritime guard officers, and the naval commander in chief; the special responsibility rested on the late commander in chief, Le, who has been already degraded. Now, as the matter has been brought to an end, let further inquiry be dispensed with, and let him be directed immediately to return to his native place. Let Kaou Eyung, the degraded tsantseang of the admiral's own squadron, wait till after the month of wearing the cangus be accomplished, and then be released. Let all the officers who guarded the fort with so much carelessness be made to wear the cangus, and after the expiration of the time let them be released.

In this, I, the emperor, show favor beyond the measure of the laws. The said governor and others ought but to feel shame, and arouse to diligence, strenuously exerting themselves to stimulate a reform in the affairs of the camp and of the maritime guard, from time to time instructing and admonishing with sincerity. It is peremptory; that they take their former accumulated habits, and with contrition, eradicate them singly, in order to cause the military to be all strong and powerful, so that the martial name and dignity may be strengthened, and the appointed duties may be performed. Respect this.

Our limits do not afford us opportunity to notice here the many distortions, misrepresentations, and concealments, contained in the foregoing documents. The principal circumstances connected with his lordship's death, have been narrated in the papers, relative to that mournful event, published in our last number. We shall resume this subject in our next; but dismiss it for the present with the following supreme mandate:

The English barbarians have an open market in the inner land: but there has hitherto been no interchange of official communications. It is, however, absolutely requisite that there should be a person possessing general control, to have the special direction of affairs. Let the said governor immediately order the hong merchants to command the said separate merchants, that they send a letter back to their country, calling for the appointment of another person as *taepan*, to come for the control and direction of commercial affairs, in accordance with the old regulations. Respect this.

ART. V. *Journal of occurrences: edicts against the outside merchants; military examinations and reviews; fire at Macao: death of an imperial commissioner; earthquake in the northern provinces.*

In order to make room for more important matter, we again reduce the limits usually allowed to passing occurrences. Among the scores of edicts, published in Canton during the last three months, one of them prohibited all outside merchants from trading with foreigners. Great numbers of the people were affected by this measure, and went to the governor's gate by thousands to obtain a removal of the grievances, which they speedily obtained.—Military reviews took place in the neighborhood of the city on the 17th, which were attended by the governor; his excellency has just left the city, on the same duty, to make a tour in the southwestern departments of the province.—On the 5th inst. a fire broke out in Macao, among the Chinese buildings, and about four hundred houses were destroyed.—The old commissioner, Shing, who recently set off for the capital, enriched with the bribes of the late chefoo, died before he crossed the Meiling.—Destructive earthquakes occurred in Honan, Shansé, Cheihle, and Shantung, last summer just at the time the late troubles commenced in Canton.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—DECEMBER, 1834.—No. 8.

ART. I. *British authorities in China; petition to the King in Council from the British residents in this country; with remarks on the proposed measures for the regulation of future intercourse between China and Great Britain.*

However the plans of the British government, as they have been developed by the proceedings of the new commission, may have failed in their main point, they have served to settle effectually several questions, respecting which hitherto there seems to have been many doubts. It is now certain, if any language of the Chinese can make it so, that their government considers the king of Great Britain as a tributary, and reverently submissive to the laws of the celestial empire; that he has several times sent tribute to the son of heaven; and that hitherto there has been no official intercourse between the nation *absurdly* called Great Britain (ta Ying kwō,) and the great officers of this flowery land. It is certain that the Chinese government regards all foreigners as barbarians, situated far beyond the bounds of civilization; that the more forbearance and indulgence are shown to them, the more proud and overbearing they become; and that it is necessary to take special care to break down their minds to submission. It is certain that this government regards the commercial duties, arising from the trade with foreign realms, as effecting the treasures of its revenues not the value of a feather's down; that it deems the broadcloths, and camlets, and clocks, and watches, brought from the lands of barbarians, as still more unimportant; while at the same time it considers the rhubarb, the tea, the raw silk, the China ware, and the bamboos of these inner dominions, as absolutely necessary for the support of life throughout the whole extent of the barbarian territories. It is certain that the tender compassion of the great pure dynasty, the Mantchou Tartar, condescends to nurse and cherish with equal benevolence and charity all within and without the

four seas : that the opening of the port of Canton to outside barbarians is owing wholly to the good favor of this sacred nation ; that it cannot bear to treat with severity the men who have come from far, but delights in subjecting them by reason. It is certain, that under the whole bright heavens there is not one being, whether barbarian or native, who dares disobey the national laws of China,—which are more flaming and bright than the awful thunderbolt. It is certain, also, that barbarians, coming to Canton to trade, have been permitted to reside only at Macao ; that without a red permit they have never been allowed to come to the provincial city ; that when they have entered the barbarian factories they are only permitted to eat, sleep, buy, and sell in them ; and are not allowed, except on the 8th, 18th, and 28th of every moon, and then only in parties of ten and under the custody of a linguist, to leave their residences.

It is certain, moreover, that if any natives, except the hong merchants, presume to enter the barbarian factories, the government will immediately seize and condemn them as Chinese traitors. It is certain that always on the arrival of new barbarians, the linguists and compradores have, as it was their duty, instructed them authoritatively and clearly in all the great principles of dignity and propriety. It is certain that all the commercial affairs, at the port of Canton, have long been conducted according to the established regulations ; that all barbarian merchants keep the laws willingly with all their hearts ; that between the English and Chinese there has long been mutual tranquillity. It is certain, also, that H. M. commission came clandestinely to Canton ; that the chief superintendent went to the city gates to throw to the governor a clandestine letter ; that there were no means of knowing whether he was a merchant or an officer ; and that the English merchants and seamen, several thousands in number, all consider his *disobedience* of the laws as wrong ; and that there is not a single one of them who unites and accords with him. And finally, it is certain, that, except in the use of fire arms and great guns, the English barbarians have not a single talent or virtue ; and that before the troops of the celestial empire, when once in motion, the rocks melt and hills tremble.

Such are some of the *facts* which have been elicited by the controversy with the British authorities, since their arrival at Canton last July. If any persons doubt that the Chinese government regards as *certain* all the points which we have enumerated, their doubts will at once be removed by a perusal of the official papers published in our last three numbers ; or else they must presume to call in question the veracity of the government itself. We shall not undertake to demonstrate that all its 'certainties' are falsehoods or absurdities or misrepresentations ; but we challenge any man to prove before impartial judges, that all the facts in either of the instances, in the long catalogue we have enumerated above, are strictly correct ; yet all of them, and many more of the same kind, are put forth by the Chinese as undoubted verities. That there is some ground for their assertions, in a few instances we admit. Every one knows that the king of

England never sent tribute to the emperor of China; but it is true, and as lamentable as true, that lord Amherst, proceeding from Teëntsin to Peking, allowed the inscription, *kung sze*, 'tribute bearer,' to be suspended from the mast of his own yacht: when this was done by the Chinese, his lordship, instead of instantly resenting and preventing it, as he certainly ought to have done, winked at the lying insult and allowed it to be continued, lest he should excite the displeasure of the Chinese and thereby fail in his mission. The immediate results of that embassy are well known; and some of its remoter consequences are now coming to the light: *the said nation's king has several times sent tribute!* Perhaps it would not have been a wise measure, but had lord Amherst written and published to the Chinese a plain statement of the truth, it would not have injured his reception at the capital (or rather it would not have made his expulsion more disgraceful), but it would have prevented the repetition and perpetuation of the falsehood.

It is true, according to the letter of the law, that the barbarians are not allowed to go out of the factories at their pleasure; and that the government, will not allow them to go over the river and up to the Fah te, 'as formerly,' but only thrice each moon, viz. on the 8th, 18th, and 28th days; and then the number of individuals must not exceed ten, and the linguists must take them past the custom-house, and after the excursion must report their return to the factories before sunset. Besides, the barbarians are not allowed to go about at pleasure in the villages and market places near the city. Such are the laws; but in practice they are disregarded, except when the government or its underlings wish to annoy the barbarians and "break down their wills." Of the same stamp are many other laws; and, as carried into execution, their only effects are annoyance and extortion. That all the barbarian merchants keep the laws with all their hearts, and that between the English and Chinese there has long been mutual tranquillity, are considerations, we might suppose, which ought to have prevented the late stoppage of the trade; particularly ought this to have been the case, since the government had no means of determining that the chief superintendent was not himself a merchant, as it is again and again averred.

We must now, as was intimated at the close of our last number, refer to the circumstances connected with the death of lord Napier. On the 18th of September, Mr. Colledge addressed the following note to the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce:—"Sir, lord Napier's continued indisposition rendering it desirable that his lordship should not be harassed by a continuance of the negotiation now going on with the Chinese authorities, and that his departure from Canton should not be delayed, I beg to inform you that I have undertaken, with his lordship's concurrence, to make the requisite arrangements with the hong merchants, in referenc to the communication which you yesterday received from them. Your's &c."

This note explains the reason of Mr. Colledge's coming forward as he did, (in the absence from Canton of the second and third

superintendents,) to procure a conveyance to Macao for the chief superintendent. The two following extracts, one from Mr. C.'s private notes, and the other from the memorial of the governor and his colleagues to the emperor, are to our purpose, as they show in what manner the simple facts of a compact may be distorted, misrepresented, concealed, and falsified. The compact was made by Mr. Colledge on the part of lord Napier, and by Howqua and Mowqua on the part of his excellency, the governor of Canton, on the 19th of September, at the consou house, in presence of William Jardine, esq.

Mr. Colledge's statement.

'I, T. R. Colledge, engage on the part of the chief superintendent, the right honorable lord Napier, that his lordship does grant an order for H. M. ships now at Whampoa, to sail to Lintin, on my receiving a chop from the governor for his lordship and suite to proceed to Macao, lord Napier's ill state of health not permitting him to correspond with your authorities longer on this subject. One condition, I deem it expedient to impose, which is, that H. M. ships do not submit to any ostentatious display on the part of your government.' Howqua replied: 'Mr. Colledge, your proposition is of the most serious nature, and from my knowledge of your character I doubt not the honesty of it: shake hands with me and Mowqua, and let Mr. Jardine do the same.'

Howqua and Mowqua's statement.

'The hong merchants Woo Tunyuen, and others (Howqua and Mowqua), reported that the said nation's private merchants, Colledge and others, had stated to them (the governor and his colleagues), that lord Napier acknowledged that, because it was his first entrance into the inner land, he was ignorant of the prohibitions, and therefore he came at once to Canton, without having obtained a permit; that the ships of war were really for the purpose of protecting goods, and entered the Bocca Tigris by mistake; that now he (lord Napier) was himself aware of his error and begged to be graciously permitted to go down to Macao; and that the ships should immediately go out (of the inner land), and he therefore begged permission for them to leave the port.'

On the 21st, the order for the ships to leave Whampoa, and the 'chop' for his lordship and suite to proceed to Macao were exchanged. The same evening lord Napier left Canton, expecting to proceed to Macao, in the usual manner, stopping only at Heängshan. The memorialists, Loo and his colleagues, referring to these proceedings, say: "Our august sovereign cherishes those from far virtuously, and soothingly treats outside barbarians, exercising to the utmost limit both benevolence and justice. If any are contumacious, they are corrected; if submissive, they are pardoned; but never are extreme measures adopted towards them. Although lord Napier has entertained absurd visionary fancies, *he yet has shown no real disregard of the laws*: it would not be well precipitately to visit him with exterminating measures. Besides the private merchants of the said nation, several thousands in number, all consider the barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws to be wrong. There is not one who unites and accords with him. Still more improper, therefore, would it be to make no distinction between common and precious stones. Now, lord Napier having acknowledged his error, and solicited favor, and all the separate merchants having repeatedly made humble supplications, there certainly should be some slight indulgence shown; and he should be driven out of the port; to the end that, while the foreign barbarians

are made to tremble with terror, they may also be rendered grateful by the favor of the celestial empire, shown in its benevolence, kindness, and great indulgence. We having all consulted together, the views of every one were accordant, whereupon permission was given that he should be let go. And it is authenticated, that the said hong merchants went to the Canton custom-house to request and receive a red passport; while I, your majesty's minister Loo, deputed trusty civil and military officers, who on the 19th (September 21st), took lord Napier, and under their escort (or gurd) he was driven out of the port. At the same time orders were given to wait reverently until the imperial mandate has been received, that it may be obeyed and acted on. The said two barbarian ships of war got under weigh, also, on the same day, and dragging over shallows the whole way, were, on the 22d, driven out of the Bocca Tigris."

It was not, we think, until the 24th, that the frigates sailed through the Bogue; and it was not until Friday morning, the 26th, that his lordship reached Macao. All the foreign trade was resumed on the 23d, except the English, which was not reöpened until the 27th. Some of the merchants, who were on their way to Canton from Lintin and Macao, were detained at Whampoa from the 7th of September until the 25th of the same month. These annoyances, the detention of merchants and the stoppage of the trade, serious and important as they are in themselves, are nothing compared with the injury inflicted on the person of the chief superintendent by a needless and cruel detention at Heängshan custom-house. The boats arrived and anchored at Heängshan about midnight on the 23d, and were not allowed to proceed until 1 o'clock p. m. of the 25th. Such an act of treachery, in modern times, is without a parallel. The sufferings that his lordship had to endure, confined as he was in a passage boat, amidst the noise of gongs and crackers, the firing of salutes, and personal insults from the people, which were continued in despite of repeated remonstrances, caused a relapse of fever, and hastened him to the grave.

And what was the cause of all these strange proceedings towards the representative of the king of Great Britain? It is said that he transgressed the laws of the celestial empire. Then what laws; and when, and where did he transgress them? It is false to say that he came clandestinely to Canton: in full view of the forts, and surrounded by war-junks and cruisers, he debarked from the frigates and came up the river in broad day; and but for a severe thunder storm, would have reached the factories at an early hour in the evening. And no man forbade his doing so. Did he transgress the laws in addressing a letter to his excellency the governor of Canton? It is false to say that it was a private or clandestine letter. It was addressed and forwarded in due form, and common courtesy required its reception. Did the laws of the land forbid the governor to receive it? Be it so. But where was the disobedience in presenting it? There is no law, we venture to affirm, amidst all the records of the empire that prevents the presentation of such a letter; and none but

uncivil, not to say unrighteous, laws, could prevent the reception of such an address. "But he did transgress the laws." How and when? Having brought an order from the Court of Directors that he should be received into their factory and accommodated at their table, did he transgress the laws of the celestial empire in accepting their hospitality? And when etiquette required him to dispense with that hospitality, did he disobey the laws of the land in making the necessary arrangements for himself? Such a charge was never brought against him. Did he refuse to receive 'orders' from the hong merchants? Had he been a vassal of the emperor, his refusal would have been disobedience. When his excellency saw fit to send a deputation of officers, he received and treated them in becoming style; and in doing so, there was surely no disobedience.

"But he published a certain document which, under any other government than this, would have immediately caused his dismissal and removal from the country." Very good: yet let it not be forgotten, that nowhere else in this world would he have found any occasion for such a publication; the objection therefore falls. It has not yet been shown that, in writing and publishing a true and faithful statement of facts, he transgressed any law or statute of the Chinese empire. According to his own showing, the governor was ignorant of his lordship's object in coming to Canton; and he had again and again, in public proclamations, denounced him in the harshest terms, and had allowed the police officers to report him as an infernal being, *a devil*. Besides; false reports were industriously and extensively circulated, in order to render him obnoxious in the eyes of the people and government. Was it wrong to contradict those false reports, and to give that information which was desired even by the governor himself? Had he addressed his communication to the governor as a *petition*; and had he allowed the false representations to pass unnoticed, as did lord Amherst,—probably he would have retained his situation at Canton. But in so doing, *homage* would have been paid where it was not due; and injurious falsehoods (and all untruths are such) would have remained uncontradicted, gradually to acquire the force of truth, and to produce in their season new strifes and contentions. Let those, therefore, who condemn these measures as unlawful and unjust show reason why they were so; but until then, we shall hesitate to condemn doctor Morrison's address of the 'letter,' or lord Napier's publication of the 'true and official document.'

But the barbarian eye would not obey *the orders*; it was necessary, therefore, to adopt soothing measures 'to break down his mind to submission.' The system of annoyance, now carried into execution, was not perhaps tantamount to a declaration of war; but it was a most extraordinary demonstration of hostilities: and inasmuch as it was a public act, the conduct of one government towards the representative of another, such an act of barbarity, inhumanity, and injustice, should not pass unnoticed by the injured party. Is it right for a 'host' to starve his 'guest,' and then call such conduct virtuous, indulgent, kind, compassionate, benevolent? And when all the

native servants and attendants were removed from the house of his lordship, and were forbidden on pain of instant death to supply him even with a cup of cold water, and companies of armed men were stationed at the gates of his residence, was it wrong for him to be furnished with provisions and a small number of attendants from the ships of his king? Nor was the system of annoyance limited to Canton; the English families in Macao were equally harassed; and in some instances, armed men entered their houses. But "the Portuguese barbarians manifested in a high degree *reverential submission*, and were roused to express their willingness to keep guard themselves. These arrangements were exceedingly proper."—The truth is, the Chinese wished to occupy the Portuguese forts and fill the town with armed men; but his excellency, the governor of Macao, peremptorily forbade this, and required a body of the imperial troops, who, without his permission had taken up their quarters at one of the temples, immediately to quit the town. "*These arrangements were exceedingly proper.*"

But if all the English merchants were obedient, and the whole of the troubles arose from *one* man, and no one of them united with, aided, or abetted him, why then was their commerce wholly interdicted, and the holds of all their ships closed, from the 16th of August till the 27th of September? Because, forsooth, "on examination, it was found, that in the 13th year of Keäkking (1808), and in the 9th year of Taoukwang (1829), the ships' holds were closed in consequence of the said barbarians creating disturbances, and afterward they *humbly supplicated* to have them reöpened. This is *clear proof* that the said nation cannot be without a traffic with the central flowery land." *Ergo*, on the present occasion, and for the disobedience of one man, the whole commerce of the said nation's *private* merchants, several thousands in number, is interdicted, and "the holds of their ships closed according to law." And for the same reason, or for some other equally cogent, the whole foreign commerce was interrupted. We shall not soon forget the state of excitement that existed, at that time, both here and in Macao; but the array of soldiery, the 'brave and pure,' was anything but formidable; and we do not wonder that the emperor denounced it as "ridiculous, detestable." Danger was apprehended,—but much more from the hungry vagabonds than from the veteran troops. And why all these preparations for war? Was there any *enemy* in the land? None; nor was there any intention or desire of hostilities on the part of the English. All the measures of that government with reference to China, since the opening of the free trade, have been most decidedly pacific.

It is urged that the ships taking advantage of the tide, broke in through the Bogue; fired on the forts, knocking down the tiles and rafters; and then pushed straight on up to Whampoa. But when did they fire on the forts? Not until they were compelled to do so in self-defense; nor did they proceed to Whampoa, until the holds of the merchant ships had been closed, and a proper regard for the

safety of British subjects and property rendered that measure necessary. Would it have been right for the commanders of the *Imogene* and *Andromache*, when they saw the persons and merchandise of the king's subjects exposed to injury, to take no measures to afford protection? Situated as things were, we wonder that those officers did not remonstrate against the hostile proceedings of the local authorities. And when they first arrived in China, and were denied those friendly offices and hospitalities which are due from one nation to another, we wonder they did not immediately notice the wrong and seek for an explanation, asking at the same time, and in a proper manner, for a full supply of those provisions which were necessary for their ships. They came as friends, not as enemies; and they had a right to expect a friendly reception, instead of what they experienced,— cold neglect and open hostilities.

The most formidable arguments in the case, if often repeated interrogations can be called arguments, remain to be considered. As if to end all controversy, the questions have been a thousand times reiterated: "Have not the Chinese a right to make their own laws? Have they not a right, if they please, to exclude foreigners from their country? And if people come here from other countries, are they not bound to obey the laws?" And why not ask: "Have not banditti, and pirates on high seas, a right to make their own laws? Have they not a right to exclude 'foreigners' from what they choose to call their own dominions? And if those who do not belong to their own gangs, are allowed to come among them, are they not bound to obey their laws?" The great Author of creation never intended, most surely, that any part of those dominions, given to man, should be appropriated exclusively either to this or that part of the human family. That, as God and Father of all, he designed there should be a community of interests, is most evident from all the arrangements of his providence. In theory the Chinese admit this truth; but in practice they deny it. It is the duty of the Chinese, as well as of all other nations, to legislate for themselves. But neither the one nor the other has a right to usurp the power of entire and perpetual exclusion. Such a supposition if adopted and put in practice, would fill the earth with unceasing discord and perpetual wars. It would make all the branches of the human family, *enemies* to each other: and each of the nations would contend to the uttermost for universal dominion. This is the principle that actuates every gang of banditti and pirates. Such communities form no compacts or laws, except among themselves; and the boundaries of their dominion are limited only by the extent of their power. This is the grand principle of the Chinese government; and hence it regards as enemies all those who do not yield obedience to its laws or homage to its emperor. It forms no treaties willingly; but issues its 'orders' to all under heaven; and woe to them that dare disobey. It marks the boundaries of its own dominions, and treats as uncivilized and barbarous all beyond them; and to keep itself from 'contamination,' and to maintain its 'dignity and sovereignty,' it decrees that whoever, without a regular

license, or passport, shall pass those boundaries,—whether natives from within shall pass outward, or strangers from without shall pass inward,—“ shall suffer death by being beheaded.” See *Staunton's translation of the Chinese Penal Code, section cccxv.*

One of the greatest difficulties with which foreigners in China have to contend, is the vacillating state of the ‘fixed regulations.’ In practice the local officers, whenever they please, regard not only the ancient statutes, but every edict, old or new, as *law*; and treat their own people and foreigners accordingly. In this point of view the chief superintendent did transgress the laws; and we might almost say that all his proceedings, from the time he left the *Andromache*, the 15th of July, until he was laid in his grave on the 15th of October, were violations of the law. In the same light, all other foreigners would daily be found guilty; and ‘certainly, therefore, some slight indulgence should be shown to them also, and they should not be instantly annihilated, but only driven out of the port.’ Nor would the condemnation of the law fall on foreigners alone; natives would also feel its vengeance, not excepting the great officers themselves. Generally, however, a very different course is pursued, and only those ‘fixed regulations’ are observed which are found to be in some degree feasible; otherwise commerce would not merely labor under its present disadvantages, it would cease at once. Now it is in this way that the officers of government take it on themselves to condemn his lordship at one breath, and at the next, to aver that he ‘had as yet shown no real disregard of the laws.’ The effect of this state of things, considered in every point of view, and in regard to every class of persons, whether foreign or native, is evil in the extreme. This topic demands the most careful consideration; and we shall soon remark upon it again.

The Chinese have a right to legislate for themselves; and while foreigners remain in their country, they are bound to obey the laws of the land. This is the general rule, approved alike by common sense and the common practice of nations. But who would ever maintain that the Chinese have a right to make laws requiring infanticide, or theft, or perjury? Such *right* would be nothing less than *right wrong*. If laws are enacted requiring what is wrong, no one is bound to obey them. But whoever refuses obedience, hazards the penalty of the law. However, the choice to obey or not, is his; and if for such disobedience he suffer wrong, let him do it patiently if he must; but if he can, let him seek redress, and take measures to prevent a recurrence of the evil. The prime minister of Persia was bound to uphold the laws of the state: but when a royal decree was passed, requiring what was wrong, he would not yield obedience. Unhesitatingly he disobeyed, and immediately was cast into the den of lions. The lamented Napier did what he knew to be right, and thereby exposed himself to injury. He bore that injury patiently; and on his dying bed prayed God to forgive his enemies.

In their memorial to the emperor, the local authorities admit that his lordship had shown *no real disregard of the laws*; yet they

thought, if he were immediately to leave Cantou and proceed directly to Macao, it would be impossible to display a warning example and show forth his fear stricken submission. They not only denied him every hospitality; but they heaped upon him every indignity. And when suffering severe illness, occasioned no doubt, by their maltreatment, he sought for retirement, no notice was taken of that illness, while the indignities were increased tenfold. Witness the delay at Heängshan. Taking into view, therefore, all the wrongs and injuries which lord Napier suffered, and which have been and are being suffered by foreigners in China, we think an imperious duty has been fulfilled in making a representation of those grievances. Our readers will peruse with interest the following document.

*The petition of British Subjects at Canton, to the King's most excellent Majesty in Council,
Humbly Sheweth,*

1. That we are induced, by the extraordinary position in which we feel ourselves placed in relation to the Chinese government, to petition your Majesty in Council to take such measures as may be adapted alike to maintain the honor of our country, and the advantages which a safe and uninterrupted commerce with China is calculated to yield to the revenues of Great Britain, and to the important classes interested in its arts and manufactures.

2. We beg humbly to represent, that at the present moment, the Commissioners appointed by your Majesty to superintend the affairs of British subjects trading at Canton, are not acknowledged by the constituted authorities of this country, and that they are not permitted to reside within the limits to which their jurisdiction is, by their commission, strictly confined; while they are forbidden by their instructions to appeal to the imperial government at Peking, and are perfectly powerless to resent the indignities offered to the late chief superintendent, or to compel reparation for the injuries done to your Majesty's subjects by the late unprovoked stoppage of their trade.

3. Your petitioners are well persuaded that the powers vested in your Majesty's commissioners were thus

restricted with the express object of avoiding, as far as possible, all occasion of collision with the Chinese authorities; while it was hoped, that, by maintaining a direct intercourse with the principal officers of government, instead of indirectly communicating through the hong merchants, a sure way would be opened for the improvement of the present very objectionable footing on which foreign merchants stand in this country, and for security against the many wrongs and inconveniences which they have had to suffer in the present state of their commercial avocations.

4. Your petitioners, however, beg leave most earnestly to submit to your Majesty in council, their thorough conviction, founded on the invariable tenor of the whole history of foreign intercourse with China, as well as of its policy on occasions of internal commotion, down to the present moment, that the most unsafe of all courses that can be followed in treating with the Chinese government, or any of its functionaries, is that of quiet submission to insult, or such unresisting endurance of contemptuous or wrongful treatment, as may compromise the honor, or bring into question the power of our country. We cannot, therefore, but deeply deplore that such authority to negotiate, and such force to protect from insult, as the occasion demands, were not entrusted to your Majesty's commissioners; confident as we are, without a shadow of doubt, that, had the requisite powers, properly sustained by an armed force, been possessed by your Majesty's late first commissioner, the lamented lord Napier, we should not now have to deplore the degraded and insecure position in which we are placed, in consequence of the representative of our Sovereign having been compelled to retire from Canton without having authority to offer any remonstrance to the supreme government, or to make a demonstration of a resolution to obtain reparation at once; for the insults wantonly heaped upon him by the local authorities.

5. Your petitioners therefore, humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to grant powers plenipotentary to such person of suitable rank, discretion, and diplomatic experience, as your Majesty, in your wisdom may think fit and proper to be entrusted with such authority; and your petitioners would suggest that he be directed to proceed to a convenient station on the east coast of China, as near to the capital of the country as may be found most expedient, in one of your Majesty's ships of the line, attended by a sufficient maritime force, which we are of opinion need not consist of more than two frigates, and three or four armed vessels of light draft, together with a steam vessel, all fully manned; that he may, previously to landing, require, in the first instance, in the name of your Majesty, ample reparation for the insults offered by the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse in his edicts published on the occasion of Lord Napier's arrival at Canton, and the subsequent humiliating conduct pursued towards his lordship, to which the aggravation of his illness and death may be attributed; as well as for the arrogant and degrading language used towards your Majesty and our country in edicts emanating from the local authorities, wherein your Majesty was represented as the "reverently submissive" tributary of the emperor of China, and your Majesty's subjects as profligate barbarians, and that they be retracted, and never again employed by Chinese functionaries: that he may also demand reparation for the insult offered to your Majesty's flag by firing on your Majesty's ships of war from the forts at the Bogue, and that remuneration shall be made to your Majesty's subjects for the losses they have sustained by the detention of their ships during the stoppage of their trade. After these preliminaries shall have been conceded, (as your petitioners have no doubt they will be,) and not till then, your petitioners humbly suggest that it will be expedient for your Majesty's plenipotentary to propose the appointment of commissioners on the part of the Chinese government, to adjust with him,

on shore, such measures as may be deemed most effectual to the prevention of future occasion of complaint and misunderstanding, and for the promotion and extension of the trade generally, to the mutual advantage of both countries. Your petitioners believe, that if these matters shall be fairly represented, so as to do away with all reasonable objection, and the favorable inclination of the Chinese commissioners be gained, there will be found little disposition on the part of the supreme government to withhold its assent, and every desirable object will thus have been attained.

6. Your petitioners would humbly entreat your Majesty's favorable view of these suggestions, in the confidence that they may be acted upon, not only with every prospect of success, but without the slightest danger to the existing commercial intercourse, inasmuch, as even with a force not exceeding that which we have proposed should be placed at the disposal of your Majesty's plenipotentiary, there would be no difficulty, should proceedings of a compulsory nature be required, in putting a stop to the greater part of the external and internal commerce of the Chinese empire;—in intercepting its revenues in their progress to the capital, and in taking possession of all the armed vessels of the country. Such measures would not only be sufficient to evince both the power and spirit of Great Britain to resent insult, but would enable your Majesty's plenipotentiary to secure indemnity for any injury that might, in the first instance, be offered to the persons or property of your Majesty's subjects; and would speedily induce the Chinese government to submit to just and reasonable terms. We are, at the same time, confident that resort even to such measures as these, so far from being likely to lead to more serious warfare, an issue which both our interests and inclinations alike prompt us to deprecate, would be the surest course for avoiding the danger of such a collision.

7. Your petitioners beg to submit that the mere re-

storation of the liberty once possessed of trading to Amoy, Ningpo, and Chusan, would be followed by the most beneficial consequences, not merely in the more extended field thereby opened for commercial enterprise, but in the rivalry which would be excited as formerly, in the officers of government at these several ports, to attract the resort of foreign merchants, and thus extend their own opportunities of acquiring emoluments from the trade.

8. With respect, however, to this point, or any other of commercial interest that it would be expedient to make the subject of negotiation, your petitioners would humbly suggest that your Majesty's minister in China should be instructed to put himself in communication with the merchants of Canton, qualified as they must be in a certain degree by their experience and observation to point out, in what respect the benefits that might be reaped under a well regulated system of commercial intercourse, are curtailed or lost in consequence of the restrictions to which the trade is at present subjected, and the arbitrary and irregular exactions to which it is exposed either directly, or not less severely because indirectly, through the medium of the very limited number of merchants licensed to deal with foreigners. As an instance of the latter, your petitioners may state the fact, that the whole expense of the immense preparations lately made by the local government to oppose the expected advance towards Canton of your Majesty's frigates after they had passed the Bogue, has been extorted from the hong merchants; and as but a few of them are in a really solvent state, they have no other means of meeting this demand, but by combining to tax both the import and export trade.

9. We would further humbly, but urgently, submit, that as we cannot but trace the disabilities and restrictions under which our commerce now labors, to a

long acquiescence in the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and people of other countries, claimed by the Emperor of China for himself and his subjects, we are forced to conclude that no essentially beneficial result can be expected to arise out of negotiations in which such pretensions are not decidedly repelled. We most seriously apprehend, indeed, that the least concession or waiving of this point under present circumstances, could not fail to leave us as much as ever subject to a repetition of the injuries of which we have now to complain.

10. We would, therefore, humbly beseech your Majesty not to be induced by a paternal regard for your subjects trading to this remote empire, to leave it to the discretion of any future Representative of your Majesty, as was permitted in the case of the embassy of Lord Amherst, to swerve in the smallest degree from a direct course of calm and dispassionate, but determined maintenance of the true rank of your Majesty's empire in the scale of nations, well assured as we feel, that any descent from such just position, would be attended with worse consequences than if past events were to remain unnoticed, and we were to be left for the future to conduct our concerns with the Chinese functionaries, each as he best may.

11. It would ill become your Majesty's petitioners to point to any individual as more competent than another to undertake the office of placing on a secure and advantageous footing our commercial relations with this country. We may, however, perhaps be permitted to suggest the inexpediency of assigning such a task to any person previously known in China as connected with commerce conducted under the trammels and degradations to which it has hitherto been subjected, or to any one, in short, who has had the misfortune either in a public or private capacity, to endure insult or injury from Chinese authorities.

12. Equally inexpedient would it be, as appears to your petitioners, to treat with any functionary not specially nominated by the Imperial cabinet, and not on any account with those of Canton, whose constant course of corrupt and oppressive conduct forms a prominent ground of complaint; or to permit any future commissioner to set his foot on the shores of China, until ample assurance is afforded of a reception and treatment suitable to the dignity of a minister of your Majesty, and the honor of an empire that acknowledges no superior on earth.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Canton, 9th December 1834.

The original of this petition, numerously signed, was forwarded to England by the 'Charles Grant,' captain Hyde, which sailed on the 14th instant, conveying to their home the amiable but deeply afflicted family of the late right honorable lord Napier—her ladyship and her two eldest daughters. His lordship was a personal friend of the King, and always spoke of him with the most hearty filial devotion; and we shall be greatly surprised if the 'good king' fails to listen to the story of his wrongs. We do not know what documents, or whether any, have been forwarded with the petition: but something additional might be, and ought to be communicated; and it should be conveyed, not after the Chinese style, in 'secret documents,' but openly, that 'all eyes may see it.' For the people of England, and those of the other nations of the west, have an interest and a duty in this matter; and if by any means we could make them see the full magnitude of that interest and that duty, the present very objectionable state of affairs would very soon be succeeded by a new and better order of things. Could we gain the attention of the people of the west, we would not only tell them of the merchandise of the celestial empire, and show them how, by a free intercourse, the exchange of its rhubarb and tea and silk for watches and clocks and broadcloths might be greatly increased, to the mutual advantage of all parties; but we would tell them of the intellectual and moral darkness which hangs over this 'sacred nation;' and we would show them how, by the diffusion of useful knowledge and divine truth, that darkness could be dissipated, prejudices overcome, antipathies removed, and the rulers and the people of this flowery land made willing to enjoy the society of nations.—We intend to resume this topic in our next number, in order to point out more fully the part which it is alike the interest and the duty of the *people* of Great Britain and America to take in establishing a free, honorable, and well regulated intercourse with the Chinese.

It would require volumes to place in a proper light the 'extraordinary position' in which foreigners in this country are placed in relation to the Chinese government, and to point out with sufficient clearness the measures which ought to be adopted by the enlightened governments of the west, in order to maintain their own rank and influence, as independent and friendly nations, and to secure those advantages which a free and uninterrupted intercourse with China is calculated to afford. The petitioners, in the case before us, have limited themselves, in the enumeration of those advantages, to the revenues of Great Britain, and to the important classes interested in its arts and manufactures. We find no fault with them for so doing, and sincerely wish they may obtain all that for which they ask. The evils of the existing state of things are seen and felt, more or less, by all the residents in this country; and some of these, are such as are not found anywhere else in the world. They are not light evils; and are not limited to foreign residents; they affect both the government and people of China, as well as most of the other governments and people of the earth. Nor are the evils confined to commerce; they prevent almost entirely that interchange of thought and those kind offices of humanity, which the Almighty has vouchsafed to his creatures as their birthright. Against these restrictions and impositions it becomes the duty of every wise and philanthropic man to remonstrate.

The extent to which this article has already carried us, makes it necessary to defer the particular consideration of these evils to another occasion, when we propose to say more concerning the course which foreigners ought to pursue towards the Chinese. Hard and unjust and injurious as the present restrictive system is in respect to foreigners, it is vastly more so in regard to the natives themselves; and it is, therefore, chiefly on their account that we desire this subject should receive the most patient and candid consideration. If there be any among our readers, who care only for themselves, and are willing to see unjust laws and systems perpetuated, let such, to keep themselves guiltless, fly from this 'sacred nation,' and drag out an ignoble existence in the far distant regions of barbarians; or if to save themselves from starvation, they must seek for a morsel of the tea and rhubarb of this inner land, then let them come trembling with awe, knock their heads in the dust, and acknowledge a mortal man to be the son of heaven—the lord of all.

Never, since the people of England first came in contact with the Chinese, has there been a time when such interests were at stake as at present. The trade has been declared *free*; and the act of August, 1833, to regulate the trade to China, stands conspicuous on the records of the British parliament. To facilitate this commerce, and in accordance with the 'orders' of the Chinese government, commissioners have come to Canton. Those commissioners have not been acknowledged by the local authorities; on the contrary they have been driven out of the inner land, and are not allowed to reside within the limits to which their jurisdiction is, by their commission, strictly confined. 'This is on record.' Thus, all that the British

government has done, (and done with the best intentions,) has been rendered nugatory. Nor is this all: injury, and that of the most serious kind, has been sustained; and the character of the nation stamped with infamy. In this 'extraordinary position' of affairs, the inquiry arises, what shall be done? By referring to the petition, it will be seen that two courses are proposed; or rather only one course is proposed, and a second is alluded to as being the only alternative in the case. Our limits will allow only a few remarks concerning each of the two plans. We will observe here in passing, that the petitioners, as it appears to us, have placed the main question in its true light; and we think that all who have any knowledge of the Chinese, however, they may differ from the petitioners on minor points, will agree with them in the main position, that, it will be best to adopt determined measures, or else allow all past events to remain unnoticed, and leave the British subjects to conduct their concerns with the Chinese functionaries, 'each as he best may.'

First then, let us speak of the 'quiet system.' If this course is adopted, then past wrongs must remain on record, and serve in all future time as precedents to regulate the intercourse between this people and outside barbarians: for how, if the existing regulations are bad, can all the barbarians, several thousands in number, obey them with all their hearts? Thus the Chinese will, and not without reason, take it for granted that foreigners acquiesce in all their present extortions, oppressions, restrictions, indignities, and lofty pretensions: and they will have '*clear proof*' that the uncivilized men from far cannot exist without the productions of this inner land, to obtain which nothing is too dear to be sacrificed. Adopt this course, and then it will remain forever recorded in the court of the son of heaven, that the king of Great Britain is a tributary, and reverently submissive to the laws of the celestial empire. Adopt this course, and then it will be certain, and so transmitted to posterity, that all foreigners are barbarians; that the more forbearance and indulgence are shown to them, the more proud and overbearing they become; and that it is necessary to take special care to break down their minds to submission. We may indeed urge, that all this is not our fault; we have no right to interfere with the Chinese; and if they choose to cherish such absurdities it is nothing to us. *Nothing to us!* This is precisely the language which the wise Chinese adopt, when they wish to connive at the wickedness of others: inquire of them respecting it; and they know nothing about the matter; 'it is nothing to us,' they affirm, and in this way they abet the devices of evil doers, and quiet their own consciences. Was it nothing to the king and people of Great Britain, that lord Amherst was reported as a tribute bearer, at the court of Peking? The effect of the quiet system is bad, considered in any point of view we please, whether commercial, political, social or moral. Let the quiet system be perpetuated; and then farewell to all improvements in the commercial relations; and farewell too, to every philanthropic enterprise. The march of improvement may go on in other parts of the earth, but not in this; the

arts and the sciences may be cultivated in other countries, but not in this; and useful knowledge and the life-giving oracles of the true God may be disseminated in all other kingdoms and empires of the world, but not in this.

We turn now to consider the course proposed by the petitioners; and shall confine our remarks to the proposition, viz. that a plenipotentiary be appointed by the king of Great Britain to proceed to a convenient station, as near to Peking as may be found most expedient, attended by a sufficient maritime force; and there, in the first instance, to require of the supreme government of China reparation for past injuries; and when that is granted, to propose measures for the regulation of the future intercourse between this country and Great Britain. Is this measure called for? Is it right? Is it expedient? Is it practicable? Whether the exact line of conduct marked out for the plenipotentiary be the best or not, is a subject which, with two or three others, must be reserved for another occasion: we here waive this question because on account of its importance, it should receive the most thorough and deliberate consideration. Concerning the main proposition of the petitioners, we feel it our bounden duty to express our opinion (however unimportant it may be), and to say, that, in view of all the evidence and circumstances of the case, we think the measure is called for; that it is right; that it is expedient; and that it is practicable. Deeply as we deplore the late reverses which have attended the proceedings of the new commission, we look upon them as the events of God's providence, designed in his infinite wisdom to advance the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth. By this remark, we do not mean to exculpate, in the least degree, those who have designed and done what is wrong. No thanks to man, if his wrath is made to promote the divine glory and the good of the human family. And while we are not to put our chief confidence in any human arm; yet knowing as we do that the great Creator has guaranteed to man dominion over all the earth, we are not, on any account, or under any circumstances, to shrink from a proper consideration and discharge of all the duties, whether social, religious, or political, which are devolved upon us by that guaranty. Hence arise the relative duties among nations. To a consideration of these duties, and the claims they impose, we shall proceed in our next number. There are views entertained on this subject, and supposed to be right, which, we apprehend, will be found to be quite the reverse. These views grow out of the position that nations have no responsibilities in reference to other portions of the human family. We propose to examine this position: and think we can show, that nations are under obligations to each other; that China, as it regards her relation to other nations, is in a position of open violation of the law—*thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*; and that, in such an attitude, they not only may, but must, remonstrate with her, and, if they cannot persuade, compel her, if they can, to a course more consistent with their rights and her obligations.

ART. II. *A brief account of an Ophthalmic Hospital at Macao, during the years 1827 to 1832, inclusive.* By a PHILANTHROPIST. Canton, China. 1834.

“ Among the virtues attendant on civilization, the most useful and amiable is benevolence ; for within its influence it embraces the whole human species ; whether the sufferer of our race be white or black, a free man or a slave, a Jew or a Mohammedan, a Christian or a savage, it is ever ready to administer the relief that may be within its reach. No class of individuals has so many opportunities of doing good as that of the medical profession. A skillful and experienced surgeon or physician is everywhere hailed and welcomed by suffering humanity as the harbinger of hope and comfort. As a philanthropist, he respects the peculiar opinions of all parties, and therefore is at peace with all. His whole time, attention, and talents are devoted to the service of such of his fellow-creatures as are laboring under any of the many ‘ills that flesh is heir to.’ ” Such is the appropriate language with which the author of the pamphlet before us, introduces his account of the hospital. And in the same strain he adds ;—

“ Its founder, T. R. Colledge, esq., was appointed surgeon to the British Factory in China in 1826, and the succeeding year commenced administering to the infirmities of such indigent natives as sought his assistance. All sorts of distempers now came under his investigation. But soon discovering that no native practitioner could treat diseases of the eyes, which prevail to so great an extent among the laboring classes of Chinese, he determined to devote his skill more particularly to this branch of his profession. In the year 1828, he rented apartments at Macao for the reception of such patients as required operations for the recovery of their sight. This institution became the topic of conversation throughout the province, and praises and thanks were heaped upon its proprietor by the friends and families of those who received benefit, as well as by the individuals themselves who had felt his ‘healing hand,’ as may be seen by the translation of a few of the many Chinese letters expressive of gratitude, which were addressed to Mr. C., and which are annexed to this work.

“ One of those letters I will here particularly notice ; I allude to that from Tsae Yé, expressing his gratitude for curing his broken arm ; and would state that the accident was caused by a horse rode by a captain of the honorable Company’s service, which was somewhat uncontrollable ; the Chinese was met in a narrow path near Macao, and the horse rushed upon him, and tumbled him over, and unfortunately broke his arm ere there was time to retreat, or stop the horse. Mr. Colledge happening to arrive at the spot soon after the accident occurred, was recognized by the crowd of Chinese that had assembled around the unfortunate man, and kindly taking him under his charge restored his arm to health. Had this not been done, there is no doubt

the Chinese officers, as is their usual practice, would have given the captain much trouble and expense; and could they have seized his person, would have brought him to trial; but all trouble was prevented by thus taking charge of the man. I have selected this one, from many similar cases, to evidence how much good has been done, and may yet be done, in this quarter, by humane practice and benevolent conduct."

"In further proof of what has been done in advancing this desirable object, I will relate the particulars of a case that occurred in the institution. The vigilance and steadiness of the proprietor in enforcing the rules he had laid down for the institution, and keeping subordination among the inmates, together with his scientific and professional attentions to the sick, had for a long period saved the infirmary from any event of an alarming nature. But in course of time, an aged Chinese who had been admitted, while conversing with Mr. Colledge, suddenly fell and expired. This circumstance was most unexpected and alarming, owing to the prejudices of the Chinese and the severity of their laws. However, Mr. Colledge, with great presence of mind, immediately locked the door of the room where the deceased lay, and taking the key with him, sent and informed the *tsotang* (a Chinese magistrate,) of the circumstance: this officer received the information with good feeling, and having satisfied himself concerning the circumstances of the death, evinced no desire either to extort money or make difficulties. It is likewise worthy of remark, that none of the patients left the infirmary in consequence of this event, although they were apprised of Mr. Colledge having invited the *tsotang* to take cognizance of it; on the contrary, every inmate, and the hospital was then full, volunteered to give evidence of the good treatment the deceased had received. And two of the convalescent patients accompanied the corpse to its native village, and returned after the interment."

Our author next gives a brief account of the Chinese peasant, the heroic Hoo Loo, who was sent to England about four years ago. The poor man was afflicted with a tumor of such a nature 'as to bid defiance to all remedies either external or constitutional;' but Mr. C. was of opinion that it might be removed. This was done; but Hoo Loo died under the operation. The tumor weighed fifty-six pounds after it was removed. We cannot here quote even the brief account given in the pamphlet before us; but the case is so interesting that we shall improve an early opportunity to lay before our readers all the particulars we can collect respecting it.

In the course of his work, the Philanthropist notices in terms of just commendation, the introduction of vaccination among the Chinese by Alexander Pearson esq.; and bears honorable testimony to the benevolent efforts of the medical gentlemen connected with the dispensary at Canton. For a particular account of vaccination in China, we must refer our readers to a paper from Dr. Pearson's own pen, published in the second volume of the Repository. (See page 35.) Some account also of both the ophthalmic hospital in Macao, and

the dispensary in Canton will be found in the same volume. (Pages 270, and 276.) The liberality of the honorable East India Company, in affording all classes of their servants, ample means of doing good, is not passed over without a just tribute of praise. "In the author's opinion," says he, speaking in the third person, "and in accordance with his hopes as a philanthropist, he sees in anticipation, the introduction of vaccination into China by Dr. Pearson, and in the operations at the ophthalmic institution, the fountain from whence will spring the peaceable, gentle, and humane influence, that will open the Chinese empire to free and friendly intercourse with Europeans. When this *prophecy* becomes a truth, and that truth is recorded upon the pages of history, with what feelings of satisfaction and noble exultation will the detail of the events be perused by the descendants of the late, present, and future members of the East India Company's government at home, and in India, and by every Briton and philanthropist throughout the world."

It will be seen by a perusal of the pamphlet, that up to October, 1832, more than four thousand indigent and diseased Chinese had been relieved from various maladies, and many restored to sight by the benevolent exertions of a single individual. The success of the hospital soon attracted the attention of the foreign community, and many individuals generously came forward and voluntarily contributed to promote the good object. These contributions were as follows: for 1828, \$370 02; for 1829, \$1213 95; for 1830, \$2102 14; for 1831, \$1613 64; for 1832, \$1900 21; and for 1833, \$246 74. When Dr. Pearson left China in the winter of 1832-33, the increased medical duties which immediately devolved on Mr. Colledge, compelled him to relinquish his practice among the Chinese and to close his hitherto so eminently useful and successful establishment. Such being the case, the public will feel under particular obligations to our author for coming forward, and throwing together in an interesting manner a complete account of the ophthalmic institution. His closing remarks are most worthy of the name he has adopted, and do honor to his heart: "If I had the means," says he, "I would send a host, an army of philanthropic surgeons into this empire; feeling entire confidence in their success, I should go down to the grave with bright and consoling hopes, that within a quarter of a century, my expectations would be realized; and that the great barriers, ignorance and prejudice, which now exist, would be swept away, and not a vestige remain. Europeans and Chinese throughout the empire would be seen interchanging mutual confidence and respect: the Chinese wondering, that such as the present prejudices could ever have existed, and almost doubting if they ever did exist: and in a century the historical accounts of them would be looked upon as fabulous, or as the flowings of romance."

Those of our readers who are not already acquainted with the fact, will be gratified in learning that "a well-known English artist, George Chinnery esq., residing at Macao, obtained the consent of Mr. Colledge to make an act of his practical humanity, the subject

of a picture, which would at once combine portrait with history. The circumstances that suggested the idea to the artist were the following: An elderly Chinese woman, blind with cataract, was led by her son, a boy about fourteen years old, to Mr. Colledge for his aid. The operation was performed with thorough advantage, and the patient being convalescent, was about to leave Macao. The picture represents Mr. C. as turning from his final examination of the woman's eyes, with his hand still resting on her forehead, towards an old servant, who acted as interpreter, in order to direct him to instruct her as to the care and means to be used for the preservation of her restored sight. The son, having prepared a chop, or Chinese letter, expressive of his gratitude and thanks to Mr. C., is represented in the act of delivering it. In the back ground, upon the floor, is seated a man with his eyes bandaged, who had also been operated upon for a cataract, waiting his turn for Mr. C.'s attention. In the apartment where the scene is laid, is a view of Mr. Colledge's ophthalmic hospital, &c. &c. William Daniell, esq. R. A. has this picture in hand, and I trust when the engravings from it are completed, that they will be deemed worthy of a conspicuous place in the palaces of the great, and the dwellings of the humbler classes: as the representation of virtuous compassion, cannot fail to leave on the mind an agreeable and lasting impression."

The work before us closes with a letter from Mr. Colledge, addressed to Lord Napier, containing suggestions respecting the manner in which the services of medical men may be most advantageously available to foreigners in China. That letter will form a part of our next article; this we conclude with some specimens of the letters of thanks addressed to Mr. C. by those who have been inmates of the hospital or by their friends. Our own views of the establishment were fully expressed on a former occasion. We have only to add here our regret that unavoidable duties made it absolutely necessary for the hospital to be closed; and to express our earnest desire that it, and others like it, may be speedily opened. The care of four thousand Chinese patients, was no light task; and all who undertake the business must be prepared to encounter many difficulties; they engage, however, in a noble work. We bid them God speed, and will ever, as there may be opportunity, give them our hearty coöperation. The following are some of the letters of thanks.

LETTER I.

Note of thanks from Le Kwangche, Seay Jaihheung, and Tso Amow, belonging to the district of Sinning.

We have for the greater part of our lives remained at home, unable to distinguish night from day, or to discriminate between the sweet or bitter of the five tastes. Having for a long period suffered blindness, we unexpectedly heard that the eminent and skillful English doctor, in the exercise of benevolence and charity, extends his favors all around to a very numerous collection of persons afflicted with diseases of the eyes.

We came to his hospital, to place ourselves under his healing care, and before the expiration of a few months we were completely cured, having regained our sight as perfectly as at first. We have placed reliance on the meritorious performances of this benevolent man, and have each of us had favors heaped upon us unboanded as the heavens and the earth. We now reverently pray that blessings and wealth, and honors, and happiness, may be his portion for ten thousand generations.

We are now returning home full of gratitude, and thankfulness; but when can we hope to be able to recompense such goodness; We can only, in the next state of existence, toil and labor as horses or dogs to serve our benefactor. All our families are moved to gratitude, and we ourselves present this note, leaping about with joy. Every village spreads abroad and declares his fame.

We approach the bar of the benevolent and skillful doctor with gratitude.

Taoukwang, 11th year, 5th moon, 6th day.

LETTER II.

Note of thanks from Lew Ake, Lew Ahaou, and Kan Awng belonging to the district of Sinhwy.

We were suffering from total blindness, and could not distinguish day from night, when unexpectedly we heard of the benevolence and charity of the skillful English doctor, whose benefits pervade the world, who liberally dispenses medicines, and supplies board, lodging, and every thing complete. We came on purpose to be near his healing art, and happily in a few months our sight has been restored to us, as perfect as at first. We are deeply impressed with gratitude for the doctor's liberal favors; we are now returning home, and prostrate make our acknowledgements. We do not know when we shall be able to offer a recompense. The recollection of his kindness will be engraved on our livers and galls for ten thousand generations. We can only express our hopes that the doctor may enjoy happiness, wealth and honors.

Presented at the bar of the English nation's eminent doctor.

LETTER III.

The person who announces his farewell, and humbly renders thanks, Tsang Ale, knocks head and twice bows before the presence of the great physician, teacher, and magnate.

I, in youth, had an affliction of my eyes and both were short of light: fortunately it occurred that you, Sir, reached this land, where you have disclosed the able devices of your mind, and used your skillful hand. You cut off a bit of filmy skin, removed the blood-shot root, pierced the reflecting pupil, and extracted the green fluid; you swept aside the clouds, and the moon was seen as a gem without flaw. You spared no labor nor trouble; made no account of the expense of the medicines; both kept me in your lodging-house, and

gave me rice and tea ; truly it is what neither in ancient nor modern times has ever been.

Now my eyes are gradually brightening ; ten thousand times have I to bow for your favors, and to wish, Sir, that heaven may send down on you a hundred things felicitous, bestow a thousand things fortunate, and give longevity and riches, with splendor and affluence. Respectfully is this raised upwards!

LETTER IV.

My daughter was this year afflicted with a disease of the eyes, by which they were imminently endangered ; many means were resorted to for a cure ; but none were efficacious.

I afterwards heard that the English nation's great physician, who has deeply investigated the medical art, from feelings of benevolence and compassion, gratuitously supplied medicines, and that all his operations had been attended with happy effects. Immediately I brought my daughter to be examined, and am grateful for the medicines which were bestowed.

In a few days her eyes were again as they had formerly been. I humbly reflect that my daughter's regaining her sight proceeds from the vast benevolence of the great physician, and the divine merit of his wonderful medicine.

I feel deeply indebted for her perfect recovery ; but being very poor, I have no means of offering a recompense. I have merely prepared some variegated crackers to manifest my respect. In speaking of his meritorious virtue, I feel endless gratitude.

Awan respectfully bows (and presents this note).

LETTER V.

I, Kwō Tingchang, of Heōshan district, constantly remained seated in my house, unable to distinguish between day and night, or to perceive the sweetness or bitterness of the five tastes ; because of the severity and long-standing of a disease of my eyes. Suddenly I heard, great physician, and venerable Sir, that you manifested benevolence, so that your fame has spread extensively over the four seas, and that many men with diseased eyes assembled at your abode, where you dressed and operated on them, until in a few months they were quite cured, and as clear-sighted as at first. It is owing, benevolent Sir, to your virtue, which is as illimitable as that of heaven and earth. Respectfully we wish you honor and felicity, with happiness and emolument during ten thousand years.

I, Kwō Tingchang, with a thankful heart return to my village ; when can I make a poor return for your goodness ? My whole family is grateful for your favors ; while with leaping and joy I present these expressions thereof. In all the village your fame will spread. With gratitude this is presented before the presence of the great physician and venerable gentleman to be glanced at.

Kwō Tingchang of Heōshan district knocks head, bows, and gives thanks.

LETTER VI.

Reverently to take leave, and give thanks for your great favors. You, venerable Sir, received me into your house, and attended to my cure; you also gave me food and provision, and made me dwell in the forest of medicines. You put in order the great principles of benefiting the world, and displayed the skillful hand of Sun and Hwa; like as when clouds are swept aside, the sun is seen clear, and pure as an autumn spring of water.

I am now about to return. Your grace and virtue I am quite unable to repay; but I wish, Sir, that heaven may send down to you a hundred sources of emolument, with sons and heirs numerous as the fruitful locusts, and that your happiness may equal the eastern sea, and your longevity compare with the southern mountains.

This is delivered upwards before the presence of the English venerable gentleman.

The favored disciple Lew King, of the district of Hwuyyeh, bends his head and bows.

LETTER VII.

Respectfully to take leave, and bowing to the ground, return thanks to the medical officer and teacher.

We *ants*, having been long abroad, wish now to return to our families. We are grateful, medical officer, for the grace you have displayed in giving us benefits, perfectly curing the diseases of our eyes, and granting us food and provisions, without our spending a particle of money. It is indeed what may be called expansive benevolence. Your fame will spread over the four seas to men of all ages. We have now no ability to repay you with favors; but can merely express our good wishes in vulgar language. May your happiness, medical officer and teacher, be as the eastern sea, the waves overtopping each other, in a thousand steps; and may your longevity compare with the southern mountains, and be perpetual as the sun and moon.

To the medical officer and teacher. May he gradually rise upwards to the first rank, and continue long as heaven and earth.

HWANG TSEWLE and HWANG ASZE,
of Kweishen district, bend their heads, and bow a hundred times.

LETTER VIII.

"Where'er he passes, flowers spring up; where'er he stops, all is divine;" just as when clouds open, the moon is seen. He preserves light, and diffuses clearness, even as when water is clear, every ripple is perceived. I myself saw his wonderful art, and his skillful hand, and his medicinal preparations. Both the prince and his minister were skillful and expert; and their dispositions towards their patients, the same as those of parents towards children.

I am ashamed that I have not rare and valuable gems to recompense you with. I am only able to prepare a few expressions on a card. I now present a coarse fan to show slightly my sincerity, and

as a token of gratitude for your deep and unfathomable favors. Looking upwards I pray you to cast a bright glance, at the respect and reverence which I can no longer support in silence.

Your junior, Ho Kungleén bends his head and bows.

LETTER IX.

We, inhabitants of the towns and villages in several districts, have relied on the English nation's surgeon, Colledge, for the relief and cure of diseases of the eyes. Those who have been completely cured, both formerly and at the present time, who possess feelings of gratitude, have offered presents and a recompense of money; but he would not receive a *candareen* or a *cash*.

We have no means of offering a recompense; but have united in presenting bundles of crackers, and in playing on instruments of music, in front of his house, to return thanks for his vast benevolence. May ten thousand blessings be with him.

We respectfully write this that he may be previously informed.

LETTER X.

To knock head and thank the great English doctor. Venerable gentleman,—May your groves of almond trees be abundant, and the orange trees make the water of your well fragrant; as heretofore, may you be made known to the world, as illustrious and brilliant, and as a most profound and skillful doctor. I last year arrived at Macao, blind in both eyes; I have to thank you, venerable Sir, for having by your excellent methods, cured me perfectly. Your goodness is lofty as a hill, your virtue deep as the sea; therefore all my family will express their gratitude for your new creating goodness. Now I am desirous of returning home; your profound kindness it is impossible for me to requite; I feel extremely ashamed of myself for it. Again I trust that you, venerable Sir, will kindly feel compassion for me. Moreover, morning and evening you supplied me with firewood and water. This adds to the shame I feel. I am grateful for your favors, and shall think of them without ceasing. Moreover, I am certain that since you have been a benefactor to the world, and your good government is spread abroad, heaven must surely grant you a long life, and you will enjoy every happiness. I return to my mean province. Your illustrious name, venerable Sir, will extend to all time; during a thousand ages it will not decay. I return thanks for your great kindness; impotent are my words to sound your fame, and to express my thanks. I wish you everlasting tranquillity.

Presented to the great English doctor, and noble gentleman, in the 11th year of Taoukwang, by Ho Shuh, of the district of Chaoungan, in the department of Changchow in Fuhkeén, who knocks head and presents thanks.

LETTER XI.

To the English *great nation's hand* (surgeon), elder benefactor of the world, skillful medical practitioner, by whom hundreds have been cured, as if by supernatural means. Sight has been restored to my eyes, which had lost it for more than ten years. The great nation's hand admitted me into his hospital and attended me,—verily he possesses supernatural power,—and effected the wonderful work of letting me behold the light of the sun.

May happiness rest in his house for having daily given me food to eat. Returning thanks, I go to my native place. Ten thousand generations of my family will be moved with gratitude towards him. May heaven protect him! May he enjoy felicity great as the unbounded existence of the eastern sea, and as the southern hill, for his benevolence. Given in his presence.

LIN TINGMING, pays respects.

LETTER XII.

Note of thanks from Tsae Yë for the cure of his arm, to the English nation's surgeon, Colledge.

I, Tsae Yë of Mongha (village), on the 7th of the 9th moon, when going to the village, met on the way a ship captain, riding about for amusement. We encountered each other in a narrow part of the road, where there was no room to turn off, and avoid one another. Hence I was kicked and trodden down by the horse, and my arm broken. Deeply grateful am I to the English nation's great doctor for taking me home to his worthy abode, and applying cures; so that in about a month I was perfectly healed. Yë is indeed deeply imbued with your profound benevolence. In truth it is as though we had unexpectedly found a divine spirit, giving life to the world. On earth there is none to match you. Yë sleeping and waking thinks of you. In this life, in the present world, he has no power to recompense you; but in the coming life he will serve you as a horse or a dog. To the English nation's great doctor.

TSAE YE,

with his whole family, imbued by your favor, bows his head, and pays respects.

LETTER XIII.

King Wan, of the district of Kaeping is grateful to the doctor. Eminent man! Whose medicines effect cures comparable to a deity; and who, moreover, supplied me with food and lodging abundant, thus evincing virtue nearly allied to heaven, and superior to the benevolence of relations. I, King Wan, was afflicted with an ailment of the eyes for seven years, during which period, I sat as it were in a dark chamber; when having come purposely to try your wonderful medicines, the bright day returned as before. Thus truly must your illustrious name be spread through the central and flowery country;

and heaven must add happiness and long life. Now with head to the ground I return thanks, and flee away to my village as a bird released, not knowing when I can adequately recompense your benevolence.

ART. III. *Hospitals for seamen: a plan for a floating hospital at Whampoa, with apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned; a medical establishment needed at Lintin or Macao; number and condition of foreign seamen in China.*

When speaking of seamen in the port of Canton, in our last volume, (page 322,) we alluded to the necessity of some provision being made for the sick. Since that time the subject has received more attention; and in August last, a plan was devised and partly carried into execution for supplying the desired aid. The origin and nature of the plan will be fully explained by the following letter; which having been submitted to lord Napier, and having received his lordship's approbation, was forwarded to H. M. ministers in England. It forms a part of the appendix to the account of the ophthalmic institution, noticed in the preceding article. Fully persuaded, as we are, that the welfare of seamen in China, has not received by any means that consideration which it deserves, we beg leave to call the attention of our readers, and especially of those who are interested in the foreign commerce with this country, to the following letter:

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier,
Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China.

My Lord,

In obedience to a wish expressed by your lordship, to receive some suggestion as to the manner in which the services of the medical officers of your lordship's establishment may be made most advantageously available to British subjects in China, I have the honor to lay before your lordship the following ideas which have presented themselves to me on the subject.

Your lordship having already been pleased to express your acquiescence in the necessity of stationing one of your medical officers at Whampoa, and the laws of the Chinese empire not permitting the residence of any foreigner on shore there, I would respectfully suggest to your lordship the great importance of combining with such residence, (which must necessarily be afloat,) a floating hospital, the advantages of which I will endeavor to explain.

The prevalent diseases of Whampoa Reach arise principally from malaria, to which all ships resorting thither are unavoidably exposed. Complaints arising from this cause are frequently of a malignant character, and often of fatal occurrence, even under the closest attention. Every medical person acquainted with the varied charac-

ter of bilious, bilious remittent, remittent, and intermittent cases, besides bowel complaints and dysentery, which occur during the season, (say from the month of July to the ensuing March,) must acknowledge that almost constant watching is required in certain stages of these diseases. This would be impossible if the medical attendant were not resident on the spot.

On board the Company's ships, (I can state from personal experience,) the sick were regularly visited twice and thrice daily: and although each Company's ship carried two medical officers, making an aggregate of from thirty to forty medical men at Whampoa and Canton in the height of the season, they had always calls from ships not carrying surgeons and looking to them exclusively for medical aid. The opening of the trade will, however, entirely change the system. For while it is reasonable to suppose that an equal amount of tonnage and number of seamen will resort to China, it will be in vessels principally of that class which, from their size and complement of men, will not be obliged by act of parliament to carry a surgeon. None will carry more than one medical officer: and although I should be doing injustice to my professional brethren, if I thought there were one amongst us who would hesitate to afford assistance in case of emergency, still the assistance thus derived would be too uncertain for the calls of a numerous fleet: and, even with every disposition to afford it when called on, I can state from my own experience, that it would be an instance of good fortune rarely occurring, when one surgeon would not find his time and attention too fully occupied with his own ship's company to be able to afford assistance to other vessels.

Independently of the cases I have already enumerated, accidents unavoidably occur on shipboard, of compound fractures of limbs, injuries of the head, &c. &c., when constant attendance and quiet, mostly unattainable in small vessels, are indispensable to the cure. Nor should I omit to mention that in many cases much depends on the promptitude with which medical aid can be administered; as well as the danger and often the impossibility of removing patients to Canton, were there no medical establishment at Whampoa.

It is to your lordship's medical officer, therefore, that the British ships at Whampoa will look for assistance: and it is with a view of pointing out to your lordship the manner, in which his services may be rendered most efficient, that I have ventured to suggest the idea of a floating hospital, which I consider it my duty to recommend to your lordship's particular consideration.

The melancholy loss of life frequently occurring at Whampoa by drowning, points at once to the necessity of procuring apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned. This, I take the liberty to suggest to your lordship, should also be found on board the floating residence; whence it could be sent to any ship requiring it, by some established signal being made, without loss of time: as I am of opinion that, in my time, many lives have been lost at Whampoa which might have been preserved, had the requisite means for restoration been procurable.

The necessity for a medical establishment at Liutin or Macao, is already apparent to your lordship. Even since your lordship's arrival here, applications for medical aid have been made to Macao by ships coming in from sea in a sickly condition. Cases of this nature are frequent; the sick have been landed at Macao, and have hitherto received assistance from the Company's medical resident there. I would also call your lordship's attention to the British population at Macao; as well as the sick who resort thither from Canton for the recovery of their health. Of Lintin I would merely remark, that a number of most valuable British ships are constantly stationed there; all of them without surgeons, and hitherto looking exclusively to Macao for medical aid. Having for some years conducted a hospital at Macao on my own responsibility, I can state with satisfaction, that I never experienced any interference either from the Chinese, or Portuguese governments. Though originally intended principally for the relief of poor Chinese, still I occasionally admitted cases of professional interest occurring among the lower orders of foreigners resorting to this country: and being fully impressed with the great advantages to be derived from an establishment of this kind for British seamen, at Lintin or Macao, I most respectfully submit the opinion to your lordship's consideration and approval; and, should the suggestion be deemed worthy of adoption, a scale of charges to shipmasters for the maintenance of the establishment can be submitted to your lordship.

The plan I have endeavored to embody in the foregoing sketch, embraces the services of both medical officers at present attached to your lordship's establishment, and would leave his majesty's superintendents without any personal medical attendant in Canton. This will, of course, be a matter for your lordship's consideration.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
Canton, August 8th, 1834. *(Signed)* T. R. COLLEDGE,

Surgeon to H. M. Superintendents.

Immediately after this plan was suggested, a boat of convenient size for a small hospital was contracted for; and the sum of 800 taels was to be paid for it, as soon as the man who engaged to build it should convey it to Whampoa and anchor it in a convenient station near the shipping, which he at once agreed to do. In the meantime Mr. Andersou, one of the surgeons to H. M. commission, was making the necessary arrangements for the new establishment, expecting to remain constantly at Whampoa and devote his whole attention to seamen. But before the plan was carried into operation, the whole was stopped by the hostilities of the government, which just at that time commenced in a most extraordinary manner; and the commissioners having been compelled to reside elsewhere than at the port of Canton, of course nothing has been done during the current season. Still, of the desirableness of having a floating hospital at Whampoa, and of the practicability of the measure, no one, we think,

who is acquainted with the circumstances of the case can have any reasonable doubts. That the petty officers at the custom-house, whenever the proposed plan is carried into effect, will make it an occasion for a *squeeze*, is certain, and should be calculated on and sharply remonstrated against. When natives wish to propose any new measure for their own advantage or convenience, the local officers expect money to be paid to them for their permission or connivance, as the case may be; but this, foreigners should never do,—not only because their commerce is already sufficiently burdened with exactions introduced in this very manner, but because the thing is wrong in principle.

The necessity for a hospital with its proper accompaniments to be established at Whampoa, will be apparent to any one who will give his attention for a moment to the number and circumstances of seamen in this port. According to documents before us, the number of arrivals in China for the year, ending June 30th, 1834, was *two hundred and sixty-four*: there were British one hundred and one; American eighty-one; French six; Dutch six; Hamburgh three; Danish five; Swedish one; Portuguese twenty-three; Spanish thirty seven; and one Mexican. The largest class of these ships carried more than one hundred men; the middling class, about fifty; and the lightest, nearly twenty men each. The average we suppose, could not be less than forty each; of the whole number of ships, at least three fifths came up to Whampoa. Accordingly there were in port during the year, 6320 seamen. Of the amount of sickness and number of deaths that occurred during the same time, we have not the means of making a correct statement. No ships escaped without more or less sickness; and probably not more than one-half without at least one case of death. There was a single instance, among the large ships, where there more than twenty deaths; and there was one of the smallest, which lost as many as four of her men. The causes of those deaths were various; several, however, we know were occasioned by drowning. Of the number of surgeons, connected with the fleet the last year, we are also without any very definite information. There were twenty-four ships belonging to the honorable East India company, each carrying two surgeons; but besides these, there were not, probably, among the whole shipping, more than two or three medical men.

In almost all the ports in the world, seamen can find accommodations, of some kind or other, on shore; but in China, with all her boasted compassion and tender nursing, no such provision is found. No matter what may be the condition of the ship, or circumstances of the poor sailor, if he is sick, there is no house on shore to receive him, unless he comes up to the 'barbarian factories' in Canton; which, on account of the distance, is often quite impossible and always dangerous. And if perchance he reaches the factories, he will seldom find the accommodations necessary for a sick man. And if the "foreign devil water hand," dies here, then, in order to show forth extreme tenderness, the good people of the grand hoppo's establish-

ment and the sturdy beggars in the streets are both allowed to levy a tax on his lifeless body! This tax usually amounts to fifteen or twenty dollars. And if the unfortunate sailor has not left the means wherewith to defray this charge; or if the master and the consignee of the ship neglect or refuse to pay it, then the demand is made on the comprador of the house where the death occurred. This fact in some measure accounts for the dislike which the compradors usually manifest in regard to admitting sick men into the houses of their masters. Besides, the indifference which the Chinese feel towards persons in distress, and particularly towards foreigners, and the consequent neglect of them in sickness, are additional objections against bringing sailors to Canton. When we consider, therefore, the number of seamen in this port, and the condition in which they are placed, we do not wonder that lord Napier and the medical officers of his establishment, took the steps they did to procure for British seamen a floating hospital at Whampoa. And there exist nearly the same reasons for a similar establishment, either on shore at Macao, or afloat at Lintin; there being, as we have already seen, about two fifths of the whole foreign shipping, which does not come within the limits of the port of Canton. Hitherto, the seamen connected with this part of the shipping, have enjoyed fewer medical advantages than those within the port. And though they are less exposed to sickness than those who are at Whampoa, yet as their number is rapidly increasing, they ought no longer to be left without some constant medical attendant.

We do not suppose that these hospitals when in successful operation, (as they soon will be, if the plan proposed to the British ministry is carried into effect,) will be limited to British seamen. Nor ought the expense of such accommodations to be borne by the British government and people alone. The number of American seamen, it is true, is considerably less than that of the British; yet, during the last year, it could not have been less than 1500; at the same time, however, the American ships are seldom if ever provided with surgeons; and while at sea, we suppose they rarely need them. Here it is not so; for many are sick, and suffer much for want of convenient accommodations and medical aid. Individual effort could not make the necessary arrangements for a hospital at Whampoa; but united effort could; and whenever such an establishment is undertaken, it must be done by combined private enterprise, since the government of the United States chooses not to interfere in such matters. It is much, *very* much, to be regretted that men should be cast ashore as seamen sometimes are in China. We have known instances in which they have been set ashore in the rice fields at Whampoa, and also at Macao, nearly destitute of every thing but the clothes on their backs. The policy of the American government in leaving, year after year, such a branch of its commerce utterly unprotected, and uncountenanced even by the presence of a consul; and the justice of shipmasters 'turning adrift' and abandoning their men in such a country as this, are points about

which our readers will form different opinions; but for ourselves we cannot look on the first without regret, nor on the second without shame and indignation. We do regard with feelings of pleasure and approbation the measures which the Americans have taken to benefit seamen in the port of Canton, by the preaching of the gospel and the promotion of temperance among them: these things they ought to have done; and surely the others they ought not to have left undone.

P. S. Since the foregoing was in type, and the first part of the article printed off, we have had the pleasure of learning that measures are now being adopted to establish a hospital at Macao. To inquiries on this subject, our correspondent writes:

"My dear Sir,—By the act, 6th, Geo. IV., British consuls in foreign countries are authorized to advance, on the part of the crown, a sum, annually, equal in amount to whatever may be collected or subscribed by British subjects, for the purpose of maintaining a hospital for British seamen, or other distressed subjects, abroad. It is believed that, in virtue of this very liberal provision of the legislature, something will be done by the British merchants towards forwarding this very laudable object; and it is *much to be wished* [these italics are our own] *that its advantages may be extended to distressed seamen of all nations,—thereby to secure the support of all foreigners in China.*

"The foregoing is all that can, at present, be said on the subject."

ART. IV. *Proceedings relative to the formation of a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China.*

[An unavoidable delay in publishing our present number, affords us an early opportunity, which we improve with great pleasure, of complying with a request of the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China, to publish the following papers, under the title given at the head of this article. It will be seen by referring to the papers, that they are also to be published in the form of a pamphlet. What we here publish is an exact copy of the original of the pamphlet. The proceedings, &c., are introduced by the following advertisement.]

ADVERTISEMENT:

At a special meeting of the committee held this day, it was resolved, that the following proceedings, relative to the formation of a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge in China, be adopted for publication, and be printed at the office of the Chinese Repository.

By order of the committee,

(Signed)

J. ROBT. MORRISON,

Canton, January 1st, 1835.

Secretary.

PREAMBLE.

THE written character adopted by the Chinese has had a very remarkable influence both upon their civilization and their relations with other nations. They have formed an extensive literature, but it is barren in ideas; and in style and manner it is as peculiar as are the people themselves. While the want of variety in its sounds renders the spoken medium monotonous, the numerous strokes and

variations in the characters of the written medium, give it a copiousness which is scarcely equalled by any other language in the world. But this system, so congenial to the Chinese mind, renders the acquisition of knowledge very difficult; for years are occupied in simply learning to read and write,—attainments which merely pave the way for the acquisition of knowledge, but which, *resipso*, constitute the whole learning of many of the Chinese literati. By using this character, the Chinese have drawn a strong line of demarcation between themselves and all foreigners. They have virtually excluded others from being benefited by their writings; and at the same time they have closed up the avenues for the introduction of knowledge from abroad. Moreover, national prejudice, founded in ignorance, has assigned to native works exclusively the honor of being 'literary productions.' But while the learned Chinese have affected to look down on the productions of foreigners as unworthy of their notice, many of their own number, and multitudes of the common people, whenever such books have been circulated within their reach, have sought for them with great avidity.

The favorable accounts of the Chinese empire, given by the Jesuits, have engendered in many the belief that the state of literature and morals in China is far superior to that of other countries. Hence, to attempt improvement here, would only serve to degrade a nation which has reached the climax of human perfection. On this misrepresentation, most absurd and mischievous theories have been built. Many scholars in the west have not hesitated to refer to the Chinese as the most civilized people in the world; and as the great source from whence other nations must derive the true principles of science and knowledge. While we must reject such views as false, we cannot regard the Chinese as incapable of rising and vieing with the most enlightened nations of the earth. Of all the Asiatics we regard them as the most prepared for the reception of useful knowledge.

In our days, many nations have begun the race of improvement; and are now moving onward in swift career, their course being constantly made more luminous by the light of science, and more rapid by the force of truth. This has resulted from the *diffusion of useful knowledge* among them. But no influence of this kind has yet reached the 'central nation,' and China still stands stationary, shielding herself against the contaminating influence of barbarians. While, therefore, we must ascribe it chiefly to the apathy, the national pride, and the ignorance of the Chinese, that they have not joined other nations in the march of intellect; we are by no means prepared to excuse ourselves from the guilt of indifference and inactivity in not having placed within their reach the means of improvement, and roused their sleeping energies to inquiries after knowledge.

These remarks show, at once, the necessity of some measures being adopted, to supply what we may justly consider the existing demands of the case. And while we should duly value the knowledge which the Chinese have possessed for ages, it should be our chief endeavor, our steady aim, to supply their lack of knowledge; and by a

friendly interchange of thought, produce a union of sentiment, the firmest basis of international intercourse. Though the task is arduous, the boon will be great; and great too, and in every way most safe and salutary, will be the results. Three hundred and sixty millions of immortal beings, separated from all the nations of the earth by a narrow policy, which is upheld by ignorance, now claim the attention of philanthropists. Neglected, and even given up in despair, as they have been hitherto, they will henceforth become the objects of our solicitude, and call forth our united efforts in their behalf.

As the field is so vast, comprising a population greater than that of all Europe, we, who are but on the confines of China, few in number, and limited in resources, must look to kindred spirits in the west, to coöperate with us in this arduous enterprise. We would not raise high expectations by holding out promises of great success immediately; but we are anxious to proceed with a firm and steady step, and amidst all difficulties to keep our eye constantly fixed on the glorious end. The greater the aid furnished, and the talent enlisted, the wider will be the sphere of action, and the more numerous the publications which will go forth under the auspices of the society.

We are now, then, to make the trial, whether the celestial empire, after it has defeated all efforts to bring it into an alliance with the civilized nations of the earth, will not yield to intellectual artillery, and give to knowledge the palm of victory. The end of our course is far distant; the barriers high; the ways rough; and the passes difficult; our advances, therefore, may be slow. Yet prepared for all contingencies, and aware that it is not the work of a day, we hail with delight the commencement of the undertaking, and are glad to engage in a warfare, where we are sure the victors and the vanquished will meet only to exult and rejoice together.

MINUTES

Of two public meetings of foreign residents in Canton.

At a public meeting, convened by circular, and held at the hotel at No. 6, Imperial Hong, on the 29th of November, 1834, Mr. Olyphant was called to the chair, and Mr. Slade was appointed secretary to the meeting.

The proposal for the formation of a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge in China, having been introduced by the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, and remarked upon by himself and other members of the meeting,

It was moved by Mr. Matheson, seconded by Mr. Innes, and carried unanimously,

That the meeting accept of the proposition for the formation of a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China.

The following gentlemen were then chosen as a committee for conducting the business of the society:

JAMES MATHESON, esq. President,
D. W. C. OLYPHANT, esq. Treasurer,
WM. S. WETMORE, esq.

JAMES INNES, esq.

THOMAS FOX, esq.

REV. E. C. BRIDGMAN,

REV. CHARLES GUTZLAFF,

} Chinese secretaries.

J. ROBERT MORRISON, esq. English secretary.

Moved by the Rev. Mr. Bridgman, seconded by Mr. Innes, and carried unanimously,

That the committee now appointed be directed to draft a constitution and plan of operations for the society, and report the same at an adjourned meeting.

Moved by Mr. Fox, seconded by Mr. Wetmore, and carried unanimously,

That the meeting invite the coöperation of the community of Canton and Macao in forwarding the objects of the society, and also of such Chinese as may be supposed favorable to it; and that this meeting also look to being brought into correspondence with similar societies established in other parts of the world.

Moved by Mr. Matheson, seconded by Mr. Fox, and carried unanimously,

That J. F. Davis, esq., H. M. chief superintendent in China, and the consuls for foreign nations resident in China, be invited to become honorary members of the society.

The meeting then, after votes of thanks to the chairman and secretary, adjourned until the next Wednesday.

In accordance with the resolution moved by Mr. Bridgman, as above, public notice was given of the adjourned meeting on Tuesday. The next day, December 3d, 1834, a general meeting was held at No. 6, Imperial Hong. The president of the society being absent, Mr. Wetmore was requested to take the chair.

Documents containing the objects and regulations of the society, as drawn up by the committee, were then laid before the meeting; and after some discussion and alterations, were adopted,—as below.

It was afterwards moved, seconded, and carried unanimously,

That a copy of the objects and regulations of the society be sent for publication to the editor of the Canton Register :

That the proceedings of the society, as now formed, with its objects and regulations, be published in the form of a pamphlet, for general circulation, under the superintendence of the committee: and,

That a copy of the same be forwarded to the right honorable lord Brougham, chairman of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in England.

The meeting being made acquainted with the fact that an association of gentlemen had recently been formed in the city of New York, to aid in the diffusion of knowledge in China, it was moved and carried unanimously,

That a copy of the proceedings, &c., of the society, be also sent to the president of that association.

It was then moved by Mr. Jardine, seconded by Mr. Fox, and carried unanimously,

That a vote of thanks be proposed to Mr. Wetmore for his services in the chair, on this occasion; and that the meeting do now adjourn. The meeting adjourned accordingly:

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

Recent events have greatly contributed towards raising in us the hope, that our intercourse with China will henceforth not only be mercantile but intellectual. Amongst the Hindoos, a nation far inferior to the Chinese, and more bigoted, the attempts at spreading useful knowledge have been crowned with success; this greatly encourages us to tread in the same steps. Though from the nature of the undertaking it is very evident that the progress can be but slow, (for how many years elapsed in Europe before the savage tribes, who established themselves upon the ruins of the Roman empire, were rescued from barbarism?) yet we confidently entertain the hope that by judicious measures we may greatly hasten the desirable end. China possesses a well cultivated literature, at once copious and well adapted to become the vehicle of science. Its literature is more extensive than that of any other uncivilized nation on the earth, and exceeds in bulk both the Roman and Grecian. Education is here pretty general, and millions of readers are able to avail themselves of the boon we tender to them.

The prime object of this association, therefore, will be to publish such books as may enlighten the minds of the Chinese; and communicate to them the arts and sciences of the west. Such measures must be taken as will ensure a ready circulation, not solely in Canton but throughout the empire. It will be the duty of every member of this association to cooperate to this end, while those members who are conversant with the Chinese language should endeavor to furnish works for publication. There are two booksellers in this city who offer their services in sending the books to their correspondents in the principal cities of the empire; provided the books interest the general reader. A small attempt with the Chinese Magazine has answered the end; but the matter is still difficult at the commencement, though, when once fairly arranged, it promises the greatest results. Our intercourse with China has lately been extended and will, under the auspices of a free trade, expand, until it embraces all the maritime provinces of the empire, and considers the flourishing region of the Yangtze keäng as a fair field for mercantile enterprise. There will be thus a wide door open for the dissemination of truth. The writer himself has seen his most sanguine hopes far exceeded, and can bear ample testimony to the eagerness with which foreign publications, of which an enormous number have been circulated, are hailed by the people and universally perused.

The writer at the present moment submits to the committee whether they will encourage the publication of a general history and geography, the latter accompanied by an atlas. He requests them to point out at the same time a series of publications which they think the best adapted for the promotion of their object, and he pledges himself to aid whatever is in his power, in their composition.

The great attention which is now directed towards China, the interest which England, the United States, Germany, and even Holland, take in the regeneration of this great nation, insure coöperation from all those countries. The correspondence proposed with kindred institutions in every quarter of the globe having met with general approbation, it now only remains to keep up that interest by unwearied efforts in this good work. It would, perhaps, also be desirable that the society print a work or works in English, which making our fellow-laborers at home acquainted with the intellectual state of this country, might thus create a still greater interest in behalf of this nation. This subject is likewise submitted to the consideration of the committee.

To enhance the value of our works, it is very desirable to make the Chinese pay. At the first outset our publications will give small returns, but whenever curiosity is awakened, the expenses of the association will decrease. This society may gradually embrace many other objects, equally tending to the diffusion of useful knowledge; but this will be a proper subject for discussion whenever its funds permit, and its resources are adequate to the demand.

(Signed) CHARLES GUTZLAF.

REGULATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. This association, formed for the purpose of extending to the Chinese such knowledge as is calculated to improve their intellectual and moral condition, is designated *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China*.

2. The object of the society is, by all means in its power, to prepare and publish, in a cheap form, plain and easy treatises in the Chinese language, on such branches of useful knowledge as are suited to the existing state and condition of the Chinese empire.

3. Members of the society shall be either resident, corresponding, or honorary.

4. The *resident* members shall include native and foreign gentlemen in China. Those who, approving of the regulations, express their desire to become members, and to aid in promoting the objects of the society, previous to the 31st day of December current, shall be considered original members. And after that date every individual, wishing to coöperate in the grand object of the society, and conforming to its regulations, may, upon addressing the secretary, and being approved of by a majority of the committee, be constituted a member of the society.

5. Individuals, not resident in China, who, from their knowledge of the language, may be supposed able and willing to forward the objects of the society, by original works or translations, may be elected *corresponding* members. And any individuals, unacquainted with the Chinese language, who may be willing to aid the society, by their influence, or otherwise, may be elected *honorary* members. Both *corresponding* and *honorary* members shall be elected in the same manner as resident members.

6. Every member, not a corresponding or honorary member, shall pay an *annual subscription* of not less than *ten dollars*. The society will also thankfully receive any donations. The society shall print an annual report of its proceedings, and each member shall be entitled to one copy of it.

7. Every donor of \$25 shall be entitled to a copy of the annual report of the society, and to a set of its publications for one year.

8. Individuals resident in other countries, who are friendly to the objects of this society shall be invited to form *auxiliary associations* in aid of its funds. Such associations, forwarding to the amount of \$50 annually, shall be entitled to ten copies of the annual reports, and a copy of each of the society's publications.

9. The business of the society shall be conducted by a *committee* consisting of a president, three other members, a treasurer, and three secretaries, two Chinese and one English; who shall be chosen annually out of the resident members, at a general meeting. Vacancies occurring in the course of the year shall, when necessary, be filled up by direction of the committee. Three members of the committee shall constitute a quorum.

10. The society shall hold an annual general meeting, on the third Monday in October. Special general meetings shall be convened at any time, by notice from the committee, or from any ten of the members of the society.

11. The committee shall hold regular meetings on the first Wednesday in every month; such meetings to be deferred, and special ones convened, when necessary, by order of the president, or, in his absence, by desire of any two of the members.

12. It shall be the duty of the committee to take into consideration, and decide, respecting all business that may be brought before it by the treasurer or the secretaries.

13. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to propose measures for raising money necessary to defray the expenses of the society, and to take account of the same.

14. It shall be the duty of the Chinese secretaries to examine all works offered to the society for publication, and to report respecting them to the committee. Also, when approved of by the committee, to superintend their publication, sale, and circulation.

15. It shall be the duty of the English secretary to keep a record of the proceedings of the society and of the committee, and, either alone, or with the assistance of any members who may be appointed by the committee, to conduct the correspondence.

16. It shall further be the duty of the Chinese secretaries to propose works; and the committee shall take measures for procuring those works of which it approves.

17. The committee shall have the power, when necessary, of purchasing for publication manuscripts of which it has previously approved; also of holding out rewards for the best treatises on any specified subjects. (Signed) Wm. S. WETMORE.—*Chairman*:

True copy.

J. ROBT. MORRISON.—*Secretary*:

ART. V. *Literary notices: 1. Select papers on the subject of expressing the languages of the east in the English (Roman) character; 2. A Chinese Commercial Guide.*

1. We have carefully, and with great pleasure, watched the efforts that have been made in India, during the current year, 'on the subject of expressing the languages of the east in the English character.' To those who have not turned their thoughts to this subject, if there are any such, it may perhaps appear to be one of little moment; but it will be contemplated in a far different light by those who have just views of the influence it may, and probably will, have on a very large portion of the human family.—The work before us is from the Serampore press, and, in the compass of 160 pages, comprises the most important papers on the subject in question, which were published in the periodicals at Calcutta during the early part of this year. The writer of one of these papers illustrates and shows clearly 'the possibility, the practicability, and the expediency of substituting the Roman instead of the Indian alphabets.' The writer of another, who styles himself 'a true friend of the natives' of India, after descanting on 'some of the manifold advantages which would attend the substitution of the English in the place of the Indian alphabets,' gives the following summary:

"1. The substitution of the English alphabet would facilitate the progress of a Hindoo in learning his own vernacular language.

"2. It would facilitate his progress in learning the English language.

"3. It would facilitate his progress in learning the several other languages necessary to the carrying on of business.

"4. It would break down the barriers that at present separate the Hindoos from one another, and lead to free communication, and a beneficial interchange of sentiment throughout the land.

"5. It would enable Hindoos of ordinary ability and perseverance to master almost all the languages of India, and so put it in their power to benefit its countless tribes and families.

"6. It would greatly assist young and old in reading, writing, &c., any language, with precision and propriety.

"7. It would save a great deal of money to every Hindoo parent, by greatly diminishing the price of books.

"8. It would bring to light the entire mass of Hindoo literature, science, and theology, and make the claims of Hindoo authors known to all the learned in the four quarters of the world.

"More advantages might easily be enumerated; but are not these amply sufficient to prove the excellency of the present proposal? Are not these more than sufficient to demonstrate, that it is fraught with the richest blessings to the people of Hindostan? And if so, however unintentionally, are not those the enemies of the people, who object to and oppose it? And are not those the best friends of the people,

who are its most strenuous advocates? 'We speak unto you as unto wise; judge ye.'

On the same general subject another writer says: "It seems now to be admitted, with scarcely a dissenting voice, that the plan of expressing the languages of the east in the English character offers the best and nearest prospect of fixing the native dialects, and of establishing a common medium of communication, epistolary as well as oral, between the people and their rulers—that great desideratum, the absence of which has always so much impeded the due administration of justice in this country, and stood in the way of our taking root in the affections of our subjects to the extent which the rectitude of our acts and intentions might entitle us to expect. The principle, therefore, that the languages of the east should be expressed in the character of the west, and that by degrees our written character should be made to *pervade the whole world*, has been admitted by a decided majority of those persons who, from their education and habits of mind, are qualified to give an opinion on the subject. The only question which remains to be discussed is the particular orthography, or in other words the particular mode of applying the European characters to the Asiatic languages, which it is most desirable to adopt."

If these high anticipations are realized, as we doubt not they will be, it may be expected that the Burman, the Siamese, the Javanese, the Begis, and all the other languages of the archipelago, will in due time experience the same renovation. The Japanese, also, must come into the same list. But how will it be with the Chinese? "To convey the Chinese spoken language without the character is not impracticable, though it is difficult and often embarrassing to the learner," is an opinion which was expressed by the late Dr. Morrison, six years ago. Soon after that, and without any knowledge of Dr. M.'s views, the same opinion was expressed by an able philologist in Europe. Of the correctness of these opinions we have not the shadow of a doubt; nor should we be surprised, were it to be announced in the course of a few years, that 'the written character of the celestial empire is giving place to the Roman.'

2. *A Chinese Commercial Guide, consisting of a collection of details respecting foreign trade in China.* By JOHN ROBERT MORRISON. Canton: 1834. pp. 116.

No book extant, we do not hesitate to affirm, contains in the same number of pages an amount of useful information, relative to foreign commerce with China, equal to that embodied in the work before us; indeed, all other books, that have ever fallen under our observation, do not contain an equal amount of those details which will be found necessary for the merchant who comes forward to engage in the China trade at the present time. We speak in these terms, because we know the opportunities which the compiler enjoyed for collecting information and making his work accurate and complete. We shall soon take the liberty of introducing into the Repository a few of the

papers contained in the Guide ; but must refer to the book itself all those who wish to become acquainted with the details and magnitude of the several branches of the Chinese trade.

ART. VI. *Religious intelligence : Singapore, instruction for the native inhabitants : Borneo, notices of its inhabitants visiting Singapore ; arrival of new missionaries in Siam.*

Singapore. Almost from the very commencement of the British settlement at Singapore in 1818, more or less attention has been paid to the moral and religious instruction of the native inhabitants. These efforts have been made by the European residents, by private individuals, and by foreign missionary societies ; and they have been continued, with various success, to the present time. The design of the Singapore Institution, founded by the honorable sir T. S. Raffles in 1823, was noble, and ought to have been carried into prompt and vigorous execution. We hope shortly to call the attention of our readers to the present state of the institution, and to that of the several schools which are now in progress in that settlement. In the missionary department, although some changes have taken place during the last six months, the labors of preaching, and teaching, and circulating books have been continued, and will, we trust, never cease. The protestant missionary now in the field is the Rev. Ira Tracy. He arrived there on the 24:th of last July, and directs his attention chiefly to the Chinese.

Under date of August 16th, 1834, Mr. Tracy thus wrote : " To-day I visited *Campong glam*, which is a part of Singapore, about a mile from the central and business part of the settlement, containing not far from two thousand Chinese. I went first to visit Miss Wallace's school. There I saw about twenty children, Chinese, Portuguese and Malay, all learning to read their own languages. Some of them were not the most agreeable children that I ever saw ; nor were they clad in the best manner. How little, thought I, as I left the room, do those ladies who sit in quiet around their own pleasant fire-sides, and enjoy the sweet intercourse of a Christian family in refined society, know what self-denial is practiced by some of their sex for the sake of doing good ! Here among these noisy, ignorant, and half-naked children, a lady, accustomed to the enjoyments of cultivated society, and able still to enjoy them, if she preferred her own interest to those of others, spends her days in benefiting strangers. Miss W. has been here but a short time, and has still to contend with the peculiar difficulties which attend the commencement of schools, especially for girls, among the Chinese. But she is not discouraged, and seems happy in her work."—For several years, five or more we think, Miss W. was engaged in teaching at Malacca ; and at one time had as many as six schools under her superintendence : those schools are now under the care of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society : that at Singapore is supported by private benevolence.

The Rev. Peter Parker, M. D. who reached China in the ship *Morrison* the 23d of October last, sailed in the *Fort William*, on the 14th instant, to join Mr. Tracy at Singapore. Mr. P. has come out in the double capacity of preacher and physician; and proposes for the present, to devote so much of his time as he can spare from the study of the Chinese language, to assist the poor, sick, lame, and blind, among the natives, wherever duty may call him to reside.

Borneo. The following brief extracts from the private journal of Mr. Tracy at Singapore, exhibit a pleasing degree of interest among the people of Borneo, to become acquainted with the learning and religion of Europeans; they show also the desirableness of having schools established, like those at Malacca and Singapore, for the youth of the great eastern archipelago. The first extract is dated, September 12th, 1834:

"To-day," he says, "I went on board three prows from Borneo; and making some inquiries respecting their country, learned that they were from Serowa and Shadung [on Raffles' map, written Serewa and Sedang]. One of the prows was from the city of Borneo, or Broonee as they pronounced the name; they said the city contains six or eight times as many inhabitants as Singapore; its population, therefore may be 100,000 or 150,000. They said that there are many pirates in those regions from whence they came; that the soil is good, but not well cultivated. Those individuals with whom I conversed were not confident as to the reception a teacher would meet with from the rajahs, of whom they stand in great fear. 'We are but a little stream, he the great ocean,' said one of them. They see and feel too, their vast inferiority to Europeans: 'our people are all mud,' i. e. very stupid, was their expressive language. Many of them read Malay, and received books gladly. One of them said there was a man here three or four years ago, who gave books to some of his countrymen to carry to their homes, where they were read with great pleasure. I sent a plain, neatly bound Bible to the sultan of Broonee; and gave to the traders some tracts to be distributed among their friends. The rajahs of Serowa and Shadung hold their authority from the sultan, who is a Malay. There is no Dutch authority in that part of the island; but several European ships visit it to obtain pepper and other articles for the Chinese market.

"17th. Visited the people from Borneo, on board their prows. When I spoke to them of a man's going to dwell among them and teach them things that would be useful to them, they expressed a desire to learn what our books teach, and the various things which give the English the advantages they enjoy over the natives of these countries. When about to leave, I gave them a New Testament, and a few tracts, which were all well received, and more called for.

"18th. Went on board two prows from Mocha, which is two or three days sail west from the capital of Borneo. The people gathered around me, and listened with the most pleasing attention, while I spoke to them of the object of my visit and made known to them the

most important truths of the gospel. They were much pleased with the proposal that some one should go to reside with them and teach them 'those doctrines,' and useful things. They said, the sultan would certainly be much in favor of it, and rejoice to receive them. They told me that the captain of the vessel which I visited some days ago, is a great man in Borneo, and that the sultan consults with him on all affairs of importance; if therefore he favors a teacher's going thither, the sultan will do so of course. On board of one of the vessels, the captain seemed to fear some treachery when I offered him books; and excused himself from receiving them, saying he had just arrived, had sold little, and had nothing to offer in return. I told him all I asked was, that he would regard me as a friend, and read the New Testament with an attentive, believing heart, and carry that and the tracts home for his friends to read. On being satisfied that they were a gift, he accepted them very gratefully.

"20th. Went to visit the prows from Borneo, and called to see the 'great man,' spoken of the other day. I found with him his son, a large stout man, who feels his dignity, and talks loud and long, and with many graceful gestures. He showed me his head, and asked me if I could tell by looking at it, whether he would become sultan, and be prosperous or not. I told him none but God could tell that; and that if men pretended to do so, it was all deception. He had already obtained some knowledge of the Christian religion, and seemed very urgent for books, and described those which he especially wished to obtain: 'one to teach him his duty to himself, or how he must do in respect to himself; another to teach him his duty towards his prince, parents, &c.; and a third to teach him his duty towards God, and how his soul can be saved.' I told him the Bible contains adequate instruction on all these points, sometimes spoken in precepts, and at others taught by examples to be imitated or avoided; and that he who reads it with a teachable and sincere heart, will find it a sufficient guide. 'This then,' said he, 'is the book I want.' He said he came hither not as others to trade, but for the purpose of learning what would be useful to him, and enable him to exert a proper influence upon his countrymen; and he would have me think a principal reason of his coming was to learn respecting the doctrines of the books. But I suspect his visit is rather one of curiosity, than of religious inquiry. He said if I would give him the book referred to, he should read it; and if good, communicate its contents to others, &c.; and my name should be very great in all those regions—an appeal to my vanity to induce me to give him the book.

"After a long talk,—in which he convinced me that he was a savage chief, of more than usual natural ability, and desirous of obtaining knowledge, but proud, ignorant, and probably deceitful,—we parted with an agreement, that my interpreter should meet him on Monday morning and conduct him to my room, where he is to see all the books I have, and to receive a Bible in Malay; and then we are to visit the American consul, Mr. Balestier and his lady.

"I next went to a large prow, with a crew of 100 men; and took

my seat as usual, cross-legged upon the mat, where the captain sits and receives visitors. I was immediately surrounded by those who were anxious for books, of which, and the salvation of the soul, I spoke a few minutes. I then presented a New Testament to each of the two principal persons on board, and began to distribute tracts, when immediately the circle narrowed, and a score or two of hands were extended for books. It was with difficulty that I prevented them from being taken away from me *en masse*; and when put in the hands of individuals, from being torn from them by others who had placed their hands on them at nearly the same instant. As soon as one obtained a tract, he retired and made way for others.

"22d. This morning I received the Borneo chief and conversed with him some time. He came with six or eight attendants, and maintained his dignity and ease of deportment very well. I endeavored to draw his attention to religious subjects; but he seemed rather bent on learning other things, though he gave some attention. I gave him a Bible, and explained to him how it is the word of God and not of man, by comparing it to my words which he receives by the mouth of my interpreter, whom I have made understand what I wish to say to him; so God made holy men understand what he wished to say to us, and they wrote it down as in this book. After about an hour we went to the house of Mr. Balestier, where the chief gratified the curiosity of several foreigners, and gave them an opportunity to make many inquiries respecting the products and trade of Borneo. He was then shown round the house, and appeared highly pleased with what he saw. He maintained his gravity well—such as it was—throughout the whole visit.

"His dress to-day consisted of a cloth of the size of a common handkerchief, tied tastefully around his head; a waistcoat, with arms of calico; a red and blue checkered sarang, i. e. a piece of cloth with the ends sown together and worn loosely about the body and shifted at pleasure; and a pair of pantaloons, which reached to the calf of the leg: these were all made in Borneo. When walking in the sun, he carried an umbrella, which I have seen no other one of his countrymen do. To-morrow he is to come again, and see the printing office, &c. After he had gone, six other men from Borneo came for books. I gave them two Testaments and a few tracts: they said the chief, who had just visited me, is next in rank to the sultan, and his counselor on every occasion."

Siam. We have letters from Siam to Oct. 3d. The Rev. Stephen Johnson and the Rev. Charles Robinson, with their families, reached Bangkok, the 25th of July last. On their arrival, Mr. Jones kindly received them into his own house. Some effort was made, 'by evil minded individuals' to revive an old edict against the distribution of books; but it proved abortive. Mr. Jones and his family have been called to endure severe affliction; in Oct. 1833, they lost a little son; in July last, a daughter aged two and a half years. Mr. and Mrs. J. have also both been sick with fever.

ART. VII. *Journal of occurrences: Proclamation against the hong merchants conniving at and abetting vice in foreigners; imperial edict against extortions of hong merchants.*

We have no pleasure, but rather the opposite feeling, in laying before our readers the two following official papers. The first, (or something like it,) is an annual production, usually published at the commencement of the business season. In consequence of a remonstrance, it did not make its appearance during the last two years; but to make up for that deficiency, the present edition has been republished by the chief magistrates of Nanhæ and Pwanyu. The contrast which is drawn in this paper between the members of the present co-hong and the shameless merchants of former times is a curious specimen of Chinese rhetoric, and shows how much it behooves the present fraternity to have 'a tender regard for their face,' lest they should lose their present high reputation for propriety and respectability.—It is much to be regretted that the barbarians should ever afford any occasion for such a proclamation; and we would never screen from just reproach such as are guilty; but we greatly err in the opinion, if it is not the duty of the foreign residents to protest against such documents being placarded before their own eyes, and on their own dwellings. If there are malefactors, let them be tried and punished according to the law, but let not the *community* suffer such wrongful insult and injury.

Proclamation against the hong merchants conniving at and abetting vice in foreigners. Issued by the governor and hoppo, Nov. 15th, 1834.

Loo, governor of the provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Päng, superintendent of customs of Canton, &c. hereby issue a severe interdict.

The barbarians of outside nations who trade within the central territories, are all in their spoken language unintelligible to, and in their written language different from, (the Chinese). It is therefore very difficult for them to understand clearly the proprieties, the laws, and the prohibitory orders of the celestial empire; and on this account hong security merchants, and linguists, have been appointed to rule and control hong commercial transactions. These persons ought, doubtless, continually to instruct and guide (the barbarians); to repress their pride and profligacy; and to insist on causing them to turn with all their hearts towards renovation; that both parties may enjoy the repose of gladness and gain,—every one keeping in his own sphere, and minding his proper business. Moreover, the security merchants are all men of property and respectable family; it the more behooves them, therefore, to have a tender regard for their face and reputation, to trade with fairness and equity, not to cheat or deceive; then they will certainly be able to obtain the confidence of men from a distance.

Now we find on inquiry, that formerly there was a set of lawless, shameless hong merchants, who, whenever the barbarians entered the port and took lodgings, endeavored to make gain of them. For this purpose they adopted a hundred schemes to meet their wishes; bought young boys for them, to act as servants and attendants, or procured boat prostitutes for them to gratify their libidinous dispositions; by so doing, not only ruining the morals and manners of the public, but also, it is to be apprehended, creating disturbances.

About this (the present) time, the foreign ships are successively arriving; and it is really feared, that lawless vagabonds will again tread in their old footsteps. Therefore, besides ordering strict search to be made for the purpose of seizure, we unite in issuing this severe interdict. To this end, we address it to the security merchants, the linguists, and the patrol and watchmen behind the factories, requiring their universal acquaintance herewith.

Hereafter, all are peremptorily required to have a tender regard for their face and reputation, and to repent, with bitter contrition, of their former faults. At every landing place behind the hong, (i. e. in the front of the factories,) where barbarians reside, they must not allow the *tanka* boats to anchor. And when barbarians pass up or down between Canton and Whampoa, they must not seek out and hire for them *tanka* boats having families on board.

As to the foreign menials whom they bring with them, they are in every way sufficient to attend on and serve the barbarian merchants; they are not at all permitted to hire and employ natives. If any presume to continue to hire Chinese and young boys for them as servants; or, forming unlawful connections with barbarians, lead them clandestinely to the *tanka* boats, to drink wine and sleep with courtezans; or, under the darkness of night, secretly take shore-prostitutes into the factories;—so soon as the patrol and watchmen, having found and seized them, report the fact, or so soon as such practices shall have been otherwise found out, the lawless barbarians, together with the security merchants and linguists, shall assuredly be sent to the local officers, to be tried and punished according to law, with severity.

As to the appointed patrol behind the factories, and the constables of the district, if they presume to accept of bribes purposely to connive at, screen, and conceal such practices, they shall, so soon as it is discovered, be made to wear the *cangue* for one month, on the spot; and at the expiration of that time shall be brought before our court, and immediately cudgelled to death.

We, the governor and hoppo, will firmly adhere, without deviation, to the law, and assuredly, will not show the slightest indulgence. Let every one obey with trembling fear. Be careful not lightly to make experiment. A special proclamation.

Imperial edict against extortions of the hong merchants under the name of duties, and against contracting debts to foreigners.

At Canton there are merchants who have of late been in the habit of levying private duties, and incurring debts to barbarians; and it is requested that regulations be established to eradicate utterly such misdemeanors.

The commercial intercourse of outside barbarians with the inner land, is owing, indeed, to the compassion exercised by the celestial empire. If all the duties which are required to be paid, can indeed be levied according to the fixed tariff, the said barbarian merchants must certainly pay them gladly, and must continually remain tranquil. But if, as is now reported, the Canton merchants have of late been in a feeble and deficient state, and have, in addition to the governmental duties, added also private duties; while fraudulent individuals have further taken advantage of this to make gain out of the custom-house duties, peeling off (from the barbarians) layer after layer, and have gone also to the extreme degree of the government merchants, incurring debts to the barbarians, heaping thousands upon ten thousands;—whereby are stirred up sanguinary quarrels:—if the merchants, thus falsely, and under the name of tariff duties, extort each according to his own wishes, going even to the extreme degree of incurring debts, amount upon amount, it is not matter of surprise, if the said barbarian merchants, unable to bear their grasping, stir up disturbances. Thus, with regard to the affair this year of the English lord Napier and others disobeying the national laws and bringing forces into the inner river, the barbarians being naturally crafty and artful, and gain being their only object, we have no assurance that it was not owing to the numerous extortions of the Canton merchants, that their minds being discontented, they thereupon craftily thought to carry themselves with a high hand. If regulations be not plainly established, strictly prohibiting these things, how can the barbarous multitude be kept in subjection, and misdemeanors be eradicated?

Let Loo and his colleagues examine with sincerity and earnestness, and if offenses of the above description exist, let them immediately inflict severe punishment; therefore let there not be the least connivance or screening. Let them also, with their whole hearts, consult and deliberate; and report fully and with fidelity as to the measures, they, on investigation, propose for the secure establishment of regulations; so as to create confident hopes that the barbarians will be disposed to submit gladly, and that fraudulent merchants will not dare to indulge in peeling and scraping them. Then will they (Loo and his colleagues,) not fail of fulfilling the duties of their offices. Make known this edict. Respect this.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—JANUARY, 1835.—No. 9.

ART. I. Intercourse with the Chinese: letters from correspondents on the subject; 1st, from a Constant Reader; 2d, from A Foreigner; 3d, from R. C., and 4th, from Wellwisher.

It is with great pleasure we lay before our readers the following correspondence; and we recommend to them a careful perusal of each of the letters, and particularly the last, by Wellwisher. It is very desirable that those who have long resided in this country, and are well acquainted with the character of the people and government of China, should communicate to an inquiring public the results of their observations. At the present time, the desire to obtain accurate information relative to the Chinese empire,—its commerce, politics, religions, &c., is very great both in Europe and America. This desire should be encouraged, because it will lead the people of the western world to a better knowledge both of their own interests and duty. We have known instances in which individuals have refused to communicate information, lest others should share with them benefits which they would appropriate to themselves alone. That persons should be rewarded for their discoveries and inventions in the arts, sciences, and so forth, we do not object. That merchants may retain their advices of the state of distant markets, when their doing so will benefit themselves and not injure others, we willingly allow. But, for the sake of one's own gain, to withhold from the public that which if communicated would benefit multitudes equally with the one individual, thus sacrificing the greater for the less, is not right, nor in accordance with the spirit of the age. The time was, when many good men were engaged in the slave trade; but the time has come for such to clear themselves, from such an odious and accursed traffic.

The time was too, when the system of monopolies and exclusive rights was upheld by many well-intentioned men; and such there may be even now; their number, however, is rapidly decreasing. Yet much of the evil genius of slavery and monopolies still lives, dreading the light, and restraining and restricting as far as possible, the interchange of thought and the diffusion of knowledge. We make these remarks that our readers may know that, if we do not convey to them all the information they desire, it is not because we would not do so. In regard to many local affairs, and those which most intimately concern foreigners, it is often almost impossible to ascertain the truth. We shall feel under particular obligations, therefore, to our friends who favor us with communications to illustrate the real condition of the Chinese, and the very extraordinary position in which foreigners are now placed in relation to them and their government. For the communications we here introduce, we tender to our correspondents our best thanks.

LETTER I.

“Mr. Editor,—From the various articles upon China in the English periodicals, which have of late come under my observation, it appears that the darling idea that this country is proof against all friendly propositions for an amicable intercourse, is by no means exploded; but is still defended, as if the happiness of the universe would be compromised by any deviation from the present unnatural system of excluding foreigners. In regard to this opinion I have to make two general remarks. None of your worthy antagonists, who set at naught what your Repository contains about China, have ever come in contact with the people whose champions they are. They have at the same time forgotten that all those who are intimately acquainted with the Chinese, their language, manners, and government, are without exception at variance with them. How far, therefore, their opinions are to be relied upon, you and your readers must judge for yourselves; but for my own part, since they are based on the phantoms of their own imaginations, and can have no existence except in the Utopia of Du Halde and other Jesuits, I must reject them as unsound.

“On the other hand, I regret that the friends of China, who wish for a liberal intercourse with this country, are mostly under the impression that the road to this desirable object must be sprinkled with Chinese blood; thus giving their opponents occasion to declaim against their sanguinary proposals. By inculcating the love of non-intercourse,—a doctrine which, in no quarter of the globe or at any time, can strictly be adhered to, and which is even rejected by the Chinese, both in theory and practice,—the reviewers are utterly foiled. The fear of an ‘eternal stoppage’ of the trade, and of an order to cut down all the tea shrubs, in order to prevent barbarians from repairing to China, is puerile; and unless both the native and foreign merchants are willing to remain passive spectators of their own ruin, such absurd and visionary measures can never be adopted.

There was a time when such orders could be executed, but that time has gone by; and it would now be as difficult to do away with all printing presses in Europe, as to prevent the Chinese from engaging in commercial speculations with foreigners. The state of affairs has greatly changed, even within the last ten years; and it may reasonably be expected that much greater and more thorough changes will take place during the next ten.

“But if measures are to be taken to put commercial relations on an equitable footing, and to extend them to every part of the empire, it should not be forgotten for a moment, that we must treat with the Chinese government as such, and not as a civilized state; this alone can insure success. To quiet the apprehensions of the good people in England, who tremble at the idea of giving rise to carnage, you may assure them that the cowardice of the Chinese government is much greater than its antipathy against foreign intercourse, and that it will make every sacrifice to avoid a dangerous collision.

“Of the utility of a commercial treaty, no reasonable man can entertain any doubt. Nor will the most potent reviewer ever be able to prove that it is against the law of nations to make proposals for such a purpose. As for the wish of the celestial government to come to an arrangement with foreigners, notwithstanding its boasted compassion for them, I can say nothing, because no such wish exists. Let us repeat what has often been done in ‘times of yore.’ Did the Portuguese obtain a footing from the good-will of the government? Is not the whole trade to China virtually a forced trade? Though China has often changed its rulers, it has never altered its maxims, viz. to yield when there is no other remedy, and to hold out ‘firm as a mountain’ as long as it has the means of doing so. Such is the bending character of Chinese politics, and no attempt to place commerce on a sure basis will succeed, unless it be undertaken with these facts in view. Yet it is wholly a mistaken idea that the use of arms must precede negotiations, as if there were no middle course between crouching obedience and open violence. *Demand firmly and insist upon the demands*, are the few plain words which define the whole course of procedure in negotiating with the Chinese.

“But here I anticipate the general outcry, What right have we to interfere with China, and force upon it a commercial treaty? I answer, What right have we to visit so many other countries, and to establish and improve political relations wherever such measures are practicable? Is China an exception to this general rule? “Yes; because her laws militate against placing commercial intercourse upon the firm basis of a definite treaty.” Men seem to forget that Chinese law is like wax in the hands of the rulers, who can mould it into any shape according to their will. But can the arbitrary measures of a despotic power, which are carried into effect against the best wishes of the nation, and which are at variance with natural and rational law, be so binding on foreigners as to paralyze all their efforts to promote an amicable understanding? I leave this question to the mature consideration of all those who are interested in its solution.

"To you, Mr. Editor, as the champion of the good cause, and friend of peace, with whom I most heartily coincide, I have only to address one request: I wish you to establish by facts and arguments, drawn from Chinese state papers and their code of laws, that even their own maxims and theory of government when rightly explained, are favorable to free intercourse, and that the unjust practice of excluding foreigners from their country has received strength from the timidity of foreigners themselves, who have hitherto considered the establishment of a free intercourse as an unpardonable incroachment on the dignity of the celestial empire.

Your's &c.,
A Constant Reader."

LETTER II.

"Sir,—The late failure of the negotiations at Canton may have the effect of dampening the ardor for a commercial treaty with this empire, and many seem to recommend the conciliatory system, after this renewed instance of repeated failure. Submission to the Chinese laws for the security of trade and the peaceful enjoyment of its advantages, will be the general topic when the question of arranging our political relations with the Chinese is agitated. I would neither be the advocate of employing force, nor yet recommend the conciliatory system—the source of all our annoyances and failures. It is confessed that there has been something wrong on both sides, neither party has understood the character or designs of the other, and both have deemed their privileges in danger.

"For about two centuries we have been going round in a circle, and may perhaps return again to the old mode of procedure, unless we receive warning from this last occurrence and carefully avoid the errors of the past. It is not of men, but of measures, that past experience would lead us to disapprove. Yet, let us for a moment transfer ourselves to Europe, where these measures originated with men accustomed to the diplomatic intercourse of civilized nations; men, who having studied the works of French writers on China, are thereby led to distrust later statements which are totally at variance with the opinion of those scholars, who spent their lives in China, and were intimately acquainted with its government and policy. If now they look at the system hitherto pursued by the East India company, which at all events insured an annual supply of tea, and an item in the national revenue, they naturally incline to that course which will not by innovations jeopardize so large a source of benefit to the country. As a desire had been expressed by the viceroy that an officer should come to Canton in place of the former *taepan*, they could not hesitate to follow the hint, and certainly did not expect such a catastrophe.

"The Chinese local government has urged the necessity of first announcing the arrival of the superintendent, and then asking permission for him to repair to Canton. This appears to be a fair demand; yet if at the same time it be known that such application will meet with a refusal, it would be imprudent to enhance the difficulties by dilatory

measures. As regards obedience to the laws of the country, which in general cases is an imperative duty on every stranger in a foreign land, we have only to answer,—point out the real, existing laws. If we are referred to the regulations of ancient times as laws, we retort upon the Chinese government its own supineness in enforcing them, which shows either want of inclination to do so, or impossibility in executing them. So long as they remain a dead letter, regarded by no party as of practical force, it is quite absurd to urge compliance with them in particular cases. Then, when a regular code, not of prohibitions but of regulations, has been formed, and this ratified either by the foreign functionaries at Canton or at home, then and only then, the law becomes of effect. Now when edict on edict is issued, and even the imperial officers themselves regard them no more than we ourselves do, they have to blame themselves if their orders are slighted.

“The British representative in coming to Canton, acted according to the instructions of his sovereign. The hostile attitude which the Chinese authorities assumed immediately after his arrival, naturally irritated the feelings of a British peer; disunion amongst the foreign community encouraged the Chinese to press him harder and harder; the tried expedient of stopping the trade proved a powerful weapon, and completed the victory of the “*celestials*.” The case, in my opinion, would have been more aggravated, had not the frigates been ordered to Whampoa, but would have had a happier issue, if either they or their boats had found their way to Canton. The truth of these remarks, I apprehend, will not be doubted by any one who is conversant with the Chinese character.

“It would, however, be unjust to contemplate but one side of the affair. The old governor, who is doubtless a peaceable, indolent man, of the old school, and full of Chinese prejudices, might have referred lord Napier to Peking for permission to come up to the city, as there was time sufficient for deliberation before his reaching Canton. But we can imagine him greatly startled at the arrival of a British officer at Macao, and resolved to treat him according to circumstances, and as he pleased. The event must have been early reported to Peking, but as a weak government would prefer sacrificing the dignity of a single officer to bringing trouble on itself, we therefore presume that his instructions were couched in such ambiguous language as to leave all the responsibility on him; the burden of them may have been,—drive him away. But Loo possesses too little activity for such an enterprise, and I cannot but believe there were other actors in this scene, than the governor and foo-yuen. First, were strong edicts; next, petty annoyances; then, military preparations, and the stoppage of the trade. Had this last measure been met by making the hong merchants responsible for the demurrage, and for a course of proceedings which themselves advised, they would not have been so loud in enjoining obedience to their laws. But we have not yet learned to turn the effects of preposterous measures from ourselves upon their authors; we could not patiently wait till

both the hong merchants and the government felt the injury they had inflicted on themselves. There was waiting a hungry hoppo from Peking; a great number of merchants from the northern provinces, with their teas and silks; an empty treasury; and many ten thousands of the people at hand, who must starve, if no foreign trade was carried on. In these critical circumstances, the same men, who had proposed the embargo, when they perceived their own ruin inevitable by persisting in it, would have been first to solicit the reopening of the trade. Yet this effect was lost by our own untimely, injudicious petitions. Thus we have ourselves accelerated the Chinese victory. Let us avoid a repetition of the same errors.

Your's very truly,
A Foreigner."

LETTER III.

"Dear Sir,—Having read in your publication, the Chinese edicts, bombastic and false as they are, I am sorry that all hope of an immediate rejoinder are cut off. The late failure is one of those events which for a short time cause a great deal of sensation, and are then gradually forgotten, till, in a few years, they are again repeated. I should not wonder if the whole should be viewed in England as all similar occurrences have been; that the same system of 'peaceable measures,' the cause of perpetual disturbances, should again be recommended and acted upon; that we shall hear only of moderation; and be told that there is nothing more to be done with the Chinese government.

"It is a fact, acknowledged by all parties, that the English ambassadors were received, treated, and dismissed as tribute bearers; and it is also undeniable that Great Britain, as well as other nations who send their envoys to Peking, is enrolled among the tributary states. The epithet of barbarians is not only admitted in the public documents issued at Canton, but by some foreigners, is defended as by no means implying anything disrespectful. Hitherto, the terms applied by ourselves to his Britannic majesty and his representatives, have differed from those which a Chinese would use when speaking of his own sovereign and a commissioner dispatched by him. These matters are upon record, and can be pointed out. Can we then wonder that a Chinese grandee refuses to treat with a British representative upon terms of equality, the only basis upon which things can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion? I wonder that this government is not aware of the power of Great Britain; but unacquainted with foreign affairs as the Chinese officers are, by what other means can they judge of them than by those which their records furnish? Can they be convinced by reading, of the existence of such a formidable power? Whatever may be the opinion held by others, it is to be hoped that no more such proofs will be inscribed upon their records.

"British residents complain justly of being ranked amongst barbarians, and kept like honorable prisoners. If we had endeavored to explode the sophisms upon which the contempt shown towards us is

founded, we should not now hear about barbarians. If we had exerted our mental superiority to the utmost, our condition would be different from what it now is, though we should still be regarded with an eye of jealousy. It is equally plain, that in repairing to Canton, our principal object is to trade uninterruptedly in the most advantageous manner. The British government also, desirous of the prosperity of its subjects in this distant quarter of the globe, entertains the same view; and gives a proof of its sincerity by appointing an authority to resist aggressions and settle disputes. The fear of either losing or hampering the trade, and thereby depriving the country of a great revenue, will dictate cautious measures, and sacrifice every thing to maintain it.

“We may say, with the Chinese officers, that we find upon examination, that the trade is to the mutual advantage of both parties. In losing it, the Chinese would suffer great loss in revenue, patronage, and the maintenance of tens of thousands of the people. Let the officers of government exert all their power to stop it, and they will be unable to do so, as has been sufficiently proved. As for the hong merchants, nobody will imagine for a moment, that they are desirous of hastening their own ruin by abstaining from trade and incurring debts. We have, in the late disturbances, accelerated our own defeat, by application to reopen the trade, and may be punished soon by a repetition of the same stoppage, since it is upon record that nobody can endure this, and that barbarians may be forced to any concession by having recourse to it. As it has been a source of much annoyance, and as conciliatory measures did not prevent it, I think it is time to look out for an antidote; and this is fully obtained by making the government or hong merchants, or whoever originates the measure, responsible for the losses or demurrage incurred. Whether there be few or many ships, once establish the system of responsibility, and make private or public persons answerable, there will be a speedy end to such annoyances. If however matters are put in such a position as to leave us no means of indemnification, we fight against wind-mills,—a useless task.

“The great system of Canton politics, is to annoy, and at the same time cut off all means of retaliation, and render the victim of their wrath odious to his countrymen, by injuring the whole body solely on his account. Let us learn from the Chinese how to act. As in the late affair, the hong merchants obtained the control of the trade, a joint application from all the foreign merchants to the governor that they should also bear the expenses and pay the damages, if approved by our commissioners, would have changed the state of things. If, in future, it should be the governor, hoppo, or any other dignified personage, make him responsible for his acts and the consequences of them to the emperor; but always stipulate the payment of damages in the meantime. This proposition will, I think, meet with the approbation of all parties; but if any one object to it, let him bear the losses himself.

“Trade flows in natural channels, and although it may be stopped,

it cannot long remain so. Suppose the local officers at Canton succeeded in stopping it, which at present is almost impracticable from various causes, the teas would be sold at those ports which are nearest to the country of its growth. How great soever the power of the Chinese government may be, it is unable to resist the clamor of multitudes destitute of food, or to curb the commercial spirit of the people,—as is on record. What should we say, if we could look behind the scene, and examine the motives, the fears, and the hesitancy of the Canton authorities? Nobody knows but themselves their responsibility, for they are mere agents, and stand in a slippery path. Make them responsible, and they cease to be formidable. The position of the emperor on his throne is by no means too secure. He became afraid for his capital, when two years ago, a merchant ship had ventured as far as Shantung. So long, however, as we identify Canton with China, opinions will vary on this subject. How far we can now expect the opening of the north-eastern ports, I will not undertake to say. Union, determination, and a firm resolve on the part of our government, will obtain for us a free intercourse. Instead of half-way measures, however, I think none at all far more desirable.

“One point more I wish to mention for the sake of humanity. To call a native a traitor, because he has intercourse with us, reflects a disgrace upon our characters. We might even forgive this expression, but if we see them fleeced, thrown into prison, and treated as the greatest malefactors, we surely ought to drop a tear of sympathy on account of their hard lot; even the best friend of the Chinese government and its system, will call this unjust. Is it not then our duty to join in remonstrating against the imputed treachery? Loth to better our own circumstances, we must intercede for the injured, if it were only to show, that though we have nothing to say in our own behalf, we still feel for the sufferings of others.

I am, My dear Sir,

Your's sincerely, R. C.”

LETTER IV.

“Dear Sir,—The proposal to form a commercial treaty with the Chinese government, at the present moment, after the late disdainful rejection by the local authorities of the highest advances towards a mutual understanding, and the forced abandonment of so desirable an object, may be considered untimely and gain little attention from your readers. However, I would request a patient perusal, confident that the matters treated of in this communication, will be interesting to the manufacturing and commercial public, who are concerned with China.

“There is reason to lament the repetition of errors which caused the failure of all former negotiations, the fate of which might have been read in Auber's history of intercourse with China. When this government shall once manifest its purpose to abide by the general usages established relative to international intercourse, then is every

other government and every foreigner bound to observe the same in all dealings with China; but while this government, neither in theory nor practice, acknowledges such sanctioned rules, then is no nation or individual bound to observe them with regard to China. For all such usages are of the nature of tacit contracts between powers or persons concerned; but a contract is not binding on the one party, where it is disclaimed by the other. To apply to the present case the rules of diplomacy which are sanctioned in Europe, relative to independent nations, is equally out of the question. An ambassador, or rather a plenipotentiary, ought to accommodate his course of policy in China to the existing prejudices and character of the people; and a representative ought never to be sent, unless with authority to act as unforeseen circumstances shall make expedient, and to carry his measures into effect. These remarks have been often repeated and as often disregarded; but the time appears now to have arrived when the road must be opened to more successful negotiation.

"It ought always to be remembered that the Chinese government is imbecile, and therefore suspicious of intruders, and trembling at a superior power; but want of vigor is compensated by its show and parade, designed to intimidate.

"Bombastic edicts are the first weapons; when these fail, recourse is then had to military operations, weak and contemptible, but at the same time so imposing, that one unacquainted with their tactics and ways may be deceived. They will insult so long as they meet no resistance, but when force is opposed to force, their courage fails, and they prefer concession to a doubtful struggle, in which, conscious of weakness and cowardice, they can never be victorious. The local government of Canton has also a further powerful expedient at its command, the stoppage of the foreign trade, a measure so injurious to the British interests, and at the same time so powerful, as to paralyze all efforts to resist oppression. Whenever any serious question has been agitated, whatever the commencement may have been, the termination has ever been the same; we have been going in one unchanging round. First, furious edicts, which were either disregarded or but partially obeyed; next, warlike preparations; and then, if a British man-of-war was at hand to support the demand of the foreigners, the stoppage of the trade followed immediately, and here the matter ended: we yielded, and the Chinese government proved victorious. However great a grievance a temporary stoppage of the trade may be to us, it is equally so to the Chinese; the revenues arising from it are necessary for the maintenance of government, and a continued stoppage would be the ruin of the hong and tea merchants. If our interests compel us to the removal of the evil at any sacrifice, equally are the Chinese urged to the same. If we could wait a little longer under the suspension of business, the proposals would come from them, and they would retrace the steps so injudiciously taken.

"It is unnecessary to expatiate on the late controversies; there was no new principle in them; but the Chinese showed more spirit be-

cause the risk was greater. They had to use all the means in their power to cover their own weakness, and they succeeded to admiration. Many would now advise to unresisting submission; but this course would be still more injurious to our interests than the collision has been. British commerce must now either be protected, or placed in the same condition as the Lintin trade, where every captain defends his own ship, and acts according to circumstances without any control. The expeditions to the north-eastern provinces, adopting a different diplomatic course, have maintained the honor of the British flag, humbled the pride of the imperial officers, and inspired a deference everywhere, not by shedding blood, but by adopting a steady course of resistance to encroachment. So much then has been proved by the experience of several years; but still it remains to be seen whether similar proceedings, upon a larger scale, will not have a similar result. But unless our government pursues different measures, and assumes the dignity of an independent state, the equal, not the tributary of China, it is quite idle to talk about a commercial treaty, of which this must form the basis. I have premised so much in order to avoid any misunderstanding, and shall now state my own views of the subject with all impartiality.

“The British trade with China is of an early date, but has never been so flourishing as at the present moment. With the extension of privileges to free traders who resorted to Canton from India, or who came indirectly from Europe, it has rapidly increased. Ten years hence its present amount may be doubled, and under the auspices of free trade, it may continue to extend until it has reached its highest level. Such are the reasonable prospects cherished of its progressive extent and influence; but at the same time there are obstacles, which our government alone can remove, and to it we look therefore for the production of such changes as sooner or later, must be indispensably necessary.

“If it be objected, that trade finds its own way, and flourishes most when least intermeddled with by government, I fully admit the maxim, so replete with salutary truth; but from applying it to the extension of our intercourse with China, we are precluded by the existing restrictions of one party. The question of free trade having two years ago been brought before the imperial cabinet, was very naturally, negatived; yet subsequent experience has been sufficient to convince us, that there existed no such rooted aversion as the fulminating edicts indicate; all that was wanted was a proper application at the highest quarter. As this however has been postponed hitherto, the occasional intruders have been able to effect very little towards a change in the politico-commercial system. The great risk incurred by every expedition proceeding to the north-eastern provinces is not compensated by the friendly reception accorded by the people; and if the opening of the trade be left to private adventure, many years will elapse ere its establishment. What heavy losses are to be suffered before enterprising men can obtain any satisfactory results, and how defective after all, such result must be, if we con-

sider the effects of single efforts in so vast a field? But if such measures for the improvement of our commercial relations by the arm of government were fraught with danger, or were likely to miscarry, then it would not be advisable to add another to the many fruitless attempts, alike expensive and futile. Nay, were our commercial relations at Canton upon a firm footing, we might hesitate to propose such a step; yet as we are now forced to come to a mutual understanding, in order to prevent future collisions, it is far preferable to commence negotiations on the largest scale; at once to demand the opening of all the ports. This will naturally stumble the wisest of the members of the imperial council.

“To set this matter in a clear light before the Chinese, I should like to see a treatise prepared, showing the reasonableness of the demands made on the part of the foreigners, and the advantage that would accrue to the imperial revenue from granting such demands. Every sophism that the Chinese functionaries may be expected to advance, (and they will surely bring forward not a few,) should meet with refutation in such a pamphlet, which at the same time should be free from all such ideas as (however conversant to us,) carry no conviction to a Chinese mind. A faithful description of the British empire should be added, in order to do away entirely all claim to the homage of the king of England. Though such papers are to be regarded as distinct from any official documents, yet they should precede the negotiations, to extinguish the prejudice, and remove the ignorance, which are calculated so much to enhance the difficulties. Let them be distributed amongst the most influential members of government at Peking, that they may fully inform themselves upon the subject, and no longer will the weapons of fallacious argument, already sufficiently answered in those treatises, be resorted to. This, I consider, a reasonable mode of procedure, of which no experiment has yet been made, and which at all events will not be injurious.

“It is not desirable to have merely a British envoy, but rather a plenipotentiary, firm of purpose and strong of nerve, armed with discretionary powers, and able to command respect. Such a personage may effect much, whilst any mere chargé d'affaires must sooner or later fall a victim to Chinese arrogance. Let him advance no condition which he is unable to maintain to the last; having once adopted a course of measures, after mature deliberation, he must either persevere, or be prepared for the total failure of his mission. Negotiations ought to be carried on upon a basis of the strictest equality of the two empires: even a name, a form, be it ever remembered, is of importance in treating with a nation ready to take advantage of the most trivial circumstance to defeat the grand object. If I may be allowed to express my own opinion, there is only one way of succeeding—“that of leaving the haughty government no alternative, but to hasten the conclusion of an amicable arrangement.” If we have no hold upon them, they will devise a hundred stratagems to escape our importunate demands. The fewer the subjects of nego-

tiation the better, and they may perhaps be brought under such general heads as these,—a regular tariff, freedom of the trade with all the ports of the empire, liberty of person, security of property, and just laws in regard to foreigners, immunity of the native merchants, the permanent residence of a British envoy at Peking, &c. These points must be minutely defined, and should not be urged in the form of petition, but asked in return for the privileges granted, unasked, to the Chinese colonists and traders, who are permitted to repair to every part of the British empire. Every evasion may be met by the answer, “these are the orders of my sovereign, from which I may not deviate a tittle.” Such firmness carries greater force of conviction to the Chinese than the best diplomatic arguments; but this assertion once made must never be revoked; in short, the less that proof by words is resorted to, and the more it is shown by incontestible facts, that the plenipotentiary is an immovable man, the greater will be his success.

“A naval or military officer of high rank, who can measure himself with the Chinese ‘great officers and ministers,’ and awaken respect by his external appearance, is the person most likely to carry his point, if the whole expedition which is sent up to the Pih ho is entirely at his disposal. All the men of his train should be picked men, in stature as well as in courage; knowing the effect which pageantry has upon the Chinese mind, his whole equipment ought, in external appearance, to be worthy of the great sovereign who sends him. It is not to be desired that the mission should proceed to the capital in Chinese boats, but rather in their own; and it should always be made a rule to be entirely independent of the Chinese government. The vessels of war which convey them, ought not on any account to leave the mouth of the river. It may be objected that there is no shelter for shipping; but there is good bottom for anchorage, and no high sea. Northerly winds alone, which cannot endanger them, blow strongly, but typhoons are entirely unknown; moreover I conjecture that there is good anchorage eastward of the Pih ho, and it would be worth while to ascertain the fact. Between the plenipotentiary and the squadron a constant communication must be kept up; to which of course the Chinese government will object, but which should be insisted upon.

“The plenipotentiary should communicate the object of his mission to his imperial majesty only, and steadily refuse to hold any diplomatic intercourse even with the highest officers of state, before an audience be granted him. If the court is not awed, the *kowtow* will be proposed as the theme of endless dispute; but a proper answer to all might be: “I come to demand, not to petition; the respect due to so great a monarch as his imperial majesty shall be fully shown; but as I am not here to learn court ceremonials, and the rules of politeness, I waive the question entirely, and shall regard any further application on that subject as an open insult.” Probably a hundred excuses will be made to postpone the time of audience till a sufficient force may be collected to alarm the British representative, and there-

fore it may be expedient, in order to bring out a categorical answer, to fix a limited time for waiting, and to abide by this determination; at the same time warning them not to provoke by a useless military parade, for which we are sufficiently prepared; for nothing is more conducive to a happy issue, than to anticipate all their stratagems, and thus defeat them in embryo. Though often deeply laid, experience will give expertness in penetrating their designs and detecting every imposition.

"I have thus given a few outlines of my views on this important subject. Could I persuade myself that any gentler mode of obtaining a commercial treaty were practicable, gladly would I be its advocate. But believing that this resolute course of procedure will avert more serious consequences, which naturally must arise if there be no mutual understanding between the two governments, and that it will be productive of no serious evil, I do not hesitate to propose it. The prize to be won is great, and deserving our earnest endeavors to obtain it.

"Let us hope that Canton will no longer be the "Ultima Thule" of British enterprise and negotiation; for if otherwise, matters must be regarded as past remedy, and it must be the desire of all to have them left undisturbed *in statu quo*. If the British nation be however actuated by the spirit that characterizes her in every other quarter of the globe, both the government and individuals will push the trade and intercourse. In all diplomatic transactions, it ought to be distinctly stated, that the English merchants are a class of men, who as such, have no share in the affairs of government. Pending the negotiations, every infringement on the privileges of the Canton trade, either by arbitrary regulations or stoppage of trade, ought to be regarded as an act of hostility. A declaration to that effect would act as a powerful check upon the local government; but we should leave them entirely in the dark as to our future proceedings, and cut off all their hopes of intermeddling with our political affairs. Regarding the present as perhaps the most propitious moment to commence negotiations, it is my earnest hope, that all foreigners may view the subject as one common cause. The Chinese government ranks all foreigners under the general head of barbarians, and knows no difference, treating them all with indescribable contempt. Any advantages gained will be common to all, and the subject, therefore, calls for the coöperation of the whole foreign community.

A Wellwisher."

ART. II. *Remarks on British relations and intercourse with China.* By AN AMERICAN MERCHANT. London: 1834.

Journal of three voyages along the coast of China, with notices of Siam, Corea, and Loochew. By Charles Gutzlaff. To which is prefixed an introductory essay on the policy, religion, &c. of China, by the Rev. W. ELLIS, author of "Polynesian Researches, &c." London: 1834.

With pleasure we hail the appearance of every new book, pamphlet, or other document, however 'unpretending,' provided nevertheless, it is fitted to inform the minds of individuals and to influence rightly the measures of government, with reference to this empire. That both the works, the titles of which stand at the head of this article, are of this description, no one, who has taken the trouble to read them, can doubt. As the first and the last of the three journals of Mr. Gutzlaff, were originally published in the Repository, and the second noticed at considerable length in connection with Mr. Lindsay's report of proceedings in the ship Lord Amherst, (vol. II, p. 529,) our chief object in bringing forward the work here is, that we may have an opportunity of noticing some of the remarks of Mr. Ellis, which we shall do in the sequel. But first let us briefly review the 'remarks' of the 'American Merchant.' These are directed to the present state of intercourse with China, the origin of the governmental restrictions, the character and the extent of its power, its former systems of intercourse (*non intercourse*), 'and the new plans proposed for its future regulation and improvement.'

"We look back with a kind of regret," says the Merchant, "to the time when the sovereign of China was ready to welcome the foreigner to a country where he was himself a stranger. We lament the causes, which at a later day, so completely banished the arts, and civilization, and religion of Europe, that neither merchants nor ambassadors, have since been able, by private influence or public authority, to effect their revocation. At the same time, we find these recollections of little use, and we turn as from a closing volume, to that new one which is now opening, and in which, are soon to be recorded events, deeply affecting the unconscious inhabitants of eastern Asia. Unfortunately, the lapse of time, which has carried with it opportunities and advantages, has left the objectionable parts of Chinese national policy and character unaltered. In the nineteenth century, after two hundred years of intercourse, the British nation find their relations with China unintelligible and intolerable. They have extended themselves over vast regions in America, Africa, and Asia; peopling some, civilizing others, drawing benefits from all. On China only, have they failed to make any impression. Nor is this failure one of minor importance. The country it respects is the controlling nation in Asia beyond the Ganges. Its own territo-

ries embrace the rich dominions of many dynasties, the patrimonial possessions of the reigning family, and those successive acquisitions by conquest, which have carried its supremacy almost to the shores of the Caspian sea, and the borders of British India. Whatever concerns so great a community cannot be unimportant. Nor in the present case, looking forward to a permanent and honorable intercourse, do we believe success to be beyond expectation. It is, undoubtedly, within the ability of the British people, to change the harsh, absurd customs of China, into laws, such as should regulate the intercourse of Christian nations."

Were we to judge from the general indifference of the people of Great Britain, in regard to China, we should be led to conclude that the nation had no intercourse with this empire. A sum exceeding £3,500,000, which is the annual revenue to the British government arising from the tea trade alone, is not to be overlooked by that or any other government; but neither that nor any other amount of *revenue* should prevent either the government or the people from having a just view of the evils connected with the present state of the intercourse with China. In true mercantile style, the 'Merchant' recounts these evils, and shows how they affect not only the residents in China, but the consumer of teas and the manufacturer in Great Britain. And "it need hardly be added that this is not merely a question of private grievances and mercantile impediments. It must be seen to involve the relations of Great Britain with one of the most extensive and important empires of the earth. It even goes far beyond all considerations of an interested political nature, and is evidently identified with the well-being of a great portion of the human family."

Our author's second topic of remark is 'the origin' of the existing evils. This he finds, not in the character of the people, but in the political creed of the government. And in referring these evils to an official origin, he raises another inquiry, Whether to ascribe them to the ignorant arrogance, or the jealous fears of the government? "Individual Chinese may be, and often are afraid of Europeans, but the government is not:" so said the select committee in 1789, and the sentiment has been constantly repeated to the present time,—and chiefly by those who have been entirely ignorant of the merits of the case. "Great alarm is felt of the ambitious views of England:" so said Mr. Marjoribanks in 1833; and the late voyages along the coast of China, and the collision with the local authorities during the last summer and autumn have demonstrated the truth of his assertion. In the view of the American Merchant, "it may be equally correct, with either of the above suppositions, to consider these sentiments as operating alternately, if not with combined force. To regard the Chinese government as trained to haughtiness by the weak servility of adjoining states, yet half awakened to jealousy by the pretensions you [the government and people of Great Britain] have put forward; alternately acted on by the traditional inferiority of other nations, and the dread of their growing intelligence

and strength; their concessions and submissions at one time prolonging the dream of her superiority, at another, disturbed in it, by the report of their power." But very different means are required to allay apprehension and to remove contempt: yet, in either case, *"the British government cannot err in exhibiting itself to eastern Asia, in an attitude too commanding to be despised, and too moderate and generous to awaken just apprehension."*

On the character of the Chinese government, the Merchant touches very briefly; then proceeds to remark on the modes of intercourse hitherto existing between China and other nations; and, without entering on a historical account of this subject, comes at once to 'the different systems followed by the Americans and other private merchants, and by the supercargoes of the late East India company.' We will quote his own words:

"In the first place, the American merchants recognized, in their consul, a national representative, fully empowered to hoist a flag and wear a uniform, but strictly enjoined not to get into difficulty nor to spend money. Though sincerely attached to their government, they knew that, popular and domestic in its measures, it would, in case of collision at so great a distance, support them but feebly or avenge them too late. They therefore relied on themselves, and made for themselves the best terms obtainable. The consequences were, that at one time we find them gaining important advantages by innovation, and establishing them by importunity; at another, involved in disgraceful concessions. As an instance of the former kind, we may give the case which happened a few years since, when the influence of the East India company was exerted at Canton to bring back the trade in manufactures and miscellaneous articles to the hong merchants. The American residents were, however, unwilling to lose the valuable competition of the native dealers, who had risen up in this branch of business, and after repeated petition and reference to the local authorities, a trade, then depending on usage, received a legal sanction. As an instance of the latter kind, it is enough to mention the surrender of the unfortunate Terranova.

"The fact that their position is at this moment as favorable as that of any other residents in China, is a clear comment on the assumed merits of the East India company in preserving unimpaired the commerce of the country. The representatives of that powerful body, unaffected by those fears of loss the private merchant feels when he acts for himself, and his views of duty, when intrusted with the property of others, have naturally assumed a higher stand. We do not deny that they have often checked the local authorities; but, on the other hand, they have supported abuses, and have stopped the progress of innovation. Many gradual and beneficial changes might have resulted, had the company's servants been permitted, from time to time, to try the expedients proposed by them for the common benefit. But whether commercial advantage, or national honor, or personal gallantry dictated these propositions, the answer of the court has been, 'We sanction no such experiments.' In extenuation

it may be said, that having claimed the merit of supplying, at high prices, an increasing demand for teas in England, the East India company were bound to guard, in the first place, against a failure in their annual importations. These supplies have certainly been preserved. But instead of referring this to the 'judgment, discretion, and influence of the East India company,' it would be far more candid to account for it thus:—'There is no wish, on the part of the Chinese government, to cut off commercial intercourse with other nations. That government derives revenue from it. The people of the country are deeply interested in it. The profits of the merchants are bound up with it. The local officers on whose representations the supreme authorities act, are supported by it.' If such a wish had ever existed, no reason can be found in the 'conduct' or 'influence' of the representatives of those nations, why it has not been terminated, at any moment, and with every aggravation. These remarks are not made from any hostility to the East India company. We listen to their praises without objection. We would even join in their requiem, were it possible to do so, without virtually crying, 'Long live their system.' We would not have that system perpetuated, because it neglected, or discouraged, some of the most important means of influence, and limited itself to drawing annually from China such quantities and qualities of teas, as would figure best in the quarterly declarations.

"These observations on the two different systems, and the amount of influence exerted by them in Canton and its vicinity, may be extended to embrace that of all the foreign residents collectively. And then their position and general state hitherto appears to be illustrated by nothing else, better than by the site and keeping of your zoölogical gardens. They, the inmates, have been free to play what pranks they pleased, so that they made no uproar, nor escaped from confinement. The keepers looked sharply after them, and tried to keep them quiet, because annoyed by the noise they made, and responsible for the mischief they might commit if they got at liberty. They might do what was right in their own eyes with each other. The authorities of China did not expect from wild and restless barbarians, the decorum and conduct, exemplified in their own great family.

"In confirmation of these views, it may be stated that the situation of foreign ships, arrived at Whampoa, and separated by seventy miles of intricate navigation from the coast, is nearly as helpless, as that of the dismantled, rudderless Dutchmen in the harbor of Nangasaki. The supercargo lands, enters within all the lines of jealous observation drawn around the seat of foreign commerce, and takes up his residence at a distance of twelve miles from the shipping, under a surveillance that controls even his daily subsistence. In reference, then, to past triumphs in China, we may make this acknowledgment. Sometimes we have employed persuasion or money; sometimes the native merchants, also interested, have pleaded or bribed for us; sometimes the local authorities have reached, in their

resistance, the point where further contest would criminate them with the supreme government. Here is the history of our successes."

We turn now, with our author, to the 'new plans' for the regulation and improvement of the intercourse with China. He first considers the '*negative system*,' the practical import of which is this: 'No nation has a right to interfere with the internal administration of another nation; therefore the merchant who visits China must submit to be bamboozed, and the trader to the Feejee islands must not refuse to be killed and eaten. Without demurring to this definition of duty, we will only point out some difficulties attending unconditional submission in China. They arise partly from the fact, that the written laws are at once minute, vexatious, contradictory, and severe. A scrupulous forbearance would forbid the foreigner to pass the threshold of his factory, without permission. In other cases, he will find himself equally entrapped, by obedience or disobedience. Besides, there is a great deal of declarative legislation, directed rather to the dispositions than to the actions of men—to prevent particular deeds, rather than to punish them. And, if the administration of the laws were always perfect, the penalty of their infraction would fall on the foreigner, in the very act of learning that to study them is forbidden! These are some of the difficulties incident to passive submission in China. The effect of such submission would be, not to destroy the existing commerce, but to put an end to all hopes of a well regulated intercourse.'

Against the occupation of insular stations on the coast of China several objections are stated, the chief of which is this. "The departure of the foreigner withdraws a most useful and necessary intervention. Now we give the Chinese credit for more individual intelligence and courage, than is usually granted to that 'ignorant and timid' people. But there is no standard of principle, no sense of common rights and natural duties, no associated effort or strength, among them. This is the case in a good cause, and still more so in a bad one. In fact, whether right or wrong, they are sensible of their inability to oppose their rulers, and consequently always shun contact with them. Thus the outside merchant prefers that the foreign purchaser pay the export duties on the article purchased. And in the same way, on opium delivered at Lintin, the smuggler pays to the captain of the ship, a fee of one dollar per chest, for the use and behoof of the naval junks, stationed there to prevent the traffic. In this case, we see the preventive officer, confiding in the foreign captain, to guard him from dishonesty in his countrymen, and the native, shielding himself from collision with his own rulers, by the same interposition. The removal to insular stations, of course, leaves the poor native to bear the whole brunt of the contest, with a government impotent abroad, but strong at home, in an unlimited power over the lives and properties of its subjects."

Our author adverts to another "set of measures, hinted at; though never proposed openly; 'the resort to force, in extorting concessions from the government of China.' We advert to such measures

as others have done, merely that we may lose no opportunity of deprecating them. It is true that the Chinese nation, notwithstanding its haughtiness, is quite defenseless. Its coasts are hardly safe from piratical incursions. Its sovereigns are of foreign extraction, and therefore disliked by multitudes. It may be true also, 'that a word from so powerful a government as Great Britain, addressed to the people of China, would dissolve the government.' But who would be found ready on these accounts 'to cut up the customs of China with the sabre,' or 'to trample down her institutions with cavalry,' or 'to carry our points and her cities by storm.' Nor would it be more easy to find men willing to be the instruments of anarchy and civil war. All such measures are clearly forbidden by expediency, as well as by every sense of justice. Hostilities could not fail to convert the now friendly people of China into hosts of enemies. And if British influence were exerted to establish a new dynasty, the authors of the change would occupy a place, scarcely less envied and hateful, as the real usurpers of the empire."—"It is unnecessary," he adds, to carry the subject any further."

If by a *resort to force*, in extorting concessions from the government of China, the American Merchant means a declaration of war, and an invasion of the country with a view to conquest, we agree with him in 'deprecating' such a procedure. Near the conclusion of his remarks, he says: "Whoever has had patience to go with us thus far, will have seen that we do not entirely concur in the plans proposed for future intercourse with China. Nor, in remarking on the probable powers of the new commission, have we regarded them as extending to meet the whole question. We have not given the opinion that the commission should at once demand a free trade, and along with it, a Magna Charta for, and in the name of, the Chinese people. On the contrary, we have asked only, that the commission exert itself, to vindicate the character of the nation." How? By what means? "To go on, as hitherto, is to do nothing; for as yet nothing has been done. In giving the opinion, that, notwithstanding all this, 'the British people could, undoubtedly, change the harsh, absurd customs of China, into laws such as should regulate the intercourse of Christian nations,' we regarded as their instrument, and the only possible instrument, the diffusion of useful knowledge and Christian truth. We have not, for this reason, called on the government by name, because justice and protection are its department, and not active benevolence."

Is it the proper duty of the British government to secure the administration of justice, and afford protection, to its subjects in China? How? And by what means? 'Unreserved submission to Chinese dictation, and the hope of evading existing restrictions by resorting to insular stations' are both out of the question; and "justice and expediency forbid the resort to force." Where and in what way, then, is the British subject to obtain justice and protection? Can nothing be effected by a direct communication with the court of Peking, or by establishing a regular intercourse on the basis

of a formal treaty? On the first point our author says: "We have seen that the emperor of China cannot be approached by embassies. To send them, is only to confirm him in a false superiority, and to give another precedent of refusal, to be cited by his successor." With reference to the second, he says: "There is, however, one treaty which the Chinese government may be very ready and glad to make with Great Britain. The same it has made with its northern neighbor. If ever your Indian possessions come to touch directly on the frontiers of China, it will engage, most seriously, that its people shall on no account pass your borders, if you will never pass their's. Until then, we have reason to doubt the *possibility* of commercial treaties, and along with it, the utility of embassies."

Shall foreigners resort to the smuggling system? Let us hear the Merchant's conclusion on this question: "We readily agree that the lowest instrument in a smuggling trade may be so reckless of a miserable existence, as to be deterred by no fears of any punishment. But the conduct, of a great trade like the foreign trade with China, now amounting in imports and exports to sixty millions of dollars annually, requires also men of capital and character. We question if such men would be found willing to undertake it. The conclusion is that a universal smuggling trade, though carried on in defiance of government, would fall into such hands, and be attended with such charges, as to prove a bad exchange for the existing commerce."

What then is to be done? Embassies will not do. Smuggling is condemned. The occupation of insular stations is impracticable. Quiet submission is intolerable. Treaties are impossible. And justice and humanity forbid the resort to force. In this view of the subject, the American Merchant says he has 'only to ask, that the British authorities in China will exert themselves, to *vindicate* the character of the nation they represent.' And he adds: "We trust the talents and influence of every individual (composing the new commission) will be devoted to the improvement of the existing intercourse. Many eyes are upon them, for they are holding some of the most important places in the gift of their sovereign, or at the disposal of Providence. They can do much; but another and more powerful instrumentality must be called to their assistance." And what is this instrumentality? "The diffusion of useful knowledge and Christian truth." This is their instrument, and "the *only possible* instrument" which may be brought to their assistance. At the same time our author takes it for granted, what no one can deny, that it is the duty of the British government to afford protection and secure justice to its subjects in this country. Thus, if we have rightly understood his remarks, he has succeeded to admiration, both in exhibiting the *difficulties* which encompass the intercourse of foreigners with the Chinese, and in defining the *objects* necessary to be obtained in order to regulate and improve that intercourse. But having conducted us thus far, he has left us at the very point where aid was most needed. We know that the diffusion of knowledge and the dissemination of truth—political, social, religious truth—among the Chinese, are

means without which China can never take its stand among the free, enlightened, and friendly nations of the earth.

But how is truth to be disseminated among the Chinese? Except "to eat, drink, sleep, buy, and sell," no foreigner is allowed to reside within the dominions of the great pure dynasty. In what way then is knowledge to be diffused? We would have the 'British public,' (and *others* too,) 'awakened to a sense of common interest and Christian duty; and for so great an object, enter on the contest.' But how? The Merchant seems to have felt this difficulty; and hence in a note to his remarks, he says: "In deprecating a general smuggling trade, we do not mean to give an opinion against the late voyages along the coast. In the present state of intercourse, *no other* means can be employed to affect the people, and through them the government of China. We do not profess the creed of unlimited submission, and therefore claim an exemption on *some* points. Only let this be done with a regard to *consequences*. Let us hasten, by *every effort*, the time when the people of China shall no longer have to obey laws destructive of the dearest rights and interests, or expose themselves, by their infraction, to all the penalties that should attach only to crime." On 'some points,' then, submission is right; on others not: with this opinion we agree. We allow, also, that it is our duty to hasten, 'by every proper effort,' the time when the people of China shall no longer have to obey laws destructive of their rights and interests. But that "*no other* means can be employed to affect the people, and through them the government, of China," than voyages along the coast, we cannot admit. To ourselves, (and we think, to all others who are fully acquainted with the subject, not excluding those engaged in the trade,) there seem to be very great objections against the present system of voyaging along the coast: yet such has been, and such is still, the state of things, as to render that system expedient. But surely there is a better system, and other and more direct means which *can* be employed to affect the government of China. Our author deprecates 'a resort to force,' and so do we, unless 'this be done with a regard to consequences;' but when force is necessary to secure justice, to afford protection, and 'to vindicate the character of a nation,' such a resort will never be condemned either by him or us.

In the present attitude of the Chinese empire, no government can maintain an honorable intercourse with it, without a resort to force; and for the attainment of the very objects specified by the Merchant, namely, justice, protection, and the vindication of national character. On this point we think, he has not been sufficiently explicit. He ought to have told us how knowledge and truth can be disseminated, justice secured, protection afforded, and character vindicated. We do not attribute to him any inconsistency in his remarks; but by his brevity on some points and by stopping where he did on others, we think those who are not most thoroughly acquainted with the anomalous policy of the Chinese will be misled. What he has said in reference to the British government—the new commission, we will re-

peat as equally applicable to every other government. 'It should not meddle too often with the affairs of the resident merchants. They have been accustomed to an odd mixture of constraint and liberty, and would not willingly have the one taken from them and the other left. But above all, it should ever keep in view, that Great Britain 'can gain nothing, even by ruling China, beyond free commercial intercourse.' If these be the true interests of the British nation, the commission will be most careful never to overleap them. Remembering that it is not new territory that is wanting, but new fields for industry, it will not awaken the jealousy of other states, by seeking exclusive privileges, nor renew even in distant causation, the series of usurpations which make up the history of European commerce with the East.'

That the Merchant does not mean to forbid "the resort to force, in extorting concession from the government of China," under all circumstances and without any exceptions, is further evident from the fact that he approves of the late voyages along the coast. We do not mean to insinuate that, in the prosecution of those voyages, there has been an unlawful resort to force. But how have those enterprises been conducted? Were not the Lord Amherst and the Sylyph well manned and armed? And wherever they went, were not the local authorities set at defiance? How did the voyagers gain admittance to the taoutae's great hall of justice, in the city of Shanghai? And what was the result of all this experience? "Compliance begets insolence; opposition and defiance produce civility and friendly profession." Suppose now, (what we have reason to fear will soon take place,) that ships, 'well manned and armed,' but without able interpreters and not under the command of the most humane officers, find their way into the northern ports; and that collision takes place, homicides occur, and innocent persons are seized by the Chinese authorities; what will be the consequences? If we were sure that foreigners, thus coming in contact with the Chinese, would always act justly, we should have less fear as to the results of voyages and collisions; and should not be so desirous that a well regulated intercourse should be immediately substituted for the present system of smuggling, carried on in defiance of the Chinese government.

We have only one more topic to notice, and then we will lay aside the pamphlet before us. "After having disclaimed for the American government" says the Merchant, "any part in the affairs of eastern Asia, we must be allowed to reserve to the American people, the right of coöperating there, in every laudable enterprise, with the people of Great Britain." Again he says: "So far as improvement with China is to be effected by the influence of any government, its accomplishment rests with the government of these [the British] islands. The other nations of Europe, Russia excepted, have little or no intercourse with that empire. And nature has interposed insuperable barriers between Russia and China, in the shape of lofty mountains and vast deserts.—The American merchants may be

thought formidable as commercial competitors: but the government of the United States is strictly principled to domestic policy. Its measures will soon be decided; all of them, on the banks of the Mississippi." And yet again: "We turn now with pleasure to the wide fields of the eastern commerce, as those from which England may derive new means of real and relative greatness. We ask her to take for herself, the first fruits and the best fruits, but to leave to the merchants of other nations, some gleanings of the abundant harvest." But why invite England to take, for herself, the first fruits and the best fruits, from the wide fields of eastern commerce? And why disclaim, for the American government, any part in the affairs of eastern Asia? Let those who can, answer these questions.

We turn now to the brief notice of China, given by the "author of *Polynesian Researches*," as an introductory essay to the journals of Mr. Gutzlaff. As a whole, the notice is well executed; and exceedingly well fitted for an introduction to the journals. There are two points in it, however, which are not very strictly accurate; one of which elevates the Chinese above, the other sinks them below, their proper rank.

"As a nation," he says, "unacquainted with those models of benevolence and kindness which the Bible presents, and those motives of peace on earth and good-will among men which it implies in the heart, they exhibit an urbanity of manners and a courtesy of behavior, highly commendable; and in *some* respects, a degree of refinement and civilization, beyond what has been attained by the most intelligent and powerful nations of the earth." Again: "According to Nieuhoff and Kircher, quoted by Mr. Fisher in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,'—who states that the Chinese have evidently been for centuries in *advance* of the nations of Europe,—education is more general, and, in *some* respects, *better* conducted in China than it was when the account was written [1669], or is *now* in any other country." And again, speaking of the system of public literary examinations, he says: "This has created such a general competition for literary distinction, that the public reading of essays, prepared for this purpose by those by whom they are read, is an exhibition of *almost constant* occurrence, and takes place at least *twice* in every month in *all* the principal towns of China."

'In what respects the 'refinement,' 'civilization,' and 'education' of the Chinese are beyond what has been attained by any other nation, we are utterly unable to conjecture. The *only* public reading of essays in China, of which we have any knowledge, ought indeed, according to the laws, to take place 'twice every month in the principal towns;' but at present it is wholly neglected, except in the 'provincial cities,' or capital of each of the provinces. Besides, the 'essays' read on these occasions are not prepared by those who read them; but are selections from the 'sacred edict,' a part of which was written by the emperor Kanghe, a part by his son, Yungching, and a part by a 'salt mandarin' of Shense. Nor, even in the provincial

cities do the people often attend "this *political preaching* of the mandarins." Such was the opinion expressed not long ago by the late Dr. Morrison; and we know it to be correct. And so too his opinion on education, as quoted by Mr. Ellis, that "not more than one half of the community is able to read," we believe to be correct; and the counter opinion, that even 'now,' education is more general, and, in some respects, better, conducted in China than in any other country, we believe is very erroneous.

Infanticide is the other and last topic, which we have now to notice. "This practice is carried to such an extent, that it may almost be said to be patronized by the government, which does not interfere to prevent it, and therefore may be said to give it countenance. It is, according to Barrow, tacitly considered a part of the duty of the police of Peking, to employ certain persons to go their rounds at an early hour in the morning with carts, in order to pick up the bodies of such infants as may have been thrown out into the streets in the course of the night. No inquiries are made; but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all those that are living, as well as those that are dead, are said to be thrown promiscuously. The Roman catholic missionaries attended at the pit daily, for the purpose of rescuing some of the victims, and bringing them up in the Christian faith. Mr. Barrow observes, that those of the missionaries with whom he had daily conversation during a residence of five weeks within the emperor's palace, assured him that the scenes sometimes exhibited were such as to make the feeling mind shudder with horror. Dogs and swine are let loose into the streets of the capital at an early hour, before the carts go round." Barrow gives the average number of deaths as about twenty-four daily, or nearly nine thousand for the capital annually, and supposes an equal number are thus destroyed in other parts of the empire. This number is reduced by the fact, "that in Peking, infants who have died, or are still-born, are exposed," to avoid the expense of burying them. This, Mr. Barrow, "supposes may reduce the number of murdered infants to four thousand in the capital." We have made many inquiries with a view to learn the truth relative to this statement; but cannot ascertain that the crime is more prevalent in the capital than it is in the other great cities of the empire. From the situation and character of the people in Canton, there is reason to suppose that infanticide must be as frequent here, according to the number of inhabitants, as in Peking. But in this city such exposures are very rarely seen. We will never knowingly conceal aught of the cruelties and sufferings of the Chinese; but until we have better evidence than that adduced by Mr. Barrow, and quoted without contradiction in the book before us, we cannot believe that dead infants are carried out of Peking in cart loads daily; or that dogs and swine are let loose in the streets in the morning (to devour them,) before the police carts go round!

ART. III. *Negotiations with China: relative rights and duties among nations not acknowledged by the Chinese; evils of the present state of intercourse; duty and interest of the western nations with regard to China; remarks on the course the British, and other nations, ought to pursue.*

During the long period which has elapsed since an intercourse was commenced between Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, France, England, and other nations of the west on one side, and the Chinese on the other, negotiations, becoming the character of great and independent nations, seem never to have been undertaken. Numerous envoys, legates, ambassadors, &c., have been sent from Europe to the court of China. They have been fitted out at great expense, and have usually been men of great abilities: but they have always been considered by the Chinese as *kung sze*, 'tribute bearers;' have frequently been treated with neglect and indignity; and after all have effected little or nothing for the benefit of those who sent them, or for the world. Two or three of these missions will afford us a tolerably correct idea of the whole.

In 1655, a Dutch embassy was sent from Batavia to the 'great khân.' Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Reyser, 'merchants,' were chosen for that purpose. Their train consisted of fourteen persons; viz. two merchants, six writers, a steward, a surgeon, two interpreters, a 'trumpeter,' and a 'drummer.' They took with them also two other merchants, to take care of the 'traffic' at Canton, while they were gone to Peking. Their 'presents,' i. e. *kung muh*, 'tribute,' consisted of several rich pieces of woollen cloth, fine linen, several sorts of spices, coral, little boxes of wax, perspective and looking-glasses, swords, guns, feathers, armor, &c. The object of their mission was to establish a 'firm league' with the emperor, and obtain a 'free trade' for the Dutch throughout his dominions. Having arrived safely at Canton, after some months delay and severe extortions here, they were graciously permitted to go up to Peking; but were not admitted to the emperor's presence till they had performed the nine prostrations before the 'dragon throne.' At length, they were admitted to the palace, where they waited all night in an open court, in expectation of seeing his majesty early the next day. In the morning, the emperor mounted the throne, and 'after sitting in state for a quarter of an hour,' the ambassadors were ordered to withdraw from his presence, without his having spoken to them a word. They were then presented with some gifts of 'silver damask,' 'cloth of gold,' &c., and forthwith ordered to repair to the court of ceremonies to receive the emperor's letter to the governor-general of Batavia. This ceremony was performed in great silence, and throughout the whole no mention was made of 'Dutch negotiations.'

The emperor's letter was as follows: "The king sends this letter to John Maatzuiker, the Dutch governor-general of Batavia. Our

territories being as far asunder as the east is from the west, it is with great difficulty that we can approach each other, and from the beginning to this present, the Hollanders never came to visit us. But those who sent Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser to me are a brave and wise people, who in your name have appeared before me, and brought me several presents. Your country is ten thousand miles distant from mine, but you show your noble mind in remembering me; for this reason my heart doth very much incline to you; therefore I send to you—[here the gifts are enumerated]. You have asked leave to come to trade in my country by importing and exporting commodities, which will redound very much to the advantage of my subjects; but as your country is so far distant, and the winds on these coasts so boisterous as to endanger your ships, the loss of which would very much trouble me; therefore if you do think fit to send hither, I desire it may be but once every eight years, and no more than an hundred men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my court, and then you may bring your merchandise ashore into your lodge, without bartering it at sea before Canton. This I have thought good to propose for your interest and safety, and I hope it will be well liked of by you; and thus much I thought fit to make known to you."

The ambassadors having completed their 'negotiations' at the court, came back to Canton, where they were obliged to submit to fresh extortions from the local officers, were insulted by the populace, and one of their interpreters was murdered. After a remonstrance from the ambassadors, the following 'ultimate decree,' was published by the emperor: "To the kingdom of Holland, health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has *subjected itself* to us, and has sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we, nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come *once* every eight years to pay their tribute to this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affection to the people of the remotest parts." Noways dispirited by their ill success in 'negotiations' at Peking, and by their expulsion from Formosa in 1662, a 'magnificent embassy' was dispatched to the emperor Kanghe, in 1664. The lord Peter van Hoorn, privy counselor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief counselor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. The reception of this 'splendid embassy,' and the forms observed in the 'negotiations' with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described; nor was their success any better.—Mr. Auber, from whom we quote these particulars, remarks that the lords of the council at Peking asked Goyer and Keyser if they were allied to their prince, for that no foreign ambassadors could be admitted to an audience, if not akin to the prince who sent them. This difficulty, however, was easily 'surmounted.'

The Russians, notwithstanding their boasted 'treaty of peace,' have been treated with scarcely less indignity than the Dutch, or all other 'outside barbarians,' who have come in contact with the Chinese. In 1720, Loeff Vassiloveck Ismaloff, a Russian ambassador, made his public entry into Peking. He was treated with the 'greatest respect,' but the outer door of the house where he lodged was locked and sealed with the emperor's seal. It was not without much expostulation that this and other 'mortifications' were removed. On regulating the ceremonial of the ambassador's audience, he contended for delivering his credentials into the emperor's own hands, and being excused from bowing nine times on entering his majesty's presence; both these requisitions were however deemed inadmissible. Finally, after a 'negotiation' of some days, the ceremonial was adjusted on the following terms: "That the ambassador should conform himself to the established customs of the court of China, and when the emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court." But all these 'flattering appearances' ceased with the departure of the ambassador; and with the exception of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, 'fixed' at Peking, the Russians, during the last century, have enjoyed no more rights and immunities in China, than the Dutchmen have, 'pent up in their prison-house' in Japan.—

Thus it appears, from a long series of historical facts, that the Chinese practically deny the existence of relative rights among nations. The government proceeds on the supposition that its subjects have no rights; this position once established, all rights and immunities are and must be denied to outside barbarians. 'As there is but one sun in the heavens, so there can be but one great supreme power on earth:' that power is the emperor. He is the vicegerent of heaven; and to his sway all both within and without the four seas must submit; and whoever and whatever does not, ought to be annihilated. In this assumption of all right and dominion, foreigners have acquiesced. This acquiescence has grown out of the doctrine, (very prevalent in the west,) that nations have a right to manage their own affairs in their own way, and have no responsibilities in reference to other portions of the human family; and that so long as one permits intercourse in a way it chooses, and refuses it in any other way, or interdicts it altogether, other nations have no right to interfere or complain. This doctrine is well expressed in the old adage, "Keep what you have got, and get what you can." It assumes not only the infallibility of rulers, but its kindred dogma, that 'might gives right;' and if personified would consort with that of the hero who thought,

"Better reign in hell, than serve in heaven."

The doctrine is equally opposed to the laws of God, to reason, and to common sense. Ignorance, superstition, pride, and ambition, have acted jointly to strengthen, establish, and perpetuate it. But

its hideousness has long since been apparent ; and it is becoming daily more and more an object of detestation. It stands opposed to right, as night to day ; and not more surely will darkness fly before the rising sun, than it before the light of truth.

A just view of this doctrine will be obtained, if we suppose it to be carried into effect in a small community. Imagine then an extensive estate equally divided among twelve sons. Together with a large landed property, and flocks and herds, it embraces a variety of manufactories ; rivers, canals, and highways intersect the whole, and in such a manner as to make each one of the parts, in a measure, dependent on and serviceable to all the other parts. This mutual relation was designed ; and eleven of the sons perceive this, and act accordingly, keeping up the relation and intercourse which their father had established for their mutual benefit. But to their surprise, one of the twelve takes a very different course ; he draws around his portion a line of separation, and declares death to any one of his domestics who shall pass that line ; and enacts the same penalty against his brothers and any members of their households, who shall presume to enter the forbidden territory. And he stops not here. He denies the existence of any relationship or obligation to his brothers ; denounces them as barbarians ; and treats them accordingly. But some of them venture to enter a remote corner of his part of the estate, and after many disputes, are at length 'graciously permitted' to lodge there, and buy and sell : but all intercourse beyond this is interdicted.

It is unnecessary to pursue this illustration farther ; it shows at once, in a clear light, the very unnatural attitude which China has assumed. And what, in the case supposed, ought to be the course of conduct pursued with regard to the individual who has adopted this exclusive system ? He has evidently frustrated the intentions of his father, much to the injury of the whole family. His brothers have perceived this, have felt the injury, and have tried various expedients to remove the evil. They have sent messengers to him, repeatedly and at great expense ; but he has treated them with neglect, contempt, and insult, requiring them to do him homage in the name of their masters. With regard to an individual of this description, there would be evidently but one course that could be pursued with strict justice. It would be necessary, as a matter of expediency and of duty, to restrict and restrain him, and with a hand so strong as to prevent the possibility of his doing injury to his neighbors. With special care being taken not to do him any harm, this rigid course should be followed up till he acknowledges and respects his kindred, reciprocates their offices of kindness, and gives bonds for good behavior in future. So it should be with China.

The evils of the existing state of intercourse with this country are neither few nor small. Numerous and grievous as they are, however, they may be removed, and many of them easily and without delay. In the case supposed above, with eleven individuals against one, it would not surely be very difficult to persuade or compel that one

to adopt a line of conduct consistent with their rights and his obligations; there would indeed be occasion for force, but not for cruelty and wrong; and when he saw his true position (for we have not supposed him bereft of reason,) he would at once submit to what he had not the power to resist. The government of Great Britain could alone, were it necessary, dictate to the Chinese, and enforce any terms it pleased; and could, by the exercise of its naval power, effect the removal of all the grievances which it is the province of government to remove. This power, we hope, will speedily be exerted, and this effect produced. Recent injuries demand this. Humanity demands it. And justice will approve of it. But as the evils affect not one nation, but all; the efforts to remove them should not be put forth by one alone, but jointly and simultaneously by all. For every nation that comes in contact with China, has rights which it may claim and duties which it must perform. The true basis of the civil state—of the relative rights and duties among nations—is the ordination of heaven; and it has not been left optional with any nation to enter that state, or to keep aloof from it, at pleasure.

As most of the evils in question have their origin in the political creed of the Chinese, it is necessary to examine it, and see how it produces such bad effects. The penal code of the Chinese has been pronounced, by one of the most competent judges that ever lived, to be in his opinion 'superior to the institutes of Menu, the precepts of Zoroaster, the rules of the Koran, and the laws of England.' Parts of the code, however, are as injurious in their effects as they are extravagant in their assumptions; and the predominant spirit of the whole is, in our opinion, very bad. An instance of the latter is found in the first section of that work. In ancient times, culprits were *ping shoo sze e*, 'cast forth upon the surrounding regions,' that they might have no part in the righteous sway of China; but now, since the empire includes all the territory within the *sze hae*, 'four seas,' there is no place to which criminals can be 'thrown off;' and therefore 'banishment' has become 'transportation.' On the spirit of the Chinese laws, the following remarks written by Dr. Morrison, are to our purpose:

"That the foreign visitor in China should form a right estimate of the feelings and conduct of the natives respecting himself, and have just expectations on that subject, it is necessary that he should know their *legal condition* as regards intercourse with foreigners; for much of their behavior must be attributed to that, and not to their natural disposition. This knowledge will prevent the visitor from entertaining too high expectations, on the one hand; or, on the other hand, dealing out unjust blame, when such expectations are disappointed. When ignorant of the laws of a country, we are very naturally guided by what we consider reasonable. But when law speaks, reason must be silent; for whether the law be reasonable or otherwise, it insists on being first heard. And in what nation are there not many unreasonable laws!

"In China, the laws, whether the fundamental ones in the imperial

code, or the subsidiary rules, or the provincial and local orders of government, or the law of usage among the people,—are all more or less hostile to a free and amicable intercourse with foreigners. The native who violates these laws runs a risk, affecting his respectability in society, his personal safety and that of his family and connections, the loss of his property by confiscation, or the infliction of flogging, imprisonment, transport, or death, according as the case may be, under varying times, circumstances, and persons in authority. A risk is run, and a man may suffer death, *legally*, for that which, being not bad or unreasonable in its own nature, he has been doing with impunity for years in respect of intercourse with foreigners. There are many of the ordinary transactions between natives and foreigners at Canton, which, when the government wishes to punish a man, it interprets as a *traitorous intercourse* with the enemies of the state, and, in an especial degree, of the Tartar dynasty; affixing to the culprit the appellation of *Han keên*, ‘Chinese traitor,’ a person whom the law sentences to death. We have known the term applied by government to a respectable hong merchant, for being supposed to give information to foreigners of the law of homicide, when the life of one of their fellow-countrymen was in danger. We have also known it applied to another respectable hong merchant, for having bought a sedan chair for a foreigner; and not merely applied, but acted on. The merchant was seized, thrown into prison, and there soon died.

“Now what we would impress upon the foreign visitor is, that considering the *legal risk* a native runs when holding intercourse with him, he should not blame too severely the Chinese who declines to incur that risk in order to serve him, although it be in a manner which reason approves. It is enough that the law condemns it. It is not a century since a man lost his head, for writing a petition for foreigners, and showing them the way to the city gate with it! The carriage of domestic and commercial letters to and from Canton and Macao is not yet *legalized*; it is done by the postman at the risk of a flogging, and by the boatman at the risk of that and of the confiscation of his boat also. The post for foreign letters and parcels is conducted by fees, bribery, and connivance, contrary to law.

“The laws concerning intercourse with foreigners contained in the *Leuk le* or penal code, the standard, fundamental, or permanent part of which was so elegantly translated by sir George T. Staunton, are chiefly contained in the sections numbered 224 and 225. It did not enter into the translator’s plan to give the supplementary clauses of the code, which are more or less altered on every revision, at intervals of five or ten years. Hence the translated code is not so full on many points of *actual law* as it would otherwise have been.

“The laws of China recognize the duty of pity to foreigners in distress, such as shipwrecked seamen, or needy traders who require the necessaries of life for their starving native countries! But in any other light the law views them as rivals and enemies, to be distrusted and guarded against. Hence it is, that all intercourse with them, except under the immediate eye of government, is constructive treason.

A foreigner must not buy Chinese books; he must not see their gazettes; no scholar, gentleman, or official person must visit him. He must remain in his warehouse or factory, and be guarded by hong merchants, compradors, and coolies! Servants to attend on his person he must not have. The law of the province requires the *cook* and *coolies* whom he employs, to act the part of spies on his conduct. They must tell the linguists, the linguists must tell the hong merchants, and the hong merchants the government, of all that the foreigner does! The law has done its duty in guarding against foreigners, and if the people would do theirs, the life of a foreign merchant in Canton would be insupportable.

"But, we are told, the laws are broken. True, they are not intended, even by those who issue them, to continue at all times in force. Well then, it may be objected, they do no harm. This is a mistaken inference. They do much harm; they are broken at a *risk*; and for the risk the foreigner must pay. Now and then, also, the risk is realized; the native has, at the least, to suffer loss of property; perhaps, as we have already said, the loss of his liberty or his life, with all the degradation and pain which attend imprisonment in a Chinese jail (a place which they call hell). In fact, the edicts fulminated by government are generally intended to answer the double purpose of holding up foreigners to the contempt of the people, and of oppressing them, under cover of old regulations, whenever it is convenient to do so. The consequence is that often the most contradictory regulations are passed, so as to entangle the unwary 'barbarian' in the 'net of the law,' whichever way he may turn himself." (Commercial Guide.)

The whole system of measures, adopted by the Chinese in regard to foreigners is very bad. Even the terms, *e jiu, was e*, 'barbarian,' 'outside barbarian,' &c., in constant use by the government, are contemptuous, degrading and injurious, and ought never to be allowed. As for 'fixed regulations,' properly so called, there are none. In the plain matter of duties on exports and imports, even the hong merchants themselves cannot explain the mystery of the iniquities that are practiced. We do not wonder that the 'benevolent emperor' should say, as he does in a late edict, that "if, as now reported, the Canton merchants have of late been in a feeble and deficient state, and have in addition to the governmental duties, added also private duties; while fraudulent individuals have further taken advantage of this to make gain out of the custom-house duties, *peeling off* (from the barbarians) *layer after layer*, and have gone also to the extreme degree of the government merchants, incurring debts to the barbarians, heaping thousands upon ten thousands;—whereby are stirred up sanguinary quarrels; if the merchants, thus falsely and under the name of tariff duties, extort each according to his own wishes, going even to the extreme degree of incurring debts, amount upon amount, it is not matter of surprise, if the said barbarian merchants, unable to bear their grasping, stir up disturbances." And his majesty adds, with regard to the affair of 'the English lord Napier' and others, this year, "we have no assurance that it was not owing to the numerous

extortions of the Canton merchants, that their minds being discontented, they thereupon craftily thought to carry themselves with a high hand." (See edict in our last number, page 398.)

This imperial declaration is supported by imperial facts. During the late disturbances, it was advanced again and again, that the duties arising from the foreign trade, affect the revenue not the value of a feather's down. So said governor Loo. But in a document before us, which has just come down from Peking, his majesty Taoukwang says: "The duties paid into the treasuries of the custom-house do affect the revenue of the nation." And "how can it be suffered," he exclaims, "that the least fraction of debt should be incurred!" He further says, that the whole amount of duties unpaid by the several hong merchants is above one million three hundred thousand taels; and that 420,000 taels of this are due from one individual, and 310,000 from another: and he therefore orders, that both of them (having held official rank) be degraded. And moreover, his majesty requires that the whole sum (1,300,000 taels) be paid within three months. Well, therefore, does it become these men "to have a tender regard to their face." Farther, and on the same subject, the emperor remarks: "The commercial intercourse of outside barbarians with this inner land, is indeed owing to the compassion exercised by the celestial empire. If all the duties which are required to be paid, can indeed be levied according to *the fixed tariff*, then the said barbarian merchants must certainly pay them gladly, and must continually remain tranquil." Consequently, and most logically, if there is no fixed tariff, and if the duties are not indeed levied according to it, then certainly the said barbarians must *not* pay them gladly, and must *not* continually remain tranquil. Now, *there is no fixed tariff*; and we suppose that every merchant, native as well as foreign, will admit this; and so long as the present system of intercourse exists, we see no reason to expect that this object ever will be obtained. What will be the final result of this unfixed state, we will not venture to predict.

The Commercial Guide, noticed in our last number, and quoted above, contains some important remarks and statements on this subject. "The impossibility of obtaining from the government any fixed tariff of duties has been for many years one of the most prominent evils in the commercial system of Canton,—it being the policy of all parties, government, hong merchants, and linguists, to keep foreigners in a state of perfect ignorance of the mode and rate of duties levied on foreign trade." In most instances, 'the illegal and irregular charges more than *quadruple* the real imperial duties; and in one very important article (cotton,) are apparently increased *tenfold*.' To the 'Guide,' we must refer those who wish to examine this subject in its details; we have room for only one more short extract, concerning the famous *consoo charge, for the use of the co-hong*. "It is, however, difficult to come to any correct conclusion respecting the mode of levying and appropriating this [the *consoo*] fund. It is an object of mystery, even to those who centri-

bute towards it, none of whom, excepting two or three of the seniors, are allowed access to its records. A fund under such a system of management is naturally liable to much misappropriation; but it is improbable that any remedy will be found for the evil, so long as a co-hong like the present continues.

“Notwithstanding the above remarks, there is reason to suppose that the profits derived from the consoo fund are not large, the co-hong having to expend a considerable sum annually in presents and contributions to the revenue. The following, we are informed, are the principal items of annual contribution, in round numbers.

Tribute to the emperor,	Taels 55,000
For repairs on the Yellow river,	“ 30,000
Expenses of an agent at Peking,	“ 21,600
Birth-day presents to the emperor,	“ 130,000
Similar presents to the hoppo,	“ 20,000
Presents to the hoppo's mother or wife,	“ 20,000
Annual presents to various officers,	“ 40,000
Expenditure for compulsory purchases of native ginseng,	“ 140,000
	—————456,600

“Some of these charges are not paid by the co-hong, but by individual merchants from their arrears of consoo fund.—They are also liable to other calls for various objects. In 1832, they subscribed for the purpose of quelling the Leënchow insurrection, about 100,000 taels; and last year for the relief of the sufferers from the inundation, they paid compulsory subscriptions to the amount of 120,000 taels. These things are not, however, mentioned in their defense, as they can have no right to yield to every imposition, in confidence of being able easily to repay themselves by a tax on the foreign trade.”

Let us look at the present state of intercourse in another point of view as it operates to the destruction of justice, in a legal sense. Here the evil is deep-rooted. It is but a poor relief to the outside barbarians to be told, “you fare as well as the natives themselves, and if you do not like your situation, you may quit the country as quick as you please;” nor is there any justice in this retort. The truth is, natives and foreigners are both in bondage—neither possessing the rights and privileges which God evidently designed they should enjoy. The method of dealing with foreigners in cases where evidence is required, is very extraordinary. There is an instance of recent occurrence, the particulars of which we have on the best authority. It is briefly as follows: One of the most respectable foreigners in this country was assaulted by soldiers; he complained to the authorities, desiring that redress might be given and the soldiers punished. The government immediately called on the soldiers and asked them (the accused persons) if they did commit violence. “No, not the least,” they answered. The magistrate inquired again, “Are you sure?” “Quite sure,” they replied. “Oh! very well,” ejacu-

lated the officer, in a tone of mingled triumph and indignity; "very well;" and then dismissed the soldiers, rejected the complainant, and forthwith issued a proclamation to the public, stating that a foreigner had accused certain persons, but that those persons have denied the whole. Therefore the "said barbarian" appears in his true character of a liar and false accuser,

Precisely the same principle obtains with the official merchants, who are authorized to 'deal' with foreigners. If a foreigner complains that they injure him in any way, the government asks these said official merchants whether it be true or not. It is altogether false, they reply. Very well, is the rejoinder, and the complaint is of course rejected, and the accuser is left to draw his own inference—an act of mercy and consolation with a vengeance. For, 'if a man falsely accuses another of any crime, himself shall suffer the punishment due to that crime.' But by what right, or law of evidence, is the simple denial of the accused person assumed to be the truth? Yet the Chinese government always assumes this, when its own subjects are accused by barbarians. In this way foreigners are belied, and the authorities deceived,—always to the injury of the former and sometimes of the latter. A notable instance of this kind occurred in the late dispute. So incensed was the governor on receiving his degradation, and while expecting further censure with punishment, he declared in his wrath, that, in the same hour he received the sentence to go to the cold country, their heads (those of the two merchants who had misled him) should be taken off.

It is true that the government does sometimes in cases of complaint, give judgment in favor of the foreigners; but he has no guaranty for this. The case of natives who come in contact with foreigners, is still more hopeless. It may be urged that the native has the right of appeal; but the system of appeal here, like the administration of justice to foreigners, is mockery, *perfect mockery*. What was the trial of Terranova? Whether guilty or not, by fraud and deception he was made to sign his own death warrant, at the very time he was promised and was expecting liberation. Often do the innocent suffer, and the guilty go free. In consequence of the late collision with the English authorities, more than thirty individuals to our knowledge (how many others there were we cannot tell,) were imprisoned. Others fled from the country, and of others the government is still in pursuit. And why all this? We cannot tell. Yet so far as we do know, we are sure that, under a liberal and enlightened government, not one of the individuals in question would have been molested. But however innocent these persons were, some of them have suffered severely. In one case a servant, for an alleged illegality of his master, was thrown into prison, beaten, his property confiscated, and his family rendered houseless and penniless. He is now dead. The particulars relative to Sunshing or Hingtae, as well as the outside merchants and linguists, are already generally known, and need not be recounted here.

Such are some of the commercial and (if the reader will excuse

the paradox,) legal evils, which are inseparable from the present state of intercourse with this country. We have said nothing of the facts that the trade is limited to a single port in a remote corner of the empire, and confined to a small number of men, and some of them quite incompetent for the management of an extensive trade. Nor have we mentioned the disqualifications of the linguists for governmental interpreters. The narrow limits allowed to foreigners in Canton, their separation from their families, &c. we have passed over in silence. But enough has been said to show that the present system of intercourse is replete with evils. Its effects on every thing—commercial, political, social, moral, and religious—are like the mildew and blight, working death. Out of it, as one of its legitimate results, has grown the smuggling trade, which, unless some effectual remedy is applied to check or avert the evil, must, for aught we can see, lead on to consequences the most alarming and tremendous, breaking up the foundations of the government, and overturning the throne itself.

Concerning the duty and interest of western nations with regard to China, and the course which the British and others ought to pursue in this country, our remarks shall be brief. After all that has been said on this subject, it is evident that the advantages which will accrue to foreigners from a well regulated intercourse with the Chinese empire, will be both numerous and important. In a commercial point of view, in mere matters of gain, they may be doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. It is equally evident also, that there are duties to be performed in this case—duties most imperative, though long neglected. These duties are manifold. The character of foreigners has been misrepresented in the sight of the Chinese; it should be vindicated. The number, power, and resources of foreign nations have been erroneously estimated by this people and government; this error should be corrected. The authorities of China have treated with scorn and contempt the governments and rulers of the west; these should be properly represented to the emperor and his ministers, and their independence, and their *perfect equality* with the government and rulers of this country should be duly acknowledged and respected. In the performance of all these duties, foreigners would promote directly and effectually their own interests. A double motive, therefore, urges their performance. But we stop not here, if we would perform our whole duty. Arts, sciences, literature, and religion must be brought into the account. In the healing art, for instance, we have seen in China how much may be effected by single individuals. The arts and sciences have stood stationary for centuries in this country. In the meantime, the nations of the west have made numerous and great improvements, which if communicated to this people would be to them of inestimable value. The Chinese need exceedingly a new literature, enriched by all the advances of modern times. This, as they have opportunity, foreigners should put within their reach, and scatter liberally among them the treasures of useful knowledge. And, last though not least, Chris-

tians, whose very name reminds them of their duty, should proffer to this nation the life-giving oracles of the true God. The magnitude of this duty, and the weight of obligation to discharge it, are great beyond computation, because the good to be conferred is boundless in extent, and eternal in duration.

To point out the proper course to be pursued in order fitly and fully to discharge all these duties, is not an easy task. To prevent our being misunderstood, we say first, negatively, that the nations of Christendom ought not to commence hostilities against the Chinese. The British flag has been insulted; and British blood has been spilt. These hostile acts should be complained of, and reparation demanded and *obtained*. Hitherto there has been a marked care by the court of St. James to avoid hostilities and conquest; and every measure of the government has been most pacific. So we hope they will continue to be. But the time has come when it seems absolutely necessary to adopt strong and determined measures, in order to obtain reparation for the past, the removal of present evils, and security for the future. These measures, so far as they regard the two latter objects, should be adopted jointly by all the nations interested. But as redress for past injuries must be the first object with the British government, it must consequently move first in this case; and it seems desirable that it should immediately communicate with the other governments of the west, not only that jealousy and rivalry may be prevented, but that the several nations interested may move in concert. England, France, and America, by united and judicious measures can easily, and without delay, open and establish a free, honorable and well regulated intercourse with China. And in our opinion they are bound in duty and called upon by Divine Providence to accomplish this work. They should meet this government as its equal; and point out to the emperor and his ministers the advantages of pacific negotiations and friendly intercourse, demanding at the same time, and in a manner that cannot be resisted, the reciprocity of all those rights which ought to characterize the intercourse of great and independent nations.

ART. IV. *Promulgation of the gospel in China:* 1. *Obstacles to it;* 1, *laws against foreigners;* 2, *against foreign religions;* 3, *system of education;* 4, *the language:* 2. *Facilities;* 1, *limited intercourse practicable;* 2, *knowledge of reading;* 3, *no ruling priesthood;* 4, *disposition of the people;* 5, *foreign interest felt for China.*

The present article is designed to present a practical view of the prominent points both of difficulty and facility, relative to the dissemination of the gospel in China. In this propagation of divine truth,

be it always remembered, no resort whatever is to be had to fraud or force; they being both and equally opposed to the spirit of the religion to be inculcated. For that is a plain direction of the Holy Scriptures which has singled out as worthy of condemnation the principle, "let us do evil that good may come;" thereby stamping with reprobation all resort to guile and "pious fraud." Equally evident is it from an avowal of the great Christian missionary, that force is to find no place among the sanctioned means of diffusing the revealed religion: 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but through God are efficacious for the demolition of the strong holds' of wickedness. With these authoritative exceptions, therefore, no human means are left for the extension of the gospel, but argument and persuasion—"light and love;"—to the use of these weapons and to the divine blessing on them we look for the introduction and establishment of the gospel in China.

In enumerating the obstacles and encouragements to the Christian enterprise in this empire, it is our object to present them such as they are actually existent, such as meet the present laborer, and must be contemplated by the expectant missionary in his work. If the difficulties seem to preponderate, and share most attention, we may remember that little thanks are due to any Christian or human efforts: that there is any encouragement. But all who love the religion of Christ are bound to give praise to almighty God, that any avenue is left for approaching this great people, rather than to despond because the doors have not opened of their own accord, and while as yet there was none to enter.

The first obstacle meets us, in the hostile attitude of the government towards all foreigners entering the dominions of China. Around this sacred nation is drawn a line equally definite and guarded, which no foreigner must pass, and no native exceed, on penalty of death. This odious feature of the Chinese constitution carries back our thoughts to those dark ages of the world, when men acknowledged no duties or friendship to men beyond their own clan; when brute force was the only known law; and when merely to find the adherent of one tribe within the asserted limits of another, was deemed a sufficient cause of death. In this age arose the Chinese monarchy; and as it arose, its characteristic lines were stereotyped, and put beyond the reach of change and improvement. Other tribes then unknown, or far more barbarous, have since seen the Light of the world, and walking therein, have advanced to their present various grades of refinement, while this first and greatest of nations still retains its primitive aspect of savage defiance.

With regard to natives, the restriction of the law was once publicly relaxed, and its violation is now so constant, that thousands of the poorer class annually emigrate to other countries and to islands, where they can procure subsistence, if not wealth. The only apparent use of this restrictive law therefore, except so far as the emigration of Chinese females is concerned, is to serve as a pretext for wringing from them a portion of their hard earnings in foreign lands,

in the shape of bribes and extortion paid to the imperial officers for their connivance. But with regard to foreigners, the original wakefulness which created the law still guards it with unabated rigor. For the officer of any district where an intruder may enter, or his superior, or both, are held responsible for their negligence, to the extent of loss of station or life. At Canton, the only authorized port of entrance to foreigners, nearly as few privileges are allowed them as can consist with life. They may not walk into the city, or into the country, or take free exercise on the river, without the risk of personal injury, or of bringing suffering on others, who are held responsible for them. So effectual then, is this obstacle that where its operation admits of no relaxation, no foreign teacher of Christianity can enter the land to communicate oral or written instruction to the imprisoned people. The few Romish missionaries who are annually carried into the interior of the country escape detection by concealment in boats, by frequently changing their mode of conveyance, and by other well concerted arrangements of their followers till they arrive at their destination.

Another obstacle exists in the laws enacted against the propagation of any new religion in general, and against Christianity in particular. To understand this fully, it is necessary to revert to a fundamental principle of this government, that the emperor, as head of his great family, is the high priest of the nation. Traces of the patriarchal, or rather of the theocratic form are discernible in the government. As Shangte, the supreme ruler, held dominion over heaven, so Hwangte, the emperor, presided over earth. As the son of heaven, he is the only medium of communication with the power of heaven. Hence only the emperor and his officers, who as his deputies receive authority emanating from him, may offer homage to the court of heaven. Accordingly we find in history, that the emperors, as heaven's viceregents on earth, have always arrogated the exclusive right of reudering homage to heaven; and that it is a capital crime for a family or an individual to offer sacrifice to the supreme ruler.

The history of the three prominent religious sects in China, the Confucian, Taou, and Budhist sects, confirms us in the opinion that all the vassals of the emperor are held accountable to him for both their belief and practice. The law expects every subject to continue in that class in which he was born or enrolled. Each of these religious orders, but chiefly the latter, has suffered bloody proscriptions for presumptuous adherence to its own rites and rules against the will of the emperor. But each is now tolerated, and recognized by laws and statutes; which, however, compel the votaries of each and all other sects to conform implicitly to the forms of the theocratic government, leaving them otherwise as tolerated religions. Abating this inevitable conformity, doubtless it may be true that the government holds a loose hand over private religious sentiments, so far as any man transgresses no rules, and exposes not himself to them who are ever seeking occasions to gratify their cupidity. But to assert that all religions are free or tolerated in China, is greatly to mis-

take the genius of the government, and the record of facts. If there be any country, where, above all others, every thing human and divine, every relation, whether political or social, public or private, ceremonial or sumptuary, is cognizable by law, that country must be China.

Christianity, as taught by the compliant Jesuits, though once tolerated, is now no longer so. Once its prospects were fair of being at least enrolled among the tolerated deviations from the theocratic government; but from jealousy of foreign influence at court, or of the Roman see, or from some other cause apparently not connected with the true merits of Christianity, it has long been a proscribed religion in China. The establishment of the Jesuits in Peking has entirely dwindled away, foreign teachers are prohibited, the churches demolished or sequestered, and most of the congregations dispersed and lost.

The two obstacles enumerated, present the difficulty of introducing the gospel into China at all; the third is an impediment to the reception of it when made known. We allude to the *existing system of national education*. The influence of the uniform and extended system of education is directly opposed to the renewing and transforming reception of the principles of revealed religion. This influence is everywhere met, and if we mistake not, is palpably manifest in the Chinese character, whether seen in its native soil, or transplanted to the islands of the Indian archipelago. Much of the superior intelligence, enterprise, and industry of the Chinese seems to have originated in this common source. But with these good results are connected the evils of an education thoroughly "without God," and of a most bigoted adherence to their own venerated customs and opinions. The cause is adequate to this result, and the result is unfeeling. Schools of some sort and grade are known throughout the length and breadth of the empire. In them all, from the first rudiments onward, the same books are used, consisting of the maxims and instructions of their revered sages. True, much of the doctrine thus committed to memory by all Chinese youth who learn anything, is happily clothed in the ancient style of the classics, which renders it but partially intelligible without a commentary; yet enough is understood and inculcated to leave in the mind an enduring impression. Every child learns the praises of Confucius, and never in after life allows himself to suspect that that great lawgiver was anything less than the "only perfect one," whose conduct was spotless, and doctrine indisputable. Along with some really good maxims of filial and paternal, social, and political duty, he imbibes the material and atheistical tenets of Chinese philosophy. The consequence of this course is, that in subsequent life the same outlines of character are retained in the followers of Confucius, Laotze, and Buddha. Thus are the springs of moral life poisoned everywhere, and there grows from them a deadly apathy towards all serious religion.

Another obstacle of quite different kind is found in the *language of the country*. This difficulty is of a complex nature, arising partly from the impediments purposely thrown by the government in the

way of the foreign learner, and partly from the essential difficulty of its acquisition. As to the former, no Chinese may teach his language to a foreigner on penalty of exposure to be denounced and punished as a traitor to his country. In times of tranquillity it is true, that the restriction can generally be evaded with impunity; but on the first approach of disturbances, these teachers always flee in terror from the foreigners, as happened during the late collisions. As all extra-commercial intercourse of foreigners and Chinese is by law constructive treason, hence it comes that visits for other than the lawful purpose are suspicious, and are neither invited or returned to any extent by native gentlemen. Conversation with well informed and literary men is therefore out of the question; for the danger and disgrace of familiar intercourse with a foreigner are too great to allow the gratification of the natural feelings of curiosity or hospitality. Neither will a teacher of any talents or reputation endanger himself by intercourse with the barbarians, unless impelled by necessitous circumstances. To this we may add the illegality of a foreigner purchasing or possessing Chinese books of any sort.

But the real difficulty of mastering this strange language is not to be overcome by the removal of any governmental impediments. Two opinions have prevailed on this subject; one, that the attainment of the language was next to impossible; and the other more modern, that its acquisition is as facile as the Latin or Greek. While we subscribe to neither of these extremes, we confess ourselves inclined more towards the former than the latter opinion. For it is certain that talented, industrious, and persevering scholars have devoted many years to the study of it, while perhaps few or none of them have, unaided, composed works, which competent and impartial native judges will pronounce pure and elegant Chinese. If any foreigners were ever masters of the language, doubtless some of the early Romish missionaries were; for they could command the best teachers, and libraries, and intercourse to any extent with literary men. Yet we know that some of their compositions, which have been praised as pure Chinese, had the advantage of a faithful revision by first rate native scholars. But with all these incomparable advantages, they have left but imperfect means to assist subsequent learners in the same pursuit. The works of the late Dr. Morrison, susceptible as they are of improvement, are yet the chief aid of English scholars in acquiring the Chinese language. The opinion of that scholar on this subject is recorded in his preface to the Grammar of the Chinese language, which was printed in 1815: "To know something of the Chinese language is a very easy thing; to know as much of it as will answer many useful and important purposes is not extremely difficult; but to be master of the Chinese language—a point to which the writer has yet to look forward—he considers extremely difficult. However, the difficulty is not insuperable. * * * The student, therefore, should not undertake Chinese under the idea that it is a very easy thing to acquire; nor should he be discouraged from attempting it, under an impression that the difficulty of acquiring it

is next to insurmountable." To the truth of this opinion we can most fully subscribe.

From this view of the obstacles, we turn our eyes to the existing *encouragements and facilities* for disseminating the gospel in China. After what has been said it may be thought that little place remains to search for facilities. Yet, inconsiderable as they may seem, and transient as some of them may be, it is still true, that, viewed by the light of sober calculation, and Christian confidence, there is reasonable ground of encouragement to the friends of China. Respecting the first two obstacles enumerated, it is quite obvious, that if the laws be rigorously executed against the admission of foreigners, and the propagation of the Christian religion, then neither the gospel itself, nor its ministers can even be known at all in the empire. But, in the good providence of God, such a state of things has occurred, both in and out of China, that the force of these presumptuous restrictions is weakened. No radical change has taken place, or indeed begun; the spirit of improvement and liberty has not been wafted so far towards the orient; but this state, such as it is, seems to be attributable to the weakness or venality of the frontier guards. But whatever the cause may be, the fact is undeniable, that, during the last three years, intercourse has been extensively maintained with the eastern maritime portions of the country; and equally undeniable, that this has existed only by the cowardice or connivance of the imperial officers. It is true that the interior has in no case been penetrated, except in a very recent, solitary instance, when two persons made a rapid excursion inland thirty or forty miles, to the Anko [Anke] tea hills. But that the amount and value of this intercourse coast-wise may be duly estimated, it should be considered that access is thereby obtained to many populous cities, more numerous villages, and still more freely to a long tract of the country adjoining the coast, from the eastern parts of Kwangtung quite up to Chihle, if not to Mantchou Tartary. This range embraces some of the most flourishing towns of the empire, the borders of its most fruitful provinces, and a total population of many millions of people.

But the peculiar circumstances of the expeditions should also be remembered: that they were performed in ships well able to defend themselves; that they generally kept at a distance from the large cities; and that by means of their lucrative trade they could purchase or enable the native merchants to purchase, the connivance of those petty officers, whose duty it was to drive them away and prevent all intercourse. It should be known also that during the whole period of the trade, the chief article of profitable traffic has been opium.—But other and more legitimate means had effect also in inviting this friendly intercourse, such as gratuitous medical assistance everywhere rendered to the natives, and the free distribution of Christian and other useful books. These means exerted a redeeming influence to the limited extent to which they could be employed, and under the inauspicious circumstances of their action. In the more recent voyages, the adventurers, taught by experience, avoided

all collision and even intercourse with the officers of government, as far as possible; and in this way, and by cultivating friendly relations everywhere with the people, they generally avoided or overcame any restriction or opposition from the government.

Under such circumstances has the maritime intercourse with China been hitherto maintained; and by a regard to them all in our estimate, we shall neither be elated at such successes, nor yet despise this practicable mode of access to several millions of this imprisoned nation. At the present time more work is to be done there, than there are Christian missionaries prepared to engage in it. Individual enterprise has hitherto carried on this intercourse, borne its losses, and reaped its gains. But it may be resumed at no distant day, we trust, under happier conditions, and maintained, till the frequency of passing this wall of separation shall cause both natives and foreigners to forget its existence. Though all such transient visits must be regarded as constituting very imperfect missionary labor; yet, to have any sort of access to ten or twenty millions, and to leave there the Christian Scriptures and books, which may preach during the necessary absence of the living herald, is very different from entire exclusion. Nay, who will believe that of the many thousand volumes circulated there during the last three years all are forgotten before God, and will "return void?" May we not rather indulge the hope, that at this very time these tracts are giving instruction to the inmates of some humble Chinese dwelling on the coast; yea, even carrying the true light from heaven into some heart that was lost in the darkness of paganism?

The facility resulting *from the extensive diffusion of a knowledge and taste for reading* has often been remarked on. It has been estimated that nearly nine-tenths of the adult males are able to read ordinary books, though not one-tenth of the female population. Compared with pagan nations in general, they are much in advance. Their literature is most voluminous, and comprises works on all subjects within the range of Chinese knowledge. The calling of assemblies for a political, religious, or indeed for any other, object, is unknown in China; and hence the priests of the two sects of Laotse and Budha found books an efficient instrument to take with them in disseminating their tenets in this country. The well known fact, that a book is equally intelligible in all parts of China, while its author in speaking may be confined to a single dialect, is a circumstance worthy of account. The words of the book convey essentially the same *meaning* to all minds throughout the empire, and indeed far beyond it also; while they vary in *sound* according to the dialect of the particular region where spoken. The surprising cheapness with which books can be manufactured here at present, and still more when good fonts of moveable types shall be obtained, is no inconsiderable advantage. Now, there is scarcely a house so poor that some well worn book will not be found occupying a shelf. Chinese gentlemen take pride in collecting libraries of voluminous and valuable works. It is only to be regretted that this taste for reading

is not supplied with works of a better cast than the light or injurious literature of the day. This trait of national character will help to secure a willing reception and perusal for Christian books when distributed. And in almost every instance that efforts have been made, they have been well received, in many they have been read, and in some we hope they have not been forgotten.

Another favorable feature appears in *the strong common sense which distinguishes this from other Asiatic nations*. It has been often, and, as we think, truly, remarked that a Chinese is characterized as a man of business, of enterprise, and prudent foresight. This same trait exempts him from the domination of an established and pampered priesthood, and in a degree, from giving credit to the unnatural and absurd superstitions which prevail in weaker or more debased nations. We have said before that religion is essentially interwoven with the government; but this connection is only for the purposes of government. The priests in China have not the veneration which is paid them in Hindostan, or Burmah, or Siam, but are legitimately regarded by government as foolish and unwholesome subjects; teaching expensive and useless rites, and, without adding any thing to the public good, living on the public bounty. Their celibacy is regarded with an unfavorable eye by the government, their idleness is reprobated. There are no priests of Confucius; but with his followers, a veneration for him, and a regard to the relations and external decencies of life, are the marks of true wisdom. *Neither themselves nor their founder look beyond this world*. Yet with all this nominal contempt of sects, and priests, and religious establishments, the emperor himself has patronized temples of Budha, and individual officers of government may be as much devoted as they please to the vagaries of Buddhism, with impunity, if they only pay due honor also to the state religion. Superstitious fears and hopes prevail over the minds of the people; and some belief in charms and divination and the thousand forms of stupid idolatry is greatly prevalent. Still their minds are not surrendered passively to a corrupt priesthood, and do not readily yield to those enormous absurdities of superstition, which might well cause doubt of their entire rationality. We suppose there remains in the Chinese mind in general an unusual share, for a pagan people, of the elements of right reasoning and sound judgment. The fact that they do not readily receive any man's word for a marvellous tale, and that they in general both ask and give, or attempt to give, proof on all subjects, argues the existence of such a characteristic. Whether this arises from the great ostentation of reason, and dignity, fitness and propriety in the sentiments of the sages, or not, we do not undertake to decide; but something like the fact alleged cannot be denied. If the truth of Christianity rested on doubtful or inappreciable evidence, this trait could not be favorable. But now, is it not proper to expect that the claims of Christianity, when revealed to the many readers in China, will be appreciated by many?

We see no small ground of additional encouragement in the dis-

position of the people towards foreigners and foreign intercourse. Whatever hostility to innovation is manifested throughout all official ranks, it is well ascertained that the common people are not disinclined to friendly and commercial relations with other nations. It would indeed be against the nature of a Chinese to refuse any chance of gain; and perhaps we may add, that they are far from unsocial in their natural dispositions. They do not sigh under their heavy government, and stretch out their hands for freedom from the unnatural restraints imposed by a despotic power; because the idea of liberty never found place in their thoughts,—Cónfucius never mentioned it. They do not seek intercourse with foreign nations; because they never knew its advantages, and the government discourages it, and the wretched state of the art of ship-building and navigation forbids it. But is it the voice of the people that dooms China to seclusion from the rest of the world, and has dismembered her so long from the family of mankind, and forbidden the approach of the friendly foreigner? No, that voice was never heard in China, much less did it call for the existing state of immurement. Let the almost uninterrupted intercourse with unofficial natives on the coast, during the last three years, answer. Let the unvarying deportment of the people towards strangers, when freed for a moment from official influence, speak. These experiments all utter one language, and that is, that the people are peculiarly disposed to cultivate friendly relations with foreigners. We do not speak of a growing public sentiment in China, as in other countries, which is soon to burst forth in a universal call for rational liberty and the natural rights of man,—for such a feeling is probably quite unknown in the celestial empire; but we mean a readiness to perceive and seize the advantage of foreign relations, when once put in their power. We may safely calculate then, that the stifled feelings and sympathies of a great people are all with us, in the attempt to recover them to the world, by the benevolent influence of the medical art, by the diffusion of useful knowledge, and by the prospect of a profitable commerce. In the attempt to recover them to the true God and Savior, we cannot expect to meet the same sympathy; but in all the legitimate preparatory means of opening the way to put the gospel in their hands, we feel assured that the suffrages of an ingenious, but enslaved nation, are with us;—a nation as intelligent, as wronged, as the lamented Poles, but far, far more numerous.

As we gather encouragement from the disposition of the people within the separating wall, so do we derive the same from the recent movements of the Christian world without. Along with the recent proofs of the possibility of friendly intercourse with the Chinese, a spirit has been aroused in England and America to enter at once on the work of sending hither the gospel. They who reside in those countries know better than we can do, the extent and vigor of this recent revival of interest in China; but from all the indications which are visible to us, it appears evident that the arms of the Christian world are opening to receive to its embrace the children of the cele-

tial empire. The enterprising spirit of commerce, which is no legitimate enemy of the Christian enterprise, is also abroad to explore the sources and advantages of the new easteru world. The nature and operation of the government have recently attracted an unusual share of the attention of foreigners. Though its caprice admits of but little confident prediction respecting the future, yet the general course of events is better understood; the ordinary modes of official procedure, and the character of imperial officers are better known; and the ways of relaxing and enforcing the rigor of law better ascertained, than in formers years.

The foreign stations of the Chinese mission have begun to show their facilities for operating both directly and indirectly on this empire. If we mistake not, nearly all the Christian books which have been distributed on the coast of China were furnished from Batavia, Malacca, and Singapore. No interruption is suffered there, and no alarm from the disturbances in China. But enjoying the protection of Christian governments and freedom to multiply, circulate, and explain the books of Christian doctrine, they may go on to any extent which the time and strength of the few laborers will admit.

It may not be an improbable supposition that somewhat of the now prevalent interest felt in the Chinese mission arises from the very newness and vastness of the field; for this is natural and not wholly reprehensible. But indeed the work itself of the mission is in all respects a sober matter of fact and arduous work. And we do not desire to conceal our own deep conviction; that the time, labor, and expense which must be absorbed in the progress of it, will put to the severest test the origin and purity of that interest now happily so prevalent. If in countries where the missionaries enjoyed unrestrained liberty of access to the people; if in Greenland, in the Society and Sandwich islands, if in Africa and Hindostan and Burmah, such labors were spent, and time required, before the gospel was so far received as to make any general and saving impression; what may reasonably be expected of a mission circumstanced like that to the Chinese, and designed to operate on one-third of the inhabitants of the globe? Surely it is but rational to suppose that the servants of God, both at home and abroad, have a work before them in reference to the conversion of China, which will give scope to the employment of all the talents which the great Head of the church has committed to his people. And as year after year passes away in the slow and toilsome process of removing one obstacle after another, before we arrive at the object of labor, let us see to it that our hearts be not faint, though our hands be weary, in this vast and prospective work. And, may we not say also, let not our fathers and brethren and friends at home tire with long-looking and waiting for the fruit of the gospel in China. Must not the seed be sown before it spring up and grow? Must not the ground be first prepared, and the sower ready to enter the field? Behold the field is great, but the laborers are few. *Pray-ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his field.*

If any one's heart sinks in view of the obstacles which now oppose the introduction of the gospel, we beg such to consider, that in each of the present stations of the Chinese mission, there is now much more labor to be performed—labor essential to the cause—than can possibly be accomplished by the present members. If the facilities were greater than they now are, where are the missionaries that could seize upon them and employ them for the Lord? Where are the books to circulate, the men to distribute them, the preachers to explain them? And may we not safely hope that the same wise Providence that has hitherto opened the way before his servants, will continue to remove the impediments as they press into his service, and need a wider door of entrance? It will be safe to trust the almighty Savior, and go forward. The sentiment of one who had trusted the Lord may well be the motto of all the true servants of God: "When the Lord commands a work to be done, I see no obstacles; and he has commanded to preach the gospel to every creature." To the Spirit of the Lord therefore, we look for the removal of all existing obstacles; to him also we look to make all present facilities availing, by preparing the hearts of this nation for the reception of the gospel of Christ.

ART. V. *Religious intelligence: Report of the mission at Batavia: notices of the Burman mission.*

We have received from the Rev. Walter H. Medhurst, missionary, and Mr. William Young jr., assistant missionary, a detailed report of the missionary operations at Batavia, for 1834. We present them our hearty thanks for so obligingly furnishing us with this very satisfactory report. It includes the space of a year and reaches down to last October. We shall make such extracts as our limits allow. On the subject of *preaching*, the report states: 'The English services at the chapel have been a sermon every Sabbath morning and evening, and an address every Thursday evening. In these engagements our lamented brethren Lyman and Munson took a share during their stay in Batavia; but since then this labor has devolved on us. The children in the day and orphan schools, who regularly attend these services, are making great progress in knowledge, and some of them display a great degree of seriousness and attention, which is quite encouraging; while the children of the mission family give hopeful signs of being somewhat impressed with a sense of the importance of religion, and the necessity of giving up their hearts to God.

'The *Malay services* at the chapel have been a sermon on Sabbath noon, and one on Thursday evening, with the meeting of a Bible class every Wednesday afternoon. The attendance on these exercises is better than on the English services, and the results are encouraging, showing an addition of one member, four catechumens, and

six adult persons baptized in the course of the year. The congregation has generally consisted of country-born and native Christians, who use the Malay language, to whom are added some native soldiers from the eastern islands, our own servants, and a few poor. Those who have been baptized from among the troops, were formerly heathens, without any religion, of whom five have been added this year to the Christian church.

'The *conversations* held with the Malays and Chinese in their shops and markets have been regularly kept up, and a portion of each day set apart for these exercises. The object aimed at is to visit every part of the town and suburbs in regular rotation. Thus the same place seldom comes round above once or twice a year. Hence the persons who hear the gospel are many though each individual does not hear it often, and the knowledge of Christianity diffused by this means is great. Though the impression produced is less likely to be deep and lasting, still under present circumstances, and in so wide a field, it seems the only way in which the mass of mind allotted us to cultivate can be wrought upon.

'The *distribution of tracts* has been carried on at the same time with these occasional conversations; and a book, presented at the close of such a conference, is generally better received and more attentively read than if the same had been casually given. The number of tracts distributed during the past year has been as follows; in the Chinese language, 13,137; Malay 6419; native 4243; Dutch 3044; English 450; German 290; French 245; and Armenian, 6; making a total of 27,841. Of the Chinese tracts more than seven thousand were sent to Mr. Gutzlaff for circulation on the eastern coast of China; the remainder, with those of the other languages, have been distributed, some in and near Batavia, and some sent to Sourabaya, Sumenap, Samarang, Padang and Penang.

'The tracts and books *printed* at this station have been more than in any preceding year. The returns of the printing-office show the works issued; thirty-two books of all kinds, Chinese, Malay, Native, English, Dutch, and Dutch and Malay; averaging forty-four pages each. The number of copies printed in all is 28,000, by the process of lithography, block printing, and movable types. In a few cases, pay was received from various sources for printing; in a few others, the paper was furnished by the Religious Tract Society; but in the greater number, the whole expense of paper and workmanship is borne by the London Missionary Society. Of the above works three Chinese and two Malay are original compositions, principally got up during the past year.'

BURMAH. By the kindness of the Rev. J. Taylor Jones, at Bangkok, we have received the latest information from Burmah. It consists of extracts from letters of the missionaries in that country, dated the 1st and 17th of February, 1834.

'Mr. Kincaid is still at Ava, where he has baptized three natives and one country-born. A good deal of persecution has been raised in Rangoon; the pastor, a native Burman, has been imprisoned and

disburdened of sixty rupees. All who go near Mr. Bennett are seized and punished. The word of God has begun to take effect among the Karens above Rangoon. Five were baptized before the above difficulty, and there are about thirty who appear to be sincere Christians. The Psalms are in press; the translation of the Old Testament was finished yesterday. (The first complete edition of the New Testament in Burmese was issued from the press in December, 1832. Since that period, a digest of the Scriptures in scriptural language has been published.) Brother Mason is making great progress in the Karen language. A deputation from a Karen chief has just arrived, requesting me to come up and examine himself and several of his people with a view to baptism. The following table may afford you some satisfactory information; I have just made it in order to send home.

“ *Table of persons baptized in Burmah during the year 1833.* ”

	<i>Burmese.</i>	<i>Karens.</i>	<i>Foreigners.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Maulmein,	10	16	18	44
Tavoy,	2	14	3	19
Rangoon,	5	5	1	11
Ava,	3			3
Total,	20	35	22	77
Before baptized	128	257	131	516
Total	148	292	153	593

“ Of the Burmese couverts, eight have been excluded,—two in Rangoon, before the war; two at Tavoy, and four at Maulmein; besides three or four in Rangoon on whom sentence has not been formally pronounced. Of the Karens, two have been excluded in this district, and a few others stand suspended.”

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: Arrival of the hoppo's family from Peking; liberation of Sunshing.*

Hoppo's family. January 1st. The arrival of the new hoppo's family at Canton is reported. They come from Peking, and are said to amount to two hundred in all, and all Mantchoa Tartars. If we may judge by the number of this train, we may suppose that the post of hoppo of the port of Canton is well thought of at court, or he would not retain such a suite of servants and expectant followers.

Sunshing. January 21st. To the universal joy of the foreign community, the hong merchant Sunshing or Hingtae, was this day liberated from the confinement which he has suffered since August last. The price which he finally paid for his freedom, we know only from uncertain rumor; that rumor makes it a sum worthy the consideration of the high imperial officers.—All this suffering and loss have befallen him, because lord Napier came up from Whampoa in the boat of a ship for which Sunshing was security;—an act entirely unknown to the unfortunate hong merchant, and equally beyond his power of prevention had he been apprised of it.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III.—FEBRUARY, 1835.—No. 10.

ART. I. *The Mongols: their conquests; Genghis combines the tribes and extends his dominions; his sons follow him; Kublai subdues China; Hulagu adds Persia to his empire; Batu advances into Europe, and conquers Poland; Tamerlane comes to the throne, and consolidates the empire; takes Delhi and defeats Bajazet; dies, and the empire of the Mongols falls to pieces.*

Few of the nomadic tribes that emerged from central Asia have extended their ravages so widely as the Mongols. In vain do we attempt, at the present day, to trace out the origin of all the tribes comprehended under the general name of Mongols; nor is it easy to account for the remarkable impulse which led them to aspire after the dominion of the world. As a nation, they were rude, scarcely having knowledge of any country beyond their own dreary deserts; having few wants, they could satisfy them without recourse to rapine; their martial spirit was not excited by their domestic feuds; their weapons of war were inferior even to the Chinese. All they could boast of was their swift horses, hardy and inured to want, able to carry their riders to the distant parts of Asia without endangering their lives, or hazarding their safety in the territory of the enemy. Poor as they were, without even a cottage to shelter themselves from the rigor of winter on the elevated steps of the north, possessing nothing but cattle, they had little to lose by adventure, every thing to gain; and the world lay before them. To whatever part they chose to emigrate, the change was necessarily for the better. With scarcely a village or city within the circumference of thousands of miles, there was little to fix them on their native soil, or to bid them return when they had forsaken those barren regions. In addition to

these disadvantages, if a season of unusual scarcity visited their bleak territory, they were compelled to save themselves by emigration. But woe to the country on which they fell, like a cloud of locusts; where the hoofs of their horses once trode, there no grass grew any more. It seems to have been their delight and their aim to lay desolate the countries into which they made inroads, so that they might resemble their native deserts. Should we be surprised, therefore, when we read that a Mongol conqueror once proposed in council to slaughter all the Chinese northward of the Yangtze keang, to burn and raze their villages and cities, and thus convert the fertile provinces of Honan and Keangnan into fields for pasturage?

Such were the messengers of divine wrath, sent forth to execute vengeance on the Mohammedans and Christians of the dark middle ages, and to chastise China with a rod of iron. If the predictions of the Holy Scriptures respecting the nations of Gog and Magog have been fulfilled, it was by these savages. Thus said the divine oracle; "Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, and thy bands, and many people with thee. Thus saith the Lord God; It shall also come to pass that at the same time, shall things come into thy mind, and thou shalt think an evil thought, and thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwallled villages.*** And thou shalt come from thy place out of the north parts, thou and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army." Ez. xxxviii. 10, 15. This host appeared and laid the nations waste; yet divine mercy bridled their relentless fury, and 'put a hook into their jaws and turned them back.'

China, Bukharia, India, western Asia, and eastern Europe felt this dreadful scourge. Never was a greater conquest achieved, but it was speedily divided and lost. Their hords, like an overwhelming torrent, swept away every trace of civilization in their course; twice their power was exerted for the ruin of mankind, but as soon as the flood had passed away; the torrent flowed back to its source, and the stream dried up. Those savages, who had burned cities, butchered the young men who defended their hearths, enslaved their widows and the robust population to sell again to bondage, and on the remainder imposed a heavy tribute, considered it their interest, after having satiated their blood-thirsty cruelty, to adopt the manners of civilized life. The rude conqueror became a lawgiver, the brawny soldier a cultivator of the soil, and the country destroyed by their hands began gradually to revive under their fostering care. Such is the extraordinary change which marked the most conspicuous sovereigns of this race. We have a similar instance in the Mantchous, the present rulers of China, who after a few generations are found as civilized as their Chinese subjects.

Like the convulsions, which at the deluge agitated the natural world and gave to the earth its present aspect, the Mongol conquests shook the political world to its centre; ancient states were whelmed in the ruins. These great events were brought to pass by a man, who might have died an obscure nomadic prince, if the designs of

Divine Providence had not raised him from that abject state into which he was thrown at his early youth, and by which he was prepared, through experience of severe trials, to be the conqueror of nations.

Genghis, "the most great," whose name was Temujin, was left an orphan in his infancy. His father had reigned over thirty or forty thousand families; but a large proportion of these refusing to pay homage to the youth, he fought against them, was defeated, and obliged to flee for his life. In his exile he gathered around him a band of partizans, pledged himself to divide with them the sweet and the bitter of life, and sacrificed a horse to ratify his league. After his first victory over his rebellious subjects, he cast seventy of the most guilty of the rebels into chaldrons of boiling water. His ambition grew with his fortune; the prudent submitted to him, and the proud he destroyed. The skull of 'Prester John' he preserved encased in silver, for his drinking goblet. Thus feared and respected, he united his inferior chiefs, bound them together by equitable laws, and established an excellent discipline among them. In a general diet, seated on a felt, he was solemnly proclaimed 'grand khan,' or emperor of the Mongols and Tartars. Temujin did not disdain the arts of superstition; for he accepted from a naked prophet, who pretended to hold converse with heaven, the title of Genghis, 'the most great;' and a divine right to the dominion of the earth.

After the Mongol emperor had become the monarch of all the northern pastoral world with its numerous millions, his thoughts turned towards China. His ancestors had been tributaries to the emperor, and he himself had been disgraced with a title of servitude; but now the haughty court of Peking was surprised to receive an embassy from its vassal, demanding in turn obedience and tribute. Hitherto the court, by rich presents and by sowing dissensions among the frontier tribes, had devised means to avert danger from China and to assume a tone of authority; but haughty words were now of no avail against the stern demands of Genghis. To convince the Chinese that he was no longer a tributary, his squadrons passed the great wall in A. D. 1212, and the provinces of Shanse and Shense fell before him; ninety cities were stormed or starved, and only ten escaped. The price of his retreat was a princess of China, with a dowry of three thousand horses, and other disgraceful terms acceded to by the Chinese emperor. But the family of Sung, then seated on the throne of China had degenerated, and its weak monarchs were swayed alternately by priests, women, and eunuchs; the people were enervated, and there was nothing to oppose the impetuosity of the barbarians. After repeated treaties broken at the convenience of either party, Genghis penetrated to the Yellow river and subjected five provinces to his sway. His dominions now extended from the eastern ridge of the Caucasus to the ocean, and from Tibet to the Frozen sea. But he stopped not here. Countries, the very names of which had been unknown to the savage chief, were to be numbered among his conquests. In former instances, the Chinese had averted the

Huns and Turks from their purposes of invasion; but at this time, contrary to their customary policy, they invited the entrance of the Mongols, in order to oppose them to the approach of the Niutchi, or eastern Tartars. After successfully opposing the eastern barbarians, the Mongols turned their arms against their allies, the Chinese, and drove the emperor beyond the Yellow river southward.

When Genghis had humbled the proud monarch of China and taken possession of five provinces, he turned his steps westward. There his dominions bordered on the territory of the mighty Mohammed, sultan of Khowaresm. One of Genghis' caravans with three ambassadors was arrested and murdered by order of Mohammed; redress was haughtily refused, and it was not till after three days fasting that Genghis appealed to the god of battles. Himself and his four sons led forward an army, said to have amounted to seven hundred thousand, to the extensive plains northward of the Sihon, where they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan. In the first battle one hundred and sixty thousand Khowaresmians were slain, and Mohammed withdrew, trusting to his strong fortresses to check the victorious enemy. But Scythian hardiness, aided by the ingenuity of Chinese engineers, soon reduced them. Intercourse with the Chinese had acquainted the Mongols with some of the arts and means of civilized warfare, and thus the strong holds of Otrar, Bokharia, Khowaresm, Herat, Samarcand, Balkh, and Kandahar soon fell before them. Then followed the conquest of the flourishing regions between Turkestan and India, which Genghis so utterly desolated that centuries were necessary to repair the ravages done in as many years. Mohammed died unpitied on a desert island of the Caspian sea; but his son often checked the Mongols, retreating and fighting to the banks of the Indus. Here the enriched followers of the insatiable victor, by their murmurs, induced Genghis to lead them back to their native land, where he overthrew the last independent power of Tartary, and found himself sole master of central Asia. But death arrested his course in 1227, and he departed, with his last words exhorting his sons to complete the conquest of China.

Four of his sons, Tushi, Jagatai, Oktai, and Tuli inherited their father's spirit and empire. By the consent of the three, Oktai was proclaimed grand khan of the Mongols and Tartars. Contrary to the result common at a conqueror's death, the sons of Genghis peacefully divided the power, and remembered their father's dying charge. Yet diverted often by foreign wars, they proceeded slowly in their operations on China, until Kublai, the son of Tuli, obtained the sceptre of the northern provinces. Determined to fulfill the wishes of his grandfather, he resorted to an artful policy as well as to the sword. Tootsung, the reigning emperor, was a weak monarch. Whilst Kublai bent on the conquest of the empire, gained over to his side the exiled and disaffected grandees, Tootsung found himself destitute of friends, and a mere tool in the hands of his ministers. Thus circumstanced, Kublai advanced boldly to the Yangtsze keang, and added

the fertile province of Keängnan to his dominions. He took prisoner Kungtsung, the successor of Tootsung, and banished him to the desert of Shamo or Gobi to spend his days. Hangchow, the capital fell into the conqueror's hands. The liberality of Kublai had drawn into his service European and Arabian engineers, by whose assistance he was successful in his sieges. Twantsung, the successor of the last emperor, was but eleven years old, and was compelled to flee to the province of Kwangtung, where he lost the remainder of his once numerous army, and himself died of hunger. When finally the last remnant of the imperial family betook themselves to the sea, and were met and surrounded by the fleet of Kublai: the prime minister, who held the infant emperor in his arms, seeing no escape, plunged into the ocean with his precious charge. The other members of the imperial family followed the example, and the remaining Chinese were either sunk, or submitted to the conqueror, and Kublai remained master of the whole Chinese empire, in 1279.

Though unsuccessful in an attack upon Japan, and in two expeditions to the Indian archipelago, he succeeded so far as to render tributary the kingdoms of Tungking, CochinChina, Siam, Bengal and Tibet; and the name of Kublai was celebrated over all Asia. Even at the present day, when the Chinese empire has extended its sway over the greatest part of civilized Asia, it does not equal in extent the conquests of Kublai, under whose administration China reached the acme of its greatness and glory. Kublai was greater as a statesman than as a conqueror; and though the arms of his hords laid China waste, yet under his fostering hand, and guided by his genius, it was soon restored to prosperity. Never had this country seen such a reformer, and had his successors trodden in his steps, the face of this ancient empire might have been completely changed.

The conquest of Persia was achieved by Hulagu khan, also a grandson of Genghis, and cousin of Kublai. Mostasem then sat upon the throne of the califs, a mere shadow of royalty; he encountered the Mongols with weak arms and haughty words. "On the divine decree," said Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas; and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and the next. Who is this Hulagu that dares to rise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory, and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." In this truly Chinese mode of warfare he persevered, till Hulagu took the city of Bagdad by storm, sacked it, and pronounced sentence of death on the last of the temporal successors of the impostor. All the countries beyond the Euphrates were conquered by the sword, and the Seljukian name exterminated. In Egypt, the Mongols met their equals in the Mamelukes, who saved that country from the invaders.

When Oktai had achieved the conquest of northern China, about the year 1235, he then turned his arms towards Europe. For this expedition he selected his nephew Batu, the son of Tuli, and entrusted to him an army of 500,000 Mongols and Tartars. After a

festival of forty days, Batu set forward, and first encountered and vanquished the fierce Turkomans. The wild tribes of Caucasus could not escape his power. Russia was then torn by domestic factions, which made her an easy prey to the invaders, who kept possession during nearly two centuries. From hence they descended into Poland and Silesia; the cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated, and at Lignitz the valor of the Tartars proved victorious over the greatest champions of Christendom. They filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. But instead of taking advantage of the panic already created, and proceeding westward, they turned aside to conquer Hungaria, climbed the highest Carpathian mountains, routed the whole forces of king Bela, and burned and sacked all the region northward of the Danube, and having by promises of safety persuaded the peasantry to gather in their vintage and harvest, they then in cold blood butchered them.

All Europe was thrown into consternation; the pope sent a mission of friars to appease the rage of the pagan invaders, and convert them to Christianity. But the haughty Batu informed the mission, that the sons of Genghis were invested with a divine right to extirpate the nations; and that the pope must share the general fate unless he came in person as a suppliant. The German emperor solicited the other European powers to arm against the common enemy. But the fame as much as the valor of the Franks checked the Mongols, and Batu slowly retired again to the Volga to enjoy his victories in his new made capital, Sarai. Even the intense cold of Siberia could not cool the ardor of the Mongols; but under the command of Sheibani khan, they founded there also a government, and the conqueror's posterity reigned at Tobolsky about three centuries.

When Batu had arranged his affairs in the north, about A. D. 1240, he resumed his march towards Constantinople, but his course was arrested by death; he was summoned before the Judge of the whole earth. Barkah, his brother, carried his arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but being diverted by the Russian conquests, he never reached Constantinople,—otherwise the capital of the Cæsars must have fallen like the cities of Asia. Stimulated by a deadly hatred of the Turks, the Mongols were once well inclined to league with the crusaders against them. Even the saintly Louis did not scruple to send a friendly embassy to the grand khan.

No foreign enemy had broken the Mongol power during the lifetime of the grand-children of Genghis, but their empire was growing in extent, and presented the wonderful spectacle of several powerful princes living in peace and harmony, and coöperating to the general welfare. In this the posterity of Genghis are distinguished from all before and after them in a similar situation. But when the second generation had passed off the stage, a more feeble race inherited the thrones of their renowned ancestors; petty dissensions gave rise to serious conflicts, and some distinguished generals, as well as the oppressed and conquered tribes, threw off the yoke of the government, and built up new kingdoms on the ruins of the Mongol empire.

While a degenerate branch of their line still held the throne of China, those tribes which had been scattered throughout Persia and Anatolia were converted to Mohammedanism, and became the champions of a faith which their forefathers had persecuted with fire and sword. But they did not coalesce with the Turks, on account of the mutual hatred existing between them; they rather looked for the time when they might again trample their enemies under feet.— And they did not long sigh in vain.

Seventy years after the death of Batu, there arose from the village of Sebzar near Samarcand, a man of the noble tribe of Berlass, named Timur or Tamerlane. Though not a direct descendant of Genghis, yet he claimed alliance with the illustrious house of that conqueror; and whatever he wanted in birth, he richly made up in greatness of mind. But his road to the throne was by no means an even one; at twelve years of age he was in the field of battle, and by his twenty-fifth year, he had gained the administration of his countrymen. But in the hour of danger they left him to contend almost alone with their enemies, the Getae. Fleeing into the wilderness with his wife and seven followers, he suffered imprisonment, and after his liberation lived an outcast and an outlaw. But his fame and his wisdom grew with his adversities; having again gathered a band around him, he finally succeeded in expelling the Getae from Transoxania; and at the age of thirty-five he was by the general voice invested with imperial command over that part of Turkestan and Independent Tartary which pertained to the descendants of Jagatai.

Timur aspired to the dominion of the world; his life, which is well described in his own commentaries, was remarkable for the endurance of thirty-five campaigns; and his head was adorned with twenty-seven crowns, the spoils of conquered kings. Such was the man who rose from nothing, and who passed through many early sufferings, that he might know that there is a God who exalteth and abaseth. A staunch Mohammedan, a sworn enemy of all infidels, he fought for the crescent, and also executed the direst vengeance upon those preëminent champions of the prophet, the Turks. Christians and pagans felt the edge of his merciless sword; for, animated in his *gazi*, or holy war, by the prospect of heavenly rewards, he exterminated whole tribes of unbelievers. The injustice of the crusaders in waging war for the recovery of the holy sepulchre has often been exposed; but was it not rather a war of self-defense. And did not the Turks overrun Europe when the crusaders had ceased to threaten Asia? Does not every Mussulman virtually bind himself to extend the conquests of the false prophet. And is it not a meritorious act with him to slay as many unbelievers as possible? The Mongols had been for a considerable time undecided what creed to adopt. They looked on Budhism as a low superstition, because it prohibited the shedding of blood. Islamism was more congenial to their feelings, and therefore those of them who received it from the conquered nations, cherished their martial habits; while the rest of

the tribe on the Mongolian steppes, who received the superstitions of Tibet, relapsed into a state of cowardly imbecility.

The line of Genghis had ceased to reign with vigor over Persia, and Timur took advantage of the contending factions to make himself master of that country. The tyrant princes fell successively before him, meeting with no difference in their fate, except as they submitted with more or less resistance. Shah Mansour, the weakest and bravest of the princes, opposed the invader with such valor as well nigh to defeat his army; but the loss of his life and the destruction of his family was the price of his tamerity. Having annexed Persia to his dominions, Timur then carried his arms against the Georgian Christians, into the mountains of Caucasus; where by artifice or force, he proselyted the prince of Tiflis.

To chastize the Getae his ancient enemies, Timur led his forces to the invasion of Turkestan, and subdued the kingdom of Cashgar. Toktamish, a fugitive prince, had been established by Timur as Mongol ruler of the north; but after ten years he turned against his benefactor as being an usurper of the sacred rights of the house of Genghis. With immense force he entered Persia, and attacked the emperor; but in turn Timur gathered a mighty army and met his enemy in a dreadful battle. Toktamish fled and took refuge with the grand duke of Lithuania. Timur pursued him into Russia, and the capital trembled at his approach. He destroyed the flourishing cities of Sarai and Astrakhan, and enslaved or killed the Christians. But more urgent business in the south called him from his career of victory, and after arranging his affairs, he immediately resolved to invade Hindostan, notwithstanding the reluctance of his soldiery. What he resolved he executed, and with great labor and loss, he crossed the ridge of mountains and the deserts that form the natural barriers of the country, took and pillaged the capital Delhi, and purified his soldiers in pagan blood, profusely shed,—a sacrifice most acceptable to Mohammed's Allah! But the northern parts of Hindostan were in the hands of the Turkomans, true believers and defenders of Islamism; yet Timur's ambition did not spare their lives, whenever they opposed his aggressions.

While on the banks of the Ganges, Timur heard of the ambitious designs of the haughty Bajazet, the Ottoman sultan, who was laying siege to Constantinople. He immediately returned from the east, and proclaimed a seven years expedition to the western countries. As Bajazet was now engaged in a holy war against the Greek infidels, Timur was at first satisfied with the destruction of Sebaste, where he buried alive four thousand Armenians for faithfully defending their garrison; and then turned aside to attack Syria, and Egypt. He took by the sword and perfidy Aleppo and Damascus, at which latter city he was checked by the armies of Egypt, and on his return to Bagdad he erected a pyramid of 90,000 skulls to serve as a trophy of his exploits. Having collected his troops from all the provinces, and given two years for Bajazet to prepare, the two armies at last met at Angora, in Asia Minor. The victory was dearly bought, but

Timur had the satisfaction of seeing the army of Bajazet dispersed and the sultan himself a prisoner.

We must now turn our attention to China, where the successors of Genghis reigned in peace, in a line uninterrupted by contending partizans. Nine emperors of Mongol extraction had already sat on the Chinese throne, the record of whose reigns is summed up in the number of years each ruled, and in the sayings each uttered. But in 1367, (notwithstanding the numerous Mongol hosts dispersed throughout the empire, trained up to Chinese cowardice without the Chinese cunning), the throne was again seized by a native Chinese. On the shores of the Bosphorus, Timur heard of the loss of this empire, but the extirpation of the Christians in the west detained him for a while from his new purpose of subjecting China to his sway. In 1404, he made preparations for this great expedition, and after celebrating the royal marriage of six of his grandsons, and devoting some months to festivity, his army advanced in several divisions towards the celestial empire. He was bent on destroying the idols and the pagans of China to compensate for the Moslem blood which he had shed in torrents, and that empire was doomed to meet his wrath. But the Ruler of nations interposed, arrested the course of the victor in his march, and Timur expired by disease near Otrar, in the seventieth year of his age.

Timur was not an illiterate barbarian; the history of his life and his Institutes bespeak a man of enlarged mind. Though lame in hand and foot, his body was inured to hardships and strengthened by temperance. His studied cruelty knew no bounds; but he could also be generous, when it suited his interests. Not having leisure to consolidate the conquests made in his rapid course of victory, his extensive empire dissolved during the rule of his immediate posterity; who, unlike the descendants of Genghis khan, rejoiced in each others' destruction. The Usbeks, another swarm from the northern steppes of Asia, with the Turks, ruined the Mongolian power in Transoxiana and Persia, within a century after the death of Timur. Then a descendant, the fifth from the conqueror of the world, invaded Hindostan and established the empire of the 'Great Mogul,' of which a shadow still remains under the indulgence of the English East India company.

Dark and blood-stained as the pages of history are, we still think them worthy of attentive study. Nowhere does the wisdom of God appear so conspicuous as in this chaos, where nation is swallowed up by nation, kingdom after kingdom is destroyed, the rights of man and every virtue trampled under foot, myriads of our fellow mortals sacrificed to mad ambition,—but yet the human species preserved. May we not look up with unshaken trust to such an Allwise and Almighty Being, and confide to him solely our own lot and the fate of nations? The events of which we have taken a cursory view are truly grand; it is an historical sketch of a political deluge, and may such never again desolate the earth. May the Prince of Peace soon assume the sceptre, and subject all nations to his gracious sway!

ART. II. Lord North's island: narrative of two seamen, respecting their sufferings on that island; facts relative to the islanders, their means of subsistence, dwellings, habits, laws, language, religion, &c.

The sympathy felt for the two American seamen recently arrived at Canton, after their two years' confinement on Lord North's island, will perhaps be gratified with some facts derived from the sufferers themselves, relative to that island. These unfortunate men are survivors from the crew of the American whale ship *Mentor*, captain Barnard, which it will be remembered was wrecked, May 21st, 1832, near the Pelew islands. Ten of the crew immediately took to one of the boats, and doubtless were soon engulfed in the waters, as they were seen no more. The remaining eleven, one man having been lost in another boat, waited till day, and then escaped to one of the principal islands, where, after a stay of six months, they were furnished with a boat by the islanders. Eight of their number and three of the natives then embarked in two boats, leaving three of their company as pledges of their return to remunerate the friendly islanders. These three are supposed to be still living there, unless measures devised by the American government for their release, have been carried into effect, of which we have not yet heard. The party embarked in these frail boats, after losing one of them and becoming short of provisions, at length, on the 6th of December, reached the little coral rock, called Lord North's island, where they were robbed of their property and clothes. After two months, by persuasion and artifice, captain Barnard and one of his men got off, and were received aboard the Spanish ship *Sabina*, and brought to Canton on the 27th of February, 1833, from whence they sailed to America two years since.

The party on the island now consisted of nine persons, four of whom were Americans, two Englishmen, one negro, and three natives of Pelew. Hitherto they had been humanely and even kindly treated in general; but after the novelty of seeing white men had worn away, and captain Barnard, who had some influence over the natives, was gone, then came the hard times indeed for the sufferers. The poor natives themselves being often in need of the very necessaries of life, could not be over liberal in supplying the wants of the white men. Each captive at the time of arriving at the islands had been claimed by a particular native, and now he began to feel himself truly a slave. He was forced to labor for his master; to wait upon him, and to receive from his hand his dole of food. Many a day thus dragged heavily along, while the poor prisoners were at work in the mud of the taro fields, with bare head, bare feet, and destitute of clothes. But life is dear, and they did not yield to despair, but continued looking and longing for the approach of some vessel.

For a whole year the captives used each night to pray for a ship to come and take them away. Five times, during their stay, their eyes were gladdened with the sight of a vessel; once it approached so near that they could see the seamen walking the deck. But the natives could not be persuaded to take them off to the ship. After these repeated disappointments, and the death of four of their number, and the emaciation of the rest from famine, then all hope of being saved was taken away. In their own language, "we got down so low, that all our care was to get sustenance for our lives; beyond this we did not look; to get a little to eat was all our desire; wherever any labor was to be done that could bring us any food, there we were; and when this failed us then we begged from hut to hut so long as we could go." They had lost the day of the week, and the month, and having no books, or heart to read them if they had, they were not much distinguished from the poor islanders themselves. But when they became so helpless as to be rather burdensome than useful, then the natives, influenced by the hope of rewards similar to what captain Barnard had given to his master, consented to take them aboard a passing vessel. That vessel was the English barque *Brittania*, captain Short, who kindly received them, after satisfying himself that they were not natives. He brought them to Canton where they remained for a while under the gratuitous care of Dr. Cox, and from whence they have recently sailed for New York, in the ship *Morrison*. Naked, blackened by the sun, long haired, tattooed after the native fashion, they could hardly be recognized as men once white. The long disuse of their native tongue, added to their joy at so unexpected a deliverance, rendered them almost unable to tell their tale of suffering. The weakest of the two was quite unable to get on board himself unaided, and his constitution is so broken by hardships, that the physician gives him no hopes of restoration to health.

The island on which they suffered this captivity is called Lord North's island, from the ship Lord North, which discovered it in 1782. It lies in lat. $3^{\circ} 2' 45''$ N. and in long. about $131^{\circ} 5'$ E. It is of an irregular shape, not over a mile in its greatest length, and in some parts scarce half a mile across. The whole surface, which is of one unbroken level, cannot much exceed one half of a square mile. The base is coral rock, covered with coral sand to various depths, but in no place, beyond four or five feet. Nearly the whole island is surmounted with trees, and the huts of the natives occupy chiefly the western shore. An outer reef extends nearly round the island, as is usual in coral formations, beyond which the rocks descend perpendicularly to deep water, and within which at low water the ground is dry quite up to the island; while at high water the native boats swim over the shoal. On this narrow spot, about 400 people live, and call it "their own, their native land."

We are naturally curious to learn the means of subsistence possessed by such an overgrown population, far exceeding in density that of this empire. Their chief dependence is the cocoa nut, the taro root, and the bread fruit. The cocoa nut tree covers a large part of the

island, and its fruit forms the principal article of food. The nut is many months in coming to maturity, that is, to its best state for eating; but the urgent wants of the people scarcely permit them to wait for the fruit to attain more than half its proper size. The trees produce in number from one to fifty, or even a hundred nuts at one time, and are always in season. But the taro is said to be a miserable, dwarf plant as found there, scarcely exceeding a man's thumb in size; and withal it is so impregnated with lime from the coral soil in which it grows, that it excoriates the mouth of a novice at eating it. Captain Barnard, we remember, could not eat it, but always used to give his portion of taro to some of his men, when it could be done unperceived by the natives. The bread fruit trees, of which there were a few, which had been productive before and at the time of the captives' arrival, during all their stay yielded little or no sustenance whatever, on account of the dry weather which prevailed.

When want came over the island, a most desolate prospect lay before the poor savages. Ships rarely if ever supplied their wants; the heavens above them were unproductive, birds being rare visitors there, and there were no means of taking them if they came. No fowl was seen on the island; no wild or domestic animal, except the rat, which, contrary to the Chinese taste, they detested. Fish were sometimes but rarely taken; so awkward were they in making and fastening the hooks to withstand the sharp coral points, that it was the most common result to see the poor fishermen returning at evening without either fish or hook. The golden ear rings of the seamen were soon required for fishhooks, and as soon lost. But when happily a fish was caught, either warmed by the fire or quite raw, it was torn in pieces and shared by the father, then the mother, and lastly by the crying children. It is not once nor twice, said these released captives, that we picked up the fish bones which were thrown to us after being scraped and sucked, and pounded and chewed them again, thankful for such provision. In extreme cases, after a cocoa nut had been with difficulty obtained, the father cracked it with his club and drained off the milk, handed it then to the mother, who sometimes finished it quite, and sometimes after the children had tasted it, a swallow remained for the captive. The nut was then divided into five, eight, or ten pieces, according to the number of persons, and that piece of cocoa nut was the whole meal for the day. It cannot surprise us therefore that four of the crew died of starvation, when they estimate that more than one hundred of the natives perished in the same way during the two years of their captivity on the island.

The natives are said to be as a race decidedly superior in appearance to the Pelew islanders, of larger size, lighter color, but inferior in knowledge of the arts. The master of one of the seamen, was supposed to be more than six feet in height; he was the largest man on the island, but several others were reckoned about six feet also. Both sexes wear the hair long, folded at pleasure on the top

of the head; and are either quite naked, or wear only a few leaves or bark cloth of a few inches in diameter.

Their dwellings are of the rudest construction, consisting of a few bent poles brought together at top, covered with leaves. They serve as a shelter from the sun, but are altogether inadequate for protection from rain of more than an hour's duration. The inside of the hut does not belie the promise of the exterior, but presents the cheerless aspect of a home without a hearth, table, bed, chair, stool, knife or fork. Some leaves or a mat spread on the ground forms the couch for the best of them; but during all their stay, the captives as well as many others had no other sleeping place than the sand. During the prevalence of storms and strong winds, which sometimes blew for weeks together from the west, they suffered greatly from the cold air of the nights, against which there was no protection.

The labors of the islanders are chiefly expended on their wretched taro fields and in making boats. Beasts are not known, and the plough, the shovel and the hoe are all unknown; so that no means are left but to use human hands in working the mud of their taro patches. Like all savages, they labor only when and as much as their personal wants compel them to do. Fishhooks are made of bones, or of pieces of iron hoops, &c., which have come into their possession, and which by great effort are beaten into the shape of miserable hooks, by means of stones. Their boats are chiefly built of the drift wood, which at times lodges on the island abundantly, and in trees of vast size. Their only iron-instruments for the excavation and preparation of these trunks are pieces of iron hoop, at the largest three or four inches in length, and sharpened so as to serve as rude knives. To make a serviceable boat therefore was a work of many months with them. In this work they learned to value the skill of one of these seamen, who was the carpenter of the Mentor.

The habits of a race so secluded from human intercourse form an interesting topic of inquiry. Enough is known to show that they are uncleanly in their habits, and prone to falsehood with their tongues. All the facts could not be written which go to prove their disgusting filthiness of person. The cocoa yields them an oil which they use for the skin; but we do not know that they possess any intoxicating liquor. The water which they drink is obtained by the simple process of digging a hole in the sand to the level of the tide at high water, into which the salt water enters; but being compelled to pass through the sand it loses much of its saltness so as to be merely very brackish, yet fit for use. At low tide again these wells are empty.

There is no hereditary authority on the island, but the elder and stronger men have most influence. The master of the carpenter, who was the stoutest man, was also accounted the chief man of the island; what he said, generally decided matters. But he claimed no exemption from the common lot of laboring for a subsistence. In such a state, of course the weak and helpless often suffered from

the strong and overbearing, and no redress was obtainable. As there were no foreign expeditions and no domestic enterprises that required the combined strength of the island, so there was no established authority over all, claimed or conceded.

It speaks much in favor of the people to say that the captives, during two years saw no instance of one native being killed by another. They seem to have no weapons except the stick or club used to split open the cocoa nut. Neither were important quarrels of frequent occurrence. When either with or without reason two persons became enraged at each other, they usually had a 'set to' at pulling each other's long hair. Their mutual shouts and cries soon brought together their near neighbors who separated the combatants till the ebullition of passion might blow off, after which they always met again as before. It was on occasion of the colored seaman being provoked by some children, and attempting to resent it, that an old man interfered, when the passionate negro struck him to the ground apparently lifeless. Himself was immediately knocked down by the club of the chief man aforementioned, killed, and dragged to the sea. At that time, if the captives could have been found, they would have probably been sacrificed to the impulse of rage; but being warned, they secreted themselves till the momentary purpose was abandoned, and it was thought of no more.

The modes of procedure in relation to the few punishable crimes are simple and summary. Theft of course must be most likely to occur, and must be most intolerable; since the thing stolen would generally be an article of food,—and that was important as life to the injured party. When any one was caught stealing, the custom was to take him out into the ocean far to leeward of the island, and there leave him in a boat without sail, oar, or anything to eat or drink. If he succeeded in regaining the shore, his crime was regarded as expiated, and he was received and fed. In this way it was that one of the Pelew islanders, who was taken while thieving, was treated; and the poor culprit was seen no more.

In a similar manner their dead are disposed of; they are laid in a boat and put out to sea. But when the kindred have no boat to spare, the corpse then is merely carried without the reef, and plunged into the deep water. In cases of infants, whose teeth have not yet appeared, they are buried on the island. A few very aged, gray haired people are still living; but in general, the sick are neglected, and when they become a burden to their children or families, their food ceases to be supplied, so that they die by starvation if not by disease. Thus died the two English seamen, one of whom belonged to London, and the other to Liverpool. Thus died one young American, who was from the south of the United States. To this fate both of the captives who have escaped had nearly come.

The number of females was supposed to exceed that of the males. A few of the men had two wives, and one, the chief man, had three. They are represented as very prolific. The betrothment takes place when the parties are mere infants, and when of an age suffi-

cient, the parties live together. It does not appear that the conjugal relation is strictly regarded, though its violation is considered a crime. In case of detection in adultery, the injured husband makes a quarrel, if he dare, and a match of pulling hair, with the adulterer: after which, and beating his unfaithful wife if he pleases, the affair is over. Yet the crime is repeated almost at the pleasure of the parties, whenever the husband is absent. With unmarried females none reckon it a crime to have commerce at any time and place; and a cocoa nut is a sufficient reward. 'Like brutes they live.'

One fact was related to us respecting the women, so remarkable that at first it hardly seemed credible,—that almost from the first they looked with ill-will upon the captives, by falsehoods causing them to be ill treated by their masters; and that but for the men the prisoners must often have starved. But a second thought of their real situation will serve to explain the almost unparalleled fact that the female sex was found less pitiful than the male. The woman is there quite dependent on the man, not only for service, but even for the sustenance of life itself. When the husband leaves his hut, his way is to hang the basket which contains any remaining provisions upon the top of the hovel, there to stay untouched, whether for an hour or a day, till his return. If her own hunger, or her crying children, should tempt the mother to take it down and partake of it, she is sure to meet punishment on the husband's return. Nothing therefore remains for them to do but to wait, or walk the beach and search for any shell-fish the waters may have thrown up. The mother and children being thus dependent on the husband and father, and want pressing so heavily on them, how could they regard the poor stranger in any other light than as robbing them of their already scanty pittance of provisions? On but one occasion did the females befriend the strangers, and save them from the rage of the men.

The language of the people, like that of all savages, must be quite limited; but it is represented as not unpleasant to the ear, and quite sufficient for all their purposes. It consists of long words, many of which are guttural or aspirated, and difficult of correct enunciation by an Englishman. They call their island *Toby*. One thing remarkable to our informants was that the word *man* is the same in sound and sense both in the English and Tobyan languages. For the person speaking and spoken to, they have appropriate pronouns; but are wanting in pronouns of the third person, instead of which the name of the person or thing is repeated. The natives are very loquacious, and were importunate with questions relative to the customs and condition of the native land of their prisoners; but it seems that what they heard was rather incredible to Tobyan minds. In their estimation no place can compare with their own *Toby*. So far as we could learn, they have no account of their origin, or their first arrival at the island; but we cannot doubt if their language were well understood and their traditions known, that some record of such an event would be found.

Ignorant and miserable as these poor people are, they still retain that unfailing mark of their divine original,—some sense of religion. Though we are too well assured that wherever any new race or tribe of human beings are discovered, they will be found depraved, and transgressors even of their own standard of right and wrong; yet we are equally well assured that all human beings will be found with some degree of moral sense, and of dependence on superior power. God, or that being that gave and withheld rain from heaven, was called in their language, *Yarris*. The same word also very naturally is used to denote any thing marvelous, incomprehensible, or mysterious. So the few leaves of a nautical almanac which one of the captives had, were called *Yarris*, and were preserved by the natives and regarded with superstitious care. Observing that they were much excelled by the foreigners in beating iron hoops, &c., into fishhooks, they often teased them by inquiries to ascertain by what form of words they could address *Yarris* so as to obtain equal skill.

Again and again during their distressing famines did these poor islanders meet and offer prayers to *Yarris* for their usual rains and supplies of fruits. "Before you came," said they to their captives, "we had plenty of all things; but now *Yarris* is angry, and we are starving." Though our information is meagre enough on the topic of their religious worship, yet it appears that they had a large shed or covered area, appropriated to this object. There was a sort of high priest who always officiated on the occasion. Though they sometimes attempted to make their notions and rites known to the captives, it seems they did not succeed in making them intelligible to their hearers. Thus much however can be gathered; that the priest professed to have direct communication with *Yarris*, who appeared visibly to him during the performance of the religious honors designed for him. On this occasion, many of the people gathered into the large temple, and there sitting in silence with hands and eyes depressed, awaited the divine impulse from the priest, who rushed in with a shout in a sort of phrensy, when they all struck up a chant; then *Yarris* appeared and the priest conversed audibly with him, in which some of the elders occasionally joined a few words. In this shed were several idols.

While learning the wretched condition of the population of this island, we could not but remember scenes of similar suffering in the Cape-Verde islands; and how much more blessed were these latter for being situated in the Atlantic and within the reach of Christian charity, than the desolate people of Toby in their severe famines. But is it not possible to alleviate this amount of suffering and to save many human lives that must be lost without the interposition of benevolent aid? Ships may safely approach very near the island; with almost no expense the means may be furnished the people for making implements of husbandry; perhaps other plants might easily be introduced there which would multiply the means of subsistence; perhaps some of the suffering population would rather take such

an opportunity of leaving the island altogether, than of remaining there to starve; it is not uncommon for ships, on their eastward passage to China to pass within a few miles of the island.

P. S. Since the foregoing was written, we have had the pleasure of learning that instructions have been forwarded to commodore A. S. Wadsworth, now on the Pacific station, directing him to dispatch to the United States one of the sloops under his command, by the way of the Indian Archipelago, in order "to visit, if practicable, without great delay or danger, the Feejees and Pelew islands, inquiring for, and taking on board, any American whalers or citizens, who are desirous to return to their native country."

The names of those who were left at the Pelew islands are J. Meader, C. Aldin, and H. Davis; of the four who perished on Lord North's island, C. R. Bowkett, W. Sidon, M. Hewlett, and P. Andrews. The lad who escaped from the island with captain B. was B. J. Rollinge; the two survivors who have recently arrived at Canton, were Benjamin Nute, carpenter, and Horace Holden, steward.

ART. III. *Diet of the Chinese: little known of their domestic life; grains, garden vegetables, fruits, and other plants cultivated for food; fish extensively used for the same purpose; also domesticated and wild animals; beverages of the Chinese; modes of cooking, and eating; cost of living.*

Every stranger who has visited the middle kingdom, and observed the customs of this people, must have been struck with the difference which exists between the food of the several classes of society here, and that of the same classes in other countries. In this particular, as well as in many others, the Chinese are *sui generis*. The dissimilarity in the style of living, between the extremes of wealth and poverty, is equally remarkable. The rich Chinese collect on their tables whatever curious or expensive articles of diet a whimsical fancy may have suggested; and in their estimation the value of a dish seems to increase in the ratio of its costliness. In variety and abundance their common diet will compare with that of any other country; and would be considered even luxurious. On the other hand, as has been remarked by some writer, it would be more difficult to say what the poorest class do not, than what they do eat. The veriest garbage and refuse, such as in other countries is never thought of for food, except in cases of famine, is collected and eaten; and with all their industry only a bare subsistence is obtained. Barrow, when speaking of this dissimilarity, says: "Although it is a principle of the Chinese government to admit of no distinctions among its subjects, except those that learning and office

confer; and although the most rigid sumptuary laws have been imposed to check that tendency to show and splendor which wealth is apt to assume; and to bring as much as possible on a level, all conditions of men; yet, with regard to diet, there is a wider difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor of China, than in any other country. That wealth which, if permitted, would be expended in flattering the vanity of its possessors, is now applied in the purchase of dainties to pamper the appetite."

The opportunities enjoyed by foreigners to examine the domestic life of the Chinese, are less now than when the country was first visited by those from abroad. Many parts of the empire have never been visited by Europeans since the Jesuits were restricted from traveling through it at pleasure; and the almost linear journeys of the embassies did not afford many opportunities of investigating the social condition of the people. Recently, our acquaintance with the inhabitants on the coast has been somewhat enlarged, and a few facts concerning their domestic habits collected. In endeavoring to ascertain the sources from whence food for so great a population is derived, and the various modes which are employed to fit it for use, we shall resort to all the means of information within reach. Our inquiries, however, must be confined chiefly to those persons who have come more or less in contact with foreigners. An enumeration and brief description of the principal articles, with a few notices of the style of living, is all we can propose to do at present.

The grains which are cultivated include all those used for food, as rice, wheat, rye, &c., but the extent to which they are grown varies. Rice is the chief article of diet used by the Chinese, and is raised wherever the temperature and soil admits; the southern parts of the country are best adapted to it, but it is found as far north as the vicinity of the Hwang ho. Wheat and millet are the most common crops in the region north of the Yangtze keäng, but they are everywhere to be met with. That part of the country is the best adapted for the raising of wheat, and according to Barrow, it forms the principal crop; Gutzlaff observes, that he arrived at Shanghai at the time of the wheat harvest, when plenty and contentment appeared on all sides. Millet on the banks of the Pih ho, and in the most northern provinces is the great staple, but its cultivation is not confined to those regions. There are several species of plants included under the general appellation of millet, the seeds of which differ much in size and taste; the Barbadoes millet is the most common. A species of *Panicum* which is planted between the rows of the former, and comes to maturity after it has been cut down, is also called by the same general name by the Chinese. These three staples of the Chinese are cooked in different ways. Rice and millet are usually boiled; probably wheat also; but concerning the latter, our information is limited, and as far as we can learn, it is not raised to the extent that either of the others are. All of them are ground also, and the flour used to make cakes, pastry, &c.; wheaten flour, is preferred for this purpose. Bread is prepared from the latter without the use

of leaven; is is, however, seldom seen on the tables of the Chinese at Canton, and is not a common article of food among them. Rye, and maize, at certain seasons of the year are found in the markets of Canton; but their use is mostly limited to the parts of the country where they are raised. The maize brought to this city is of an inferior flavor to that grown in northern countries. It is boiled and eaten when green, and also ground for use. Oats and barley are known, but they are thought to be nearly unfit for food. Buckwheat is cultivated in the northern parts of China with millet, and cooked in much the same manner as in western countries.

The number of garden plants cultivated is great; comprising, beside many which are common to other countries, several peculiar to this. Garden vegetables of some sort or other, almost always form a part of the meals of the Chinese, and every cottager has a patch of ground near his habitation from which he raises a supply. Leguminous and cruciferous plants are cultivated more or less in all parts of China, and some of them almost as extensively as the grains. Among the former class, beans of various kinds are common. The kidney bean and the horse bean, are well known; of the former, Abel says, the whole plant is sometimes boiled. From the *Dolichos soja* or soy bean, is manufactured the condiment called soy, much in use among the Chinese to season their food. The white bean, said to be the *Dolichos Chinensis*, when ground with water, appears like the curd of milk, and in that state is hawked about the streets; by itself it is insipid, but when oil and salt have been added, the taste is pleasant to a Chinese. Green peas are in season here in the months of February and March, but of an inferior size and flavor. Peas and beans are planted in some places, between the rows of grain, and come to maturity after the first crop has been gathered. The ripe seeds are boiled and made into soups. Among cruciferous plants, the cabbage and turnip are the most common. The general name of *tsae* (tsoy) is given to all plants used for salad, as lettuce, cabbage, spinach, and also the leaves of turnips and radishes when used as greens; and *tow* is the term for pulse of any kind. There are several varieties of cabbage, and the Chinese bestow more attention on this than on any other garden vegetable. The most common is called *pih tsae*, or "white greens," from its being blanched. It more resembles kale than cabbage, and does not form a head. The plants sometimes weigh fifteen or twenty pounds, and attain the height of three feet. When eaten raw, it is not inferior to lettuce as a salad; when boiled, the taste resembles asparagus; it is also pickled like the German *saur kraut*, fried in oil, and cooked in other ways. It is in the same universal use among the Chinese, that the potato is among the Irish. The Savoy cabbage is also sometimes seen at Canton. Turnips are planted as a second crop in autumn, and are brought to market in the winter; and are extensively used. Radishes are grown in this vicinity, but the size is small and the flavor both of them and turnips is not as good as those raised in more northern countries.

Onions and garlicks of a small size, are used abundantly, and prepared in many ways, as pickling, frying, and boiling. The alliaceous odor is perceptible in the cooking rooms of the people, and their persons often remind us of it. Carrots, asparagus, gourds, squashes, melons of many kinds, cucumbers, pumpkins, tomatoes, winter cherry, egg plants, and okers, are to be found in most parts of the country. The pumpkins, melons, and cucumbers, (known by the generic term *kua*.) are of a good size, but of an inferior flavor. Some of these fruits are eaten raw, others are cooked, and all are used to a considerable extent. Edible tubers are cultivated by the Chinese in lakes, rivers, tanks, marshes and wherever else they can be planted in the water with safety. The low, shelving banks of canals and creeks are often seen planted with taro; and use is combined with beauty in the Nelumbium, the broad leaves of which are seen covering the surface of ponds in the gardens of the Chinese. The taro, water chestnut, *Trapa bicornis* or water caltrop, and Nelumbium or lotus are grown in the water, and the Irish potato, sweet potato, yam and ground nut are raised in dry ground. The terraces on the hills in the vicinity of Canton are not often destitute of the sweet potato. The Irish potato is confined to the immediate vicinity of Macao; but it would be a valuable acquisition to the country, especially the northern parts, if it was extensively cultivated. The taro and Nelumbium are used more than any of the other tubers; the latter in the northern, and the former in the southern parts of the country. The Nelumbium and *Trapa* are cultivated in the marshy grounds which lie on each side of the grand canal, between the Hwang ho and Yangtze keäng, thus rendering pleasant, wastes otherwise unsightly and barren. The fibrous roots of the former are four or five feet long, divided into joints each about six inches in length, and in thickness about two or three inches. It is of a pale green color without, and whitish within, but when boiled, turns a little yellowish. The taste is peculiar, somewhat resembling a juicy turnip, with a slight degree of sweetness and astringency. It is eaten raw, and also cooked, usually by boiling; the dried roots are also grated to a powder, which is used in soups, &c. The water chestnut is planted after the rice has been reaped, and comes to maturity in February; it very much resembles in size and taste the common chestnut.

The fruits cultivated in China include almost every kind belonging to the torrid and temperate zones, with the exception of a very few, which are confined to the countries near the equator. Apples, pears, quinces, peaches, plums, cherries, and apricots are more or less common in the eastern and southern provinces. The flavor of those brought to Canton is, however, much inferior to those which grow in Europe and America, owing in a great degree to the little care taken to improve them by grafting. They are usually brought to Canton in the fall and winter from the north, and in small quantities. The description of "tolerably good peaches, dry spongy apples not unlike quinces in appearance, and pears of an immense

size, but of a harsh and austere taste," will apply very well to the specimens seen in the market here. Oranges are cultivated to a great extent, and there are several varieties. The 'mandarin orange' has long been famed for its savor; the *kin keuh* (kum kwat) as it is called by the Chinese, is a small variety, about an inch in diameter; it is much used by the Chinese, in sacrificing to their ancestors at new year; it is also made into preserves. The shaddock or pomelo, pomegranate, lemon, persimmon, carambola, custard apple, pine apple, rose apple, citron, fig, plantain, guava, le che, lung yen, hwang pe, loquat, olive, and other fruits, are found in this market, either fresh or preserved. The plantain is raised extensively, and forms a considerable item of food among all classes when it is ripe. The le che, lung yen 'dragon's eyes,' hwang pe 'yellow skin,' are the Chinese names of three kinds of fruit which are indigenous in this province and Kwangse. The first two grow in clusters, and the external appearance of the le che when ripe much resembles a bunch of strawberries; the husk encloses a pulp which covers a hard seed. The hwang pe is about the size and consistency of a grape, though not much resembling it in taste or color. The loquat is a species of *Mespilus* or medlar, of an astringent taste.

Besides these, there are several other small fruits known in different parts of the country, of which the cultivation or uses have not yet been described accurately. A few mangoes, mangosteens, tamarinds, durions, cocoa nuts and a few other equatorial fruits are brought to this city from the archipelago. Grapes are found in the provinces north of Canton, and are brought here of a good size and flavor; a few grow here. Little wine, however, is made from them, but they are dried to some extent. The most common nuts are the chestnut, walnut, filbert, pig-nut, almond, date, and the seeds of the *Salisburia* and *Nelumbium*. The Chinese date is a species of *Caurium*, and is used in the preserved state, when it resembles the palm date. It is brought to Canton from the north, both dried and made into sweetmeats. The seeds of the *Nelumbium* are in size and form like a small acorn without the cup. We have never seen any gooseberries, currants, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries or any of the berries commonly cultivated in western countries, in the market of Canton, nor do we find any mention of them in the books on China. Preserves of fruits of almost all kinds, roots, especially ginger, nuts, bamboo, and other vegetables, in sugar, are universal, and generally well made. The quantity of sweetmeats exported is great. Dried fruits are also an article of internal commerce to some extent. The plants cultivated for their oil are numerous, raised principally in the northern and central provinces. The castor oil plant, the *Camellia oleifera*, or 'oil bearing tea plant,' the *Sesamum*, and several kinds of *Brassica* are produced for this purpose; the two former to the greatest extent. The Chinese use the castor oil when fresh, which together with the process of cooking deprives it in a measure, though not entirely, of its purgative qualities. The seeds are when ripe, pounded or crushed in mortars of various kinds, then

slightly boiled, and finally pressed in a cylinder, which deprives them of their oil. In the southern parts of the country, the expressed fat of pork is used for the same purpose as the oil, and is more esteemed by many than oil itself. The young shoots of the bamboo are cooked in various ways, and used to a great amount by all classes. Mushrooms, called by the Chinese, "stones' ears," are gathered by some for the table, and form a part of the vegetable diet of the priests. Several kinds of ferns were observed in the shops of the Chinese at Tatung by Abel, which were used as vegetables, infused as tea, or administered as medicines. The infusion appears to be the most common mode of using them. Sugar is cultivated in all the southern provinces to a sufficient extent to become an export, after supplying home consumption. It is employed in making sweetmeats, in cooking, and is crystalized into candy, in which state it is exported to India. Melasses and rum are also products of the cane used in China. It was observed by Barron in lat. 29° N., and more or less from that to Canton, and it is a common crop in Fuhkeën. Tobacco of a mild quality is smoked universally by all classes, male and female; and a pipe is an indispensable article to every Chinese. It is also chewed; but for a masticatory, the preparation of betel nut is more in use, especially in the maritime parts. Tobacco is sometimes mixed with opium to increase its narcotic properties, and with the seeds and leaflets of hemp and the Sida to augment the quantity.

The waters of the rivers, lakes, and canals afford sustenance to many thousands of people. The number of persons, who live in boats on the inland waters and on the coast, amount to many millions, and all subsisting wholly or in part on fish. The quantity, quality and variety caught are sufficient to afford a large item of food to thousands who reside on shore, as well as those who live in the boats. The right of fishing in running streams is open to all; they are caught by the spear, and hook, ensnared by traps and nets, and dived for by birds trained for the purpose. They are also reared to a limited degree near Canton in fields which, during a part of the time are occupied for cultivating vegetables, and during the remainder are overflowed and used as fish-ponds. Tanks of different sizes are common, which are plentifully stocked with fish. The trout, perch, carp, mullet, sole, sunfish, pomfret, mandarin and many other fresh water, together with several kinds of salt water fish, as herring, sturgeon, mackerel, grouper, are common in the market of Canton, which is also supplied with salted and stock fish. The *pié fan u*, or "white rice fish," is a small kind, about an inch in length, and when fried, of a white color and a good taste. Other products of the water, as eels, frogs, water-snakes, lobsters, and crabs of various species, turtles, tortoises, shrimps, seaweed, and salt and fresh water shell-fish, are among the list of eatables used by the Chinese. Fish are exposed for sale alive in tubs, into which a stream of water is directed, and thus they can be kept any length of time. They are cooked in a great variety of ways and form an

ingredient in many dishes; stewing, frying, boiling, and baking are the common modes of preparation for the table; the spawn is made into a pickle; the heads are made into soups; and in some shape or other, fish are to be found constituting a part of a great proportion of the meals eaten by the Chinese.

The domesticated animals used by the Chinese as food comprise most of those known in Europe, but the perfection to which they have been brought by culture is very inferior. Cattle are sufficiently plentiful to answer all the needed purposes of agriculture, and to supply the people with food to some extent. The breed is small, but the flesh is tender and juicy; that of the buffalo is, however, coarse and strong, and is seldom eaten. The ox is most common in the northern provinces, and on the confines of Tartary; and in those parts of the country is employed in agriculture; in the south, the buffalo is used by the farmer, and the ox is raised for food only, and not to a very great extent. Their pasture grounds are usually on the hills among the graves. The broad tailed sheep is the common breed in China, and is known in all parts of the country. They are brought to Canton from the hills, and the mutton is tender and well flavored. Goats are also bred for their flesh and milk in the hilly regions; the color of those brought to Canton is usually black. Swine are reared more than any other quadrupeds; and the pork is highly esteemed for its savor and fat. The breed is well known for its short legs, crooked back, and small bones. The fat is seldom salted by the Chinese. Hams are poorly preserved, which is partly owing to the climate, and partly to want of skill in curing them. Horse flesh is found in the markets at the north, and according to Abel, bears a higher price than beef. Dogs and cats are eaten even by those who can afford to buy other meat. And rats, mice, lizards, toads and bats, are also purchased by the poor. Venison bears a high price, and is chiefly procurable in the cold provinces; hares, rabbits, wild cats, squirrels, and other wild game are found in some parts of China, and are used as food. In the western provinces, the camel is sometimes killed and dressed for the table.

Ducks are reared in great numbers. The eggs are hatched by artificial heat much in the same manner as in Egypt; and the young are kept in boats, which are provided with coops and railings. Ducks are boiled and roasted; they are also split open, salted, and dried, and in that state are constantly to be seen in the market. The 'mandarin duck,' famed for its plumage is not eaten, but is reared as an article of sale to the opulent and curious. Geese, hens, and turkeys are common; the wild duck, teal, snipe, quail, pigeon, plover, pheasant, and other wild fowl are to be procured in this market, more or less, at all seasons of the year. They are abundant in the marshes near the Poyang lake, and on the islands on the coast. The blood of animals, more particularly that of the hog, when coagulated, is used in making soups and other dishes; and is sold separately for that purpose. Among insects, the locust, grasshopper and silk-worm are eaten; the two former are sometimes cooked by being

roasted alive, and are esteemed as a delicate repast; the latter is taken after the insect has wound off the cocoon of silk and cooked by baking. Hogs and poultry are also fattened on locusts. Honey is known in the north, though but little used as an article of diet. The products of the dairy, as milk, butter and cheese, are hardly known among the Chinese. Milk is usually cooked by boiling; it is also employed in making cakes, pastry, &c. Butter and cheese are not used by them, nor do they understand the process of making the latter. Perhaps, however, the uses to which milk can be applied are better known in the north where cattle are more common.

Besides the articles of diet which are the produce of the country, there are several which are imported to considerable extent. Some of them have attracted the notice of foreigners from the singular taste shown by the Chinese in selecting them for food. The price most of them bear is such as the rich only can afford to pay, and by them the greatest quantity is consumed. The aphrodisiac properties which they are supposed to possess, is the principal reason why they are used so much. The edible birdsnest, found lining the caverns on the coasts of the islands of the Indian archipelago, is one of the most celebrated of these luxuries. It is cooked, when made perfectly clean, by stewing in water, and when served up appears very much like the rind of pork boiled for a long time, though more gelatinous. Sharks' fins, the maws or stomachs of fishes, bicho de mar, or 'slug of the sea,' the sinews, tongues, brains, udders, and other parts of animals are sought after for the same exciting purpose. Stockfish are imported to a considerable extent, and furnish the poor class with a substitute for salt fish. To accommodate this poorer class, the appendages of a carcass, as the head, feet, entrails, bones, &c. of animals, birds, or fishes are sold separately in the market, at a price which enables the poor to eat flesh. Sago is an import which is used by invalids, and is cooked by simply boiling, adding a little milk or egg.

The beverages of the Chinese are few in variety and small in quantity. They are drunk warm, for the Chinese alledge that liquids taken cold will engender disease. Tea is the chief among beverages with this people from the highest to the lowest. The mode of making the infusion is to pour boiling water upon the leaves, and then drain it off, or drink it from off the leaves; in both cases without any addition. A cup of tea is always offered to a visitor: a custom very similar to that prevalent in western countries, of presenting a glass of wine or liquor to a friend when a call is made. In lieu of tea or to increase the quantity, mosses, ferns, and the leaves of other plants are used in some parts remote from the tea districts. Pure water is seldom drunk, the popular belief being, that it is unhealthy; the water of the rivers is purified by filtrating, boiling or by alum to render it more wholesome. Ice is preserved at Peking till midsummer, and its use in cooling meats, fruits, and vegetables is well understood; but it is not employed in refrigerating liquids. Whenever the temperature is low enough to

form it at Canton, which is very seldom, it is industriously collected and sold. Fermented liquors are used but little. The wine, called rice wine, is made by putting yeast into boiled rice, and adding water; after the whole has stood closed up for about a week, the liquor is drawn off; its taste is not unpleasant, but it soon turns sour. When that is the case, it is converted into vinegar. As far as we know, neither cider, porter, nor beer is used by the Chinese; the former may be manufactured in those parts where the apple abounds. The ardent spirit called *sam shoo*, is the most common intoxicating liquor known in China. It is made by distilling rice or millet to a greater or less degree of strength, and communicating to it a smoky flavor, resembling whisky. The quality of it, therefore, varies in different parts of the country. Rum is made by distillation from melasses, and is commonly a very vile liquor. Spirits made from the apple, *le che*, cherry, and other fruits are known to some extent. *Atrack*, of a quality usually so deteriorated that it is almost pure rum, is imported into the maritime districts in small quantities. The inebriating properties of these several kinds of spirit are increased by the addition of heating substances, which render them very pernicious. The higher classes use spirits sparingly, but are yet fond of them; cherry brandy was always found an acceptable gift to a Chinese by Amherst's embassy. There is perhaps less drunkenness among the Chinese than among some of the nations of the west. When they do drink to excess, it is commonly in private, and to see an intoxicated Chinese in the streets is very unusual. When they drink healths to one another, the cup is taken in both hands, and drained to the bottom; this custom is, however, no great tax, as the cups are often not much larger than a tumbler.

The cooking and mode of eating among the Chinese are peculiar; the former is uniform from the highest to the lowest, as far as regards the preparation of the staples, yet it is in many respects, unlike that of any other people; and with regard to the latter, it is strictly national and practiced by no other people. The universal use of oil, not always the sweetest or purest, and of onions, in their dishes, together with the habitual neglect of their persons, causes an odor, almost insufferable to a European, and which is well characterized by Ellis, as the "repose of putrified garlic on a much used blanket." The dishes, when brought on the table, are almost destitute of seasoning, taste, flavor, or anything else by which one can be distinguished from another; all are alike insipid and greasy to the palate of a foreigner. The use of the chop sticks, *kwae tsze* 'nimble lads,' as they are termed by the Chinese, is very ancient. The dexterity with which they are handled, and the celerity with which the food is made to disappear, is a proof of the rightfulness of the name; but to a foreigner they are almost unmanageable, and the many vain attempts made to convey a piece of slippery bird's nest to the mouth with two smooth sticks, afford much amusement to the Chinese host. They are made of ivory, wood, or bamboo, and often form an

appendage to the person, hanging from the girdle in a case, accompanied by a small knife.

The cooking utensils are few; a pot in which to boil rice or millet; a frying-pan for fish, greens, meat, &c., and an earthen tea-kettle, constitute the principal part of the kitchen furniture of thousands of families in China. To these articles a portable furnace or stove may be added. The kitchens of the rich include ovens, mortars, mills, vases, safes, and other articles, the want of which is either endured by the poor, or one utensil used for many purposes. Knives, forks, spoons, sieves, bowls, ladles, skewers, and all the variety of small implements used in a kitchen are to be found within the precinct of a Chinese cookroom in some form or other. Cooking is performed by both sexes; in the upper ranks of life, females are, however, but little employed; with the poorer classes, the mistress of the family is usually the superintendent of the kitchen. In agricultural parts of the country, much of the cooking is done out of doors in pleasant weather; and even in the cities, no small portion of this business is performed in the streets.

The modes of cooking, most common among the Chinese, are stewing and frying. The former is the way in which the mixed dishes of meat and vegetables, and similar preparations are usually cooked; it is half-way between frying and boiling, and nearly resembles soup. Frying is done with oil or fat. Rice, and millet are boiled, and generally very dry, so that the grains do not lose their shape. Pork, fowl, fish, or whatever requires it, is often hashed previous to being cooked; this process secures the pieces being better cooked, than if the whole was done at once, and is besides necessary to enable the person to eat the food with chop sticks. The number of ingredients in a dish is not limited; the Chinese are partial to a variety, and ten or fifteen different substances are not unusual in a single dish. Soups are made in great perfection, if that name is applicable to the decoctions of flesh, vegetables and other ingredients, which the Chinese make. Their vermicelli is excellent; it is made of wheat or rice flour. The water in which fish, meat, rice, &c., has been cooked is sometimes used by the poor. Baking is for the most part confined to vegetables, as cakes, fruits, pies, pastry, and other articles of confectionary; the pastry, however, is tough and greasy. Cakes are made of a great number of substances and in a great variety of ways. The entire body of an animal is sometimes baked; the outer coating of hogs, dogs, fowls, &c., is first made clean, and the skin pierced with many holes, into which salt is rubbed; the body is then put into the oven for a short time, when it is taken out, and the skin rubbed well with soy; after which it is baked thoroughly. When finally taken from the oven, the skin appears as if varnished; and in that state is sold in the stalls. Roasting is hardly known in Chinese cookery.

The use of salt among the Chinese is dispensed with as often, and economized as much, as possible, on account of its dearthness. Salted meats or vegetables are not in great abundance; but fish is preserved

to a considerable amount in this manner. Puddings, custards, minced meat, ragouts, and others of the rich and highly seasoned dishes of Europe are nearly or quite unknown here. They have, however, many kinds of preparations used as condiments, either forming part of the dish, or eaten at the same time with it. Soy is one of the most common seasonings; but this substance differs much in various parts of the country. Vinegar is used to make pickles of a great number of vegetables and animal substances, as bamboo, cucumbers, cabbage, seaweed, fish, spawn of fishes, &c. Parsley, mustard, and pepper are cultivated for this purpose in various parts of the country. Concerning the endless variety of made dishes among the Chinese, we can only repeat the remark of a native, "that each one mixes them as he pleases." And also in judging of the cooking of this people, we should remember that it is national; and if we attempt to contrast two things so dissimilar as the modes of preparing food in Europe and China, the comparison appears incongruous, and inapplicable. Our tastes are formed on different models, and prejudices imbibed by one party, in favor of a certain dish, are by the other quite as strong against it.

The Chinese have but two principal meals in the day; the one about 10 o'clock A. M., called *early rice*, and the other about 5 P. M., called *evening rice*. The table furniture is uniform among the several ranks of society; a large bowl for rice, several smaller dishes for fish, greens, &c., and a small bowl with a pair of chop sticks for each person is that of the poor; from this, the number increases to several tens among the rich.—Let us suppose a family seated around the large bowl of rice, and ready to begin. If a table and bench are not procurable, which is often the case, we can imagine them squatted on the floor in a circle, with their feet inwards, just the contrary way from the ancient Jews and Romans. Each one holds a small bowl of rice close to the chin, and with his chop sticks shovels the food into the mouth, till it is crammed full; then wiping his sticks on the edge of the bowl, he takes up a bit of fish, meat or whatever is in the small dishes, and pushes it in edgewise as a relish. After a while, the mouth is again empty. A short respite is now taken, and conversation ensues: one eats and another talks. The 'nimble lads' are however, soon at work again, and the same process is repeated. The richer neighbors of these poor people do not differ materially in their manner of eating; the number of dishes is greatly increased, and the quantity eaten of each is much less, but in their general habits at the table, the Chinese are all alike.

The number of courses given at a feast puzzles the foreigner; several tens are usual at a large banquet. The mystery is solved, however, when he learns that most of the dishes are about the size of saucers. Spoons are used to take up the liquid part of the messes. Only one kind is brought on the table at once, which when dispatched is either removed or placed in the middle of the table for further consideration. Wine or tea is drank between the courses. Soup is sometimes served first, and sometimes fruit, which

remains on the table during the whole time. At an entertainment given to lord Amherst at Teëntsin, 'soup was brought on first, then sixteen dishes of fruits and dried meats; the third course was eight basins of stewed shark's fins, birdsnests, and other similar viands; and lastly, there were twelve bowls of different kinds of meat cut into small pieces, and floating in gravy.' Some of the entertainments given by the hong merchants at Canton have been sumptuous; and the furniture, dishes, and other appurtenances were magnificent. It is customary for a man, when he gives a dinner, to express his solicitude to be honored with the company of the guest by sending two, and sometimes, three invitations; after the feast, the guest returns his thanks by a note. The Chinese custom, when giving a large party, is to give each visitor a separate table on which he is served, and which are ranged along the sides of the room. Games of chance, trials of skill in composing poetry impromptu, and other recreations are also introduced between the courses; and the time occupied at a convivial party is often six or seven hours. They eat a great deal at all times, and now fill themselves to repletion. If a man, when invited, is unable to attend, his portion of the estates is sent to his house. In such feasts, the female part of the family is always excluded; but the children are sometimes brought in to see the visitors. It is a very general custom for the male and female parts of a household to eat at separate tables, particularly among the higher and middle grades of society.

Taverns, eating-houses, and cook-stalls are very numerous in Chinese cities, where a meal of good substantial food can be obtained at a moment's warning. The taverns are supplied with both board and lodging, and at a reasonable rate. Some of them are extensive, occupying the whole of a large, two story building; in the upper story is the hall, and below, the kitchen. The bill of fare comprises every thing in season, and the cooking is in the best style. Travelers resort to these houses, and there are those to be found whose prices will suit the purse of every one. The eating-houses are very similar to the establishments of the same name in western cities, where a meal is to be procured. They are similar to the taverns in their bill of fare, but have no other accommodations than a table and seats. From the number of houses of this latter description, in Canton, we should suppose that they were much patronized, but by what particular class, or whether by all classes, we do not know. The cooking which is done in the streets of Chinese cities, is principally confined to the frying of cakes, pastry, nuts, &c., though more substantial fare is procurable at some stalls. Those which have rice or meat, are usually stationary in the markets and squares, and are sometimes provided with a table, bench and dishes. The others consist of a pot, with a furnace underneath, enclosed in a stand, and suspended from one end of a bamboo pole; and of provisions and materials for cooking hung on the other end of it; and are thus carried about on the shoulders of the proprietor. The price of a meal of course varies in these several eating resorts; and

for different kinds of food, it varies at the same table: but many cannot be found who charge much above two mace for a single meal, nor who will sell one of rice and greens for much less than three candareens.

Stalls, where fresh, dried, and preserved fruits, also cakes, and confectionary of all sorts are sold, are met with on every corner. These are likewise movable, as well as the cooking stands, and are carried about in the same manner. The Chinese have no buildings erected for the purpose of vending the different productions of the land, but those who have articles to sell, establish themselves in the most eligible spot they can find, or what is as common, carry about the articles in tubs or baskets suspended from bamboos laid across their shoulders. The markets are merely open spaces, in the streets, usually near the temples, where there is generally a collection of persons having provisions to sell, and near by, there is often a row of eating-houses. The Chinese are very economical in the use of fuel wherever it is employed. Two or three dishes are sometimes cooked at once by the same fire. The wood brought to Canton is chiefly fir and pine; it is exposed for sale in billets about a foot long, tied up in faggots. It is always sold by weight, as are also charcoal and fossil coal. The use of fuel is confined mostly to cooking and the arts; they keep themselves warm by increasing the number of garments, and are strangers to the pleasures of a cheerful fireside.

We shall close our miscellaneous remarks on this subject with presenting our readers such information as we can obtain concerning the price of provisions and the expenses of living in Canton; and which will not, we believe, be far from the truth when applied to other parts of the country. Situated as foreigners are in China, there are many obstacles in the way of ascertaining the actual market rate of provisions; besides, the prices at which articles of food sell, are affected by many incidental causes, as inundations, extortions of local officers, &c. As in all thickly settled countries, the expenses of the table are high; but unlike what is found to be the case in Europe, the reward given for labor is very small. The wages of a person in the fields, or in the workshop, generally, is one mace or about fourteen cents per day; and the boatmen and others engaged on the river, receive still less. Those who are employed as porters and menials, are also paid, on an average, one mace per day. Personal servants, compradors, clerks, master workmen, &c., are allowed from four to ten dollars a month. The wages of menials, however, are very changeable; a great number are glad to give their services for no other remuneration than food and clothing. Rents usually are not high. A house in the city that will accommodate twelve or fifteen persons, containing five or six rooms is about \$100 per annum, including the ground rent to government. A similar one in the country can be procured for \$60. One containing two rooms, large enough to lodge five individuals can be procured for \$1 50 per month. Between this and the first, there is every grade of

price and convenience. Not a few of the poorest people live in hovels or boats for which one dollar, and sometimes a half or fourth of that sum per month, is an ample remuneration. Not a very large part of the population, so far as we can ascertain, live in hired houses; if a man is unable to buy or build a tenement, he usually boards with a friend. Sometimes 8, 12, 15, 20, 40, and even 60, or more persons live in one house; this of course reduces the individual expenses; and this practice is so common, that the average of each one, at \$2 50 per month, may be taken for the general rate of board. A family of ten persons can procure good provisions and comfortable accommodations for \$400 per annum; but if they lived in the same house with other families, the expense would probably be decreased \$100. This sum includes clothing as well as food, which can be procured at from \$4 to \$8 for cotton garments, and from \$10 to \$20 for silk dresses. A common laborer can live for \$2 25 per month including clothes and rent, but \$3 00 is probably nearer the general common average for this class of people.

The prices of the articles which we annex, will be found to be very near the truth. Some of the sums differ from those which Barrow obtained in Peking. In that city, "bad beef sells for six pence a pound; mutton and pork, eight pence; lean fowls and ducks from two to three shillings; eggs are generally about one penny each; small loaves of bread, cooked without leaven, about four pence a pound; rice from three halfpence to two pence the pound; and wheat flour, two pence halfpenny or three pence."

The estimates here given as the expenses of living among the Chinese will afford no criterion of those necessarily incurred by foreigners. They are under the "compassionate mercies" of the rulers, and the "tuition" of compradors, and must pay the price of protection in the one case, and instruction in the other. The charges of the compradors for furnishing the tables of foreigners, although greatly reduced from what they were formerly, are at present from 10 to 100 per cent advance upon the market price. The wages paid to servants in the factories does not much exceed that which they would receive from their own countrymen. Rents are, however, very much higher; houses which occupy only 3000 square feet, rent for \$1000 and upwards. According to the law of the land, foreigners are not allowed to possess land or houses in fee simple, but must hire their habitations of the hong merchants. Likewise, the charges for boats, postage, and other incidental expenses are calculated on the principle of "squeezing" as much as possible from foreigners, compatible with the existence of the subject in question. The cost of a fast-boat between Canton and Macao is \$36 for a foreigner, which includes the permit; without that, the charge is from \$20 to \$24, but there is a risk of being seized by the officers. For the same description of boat, a native pays but \$8 or \$9. And for postage, the charge is one mace per letter, while a native gives only three candareens.

According to the best information, which we can obtain, the prices in this market are as follows.—The dollar bears about the same relation to the tael, as the catty does to the pound; so that the candareens paid per catty, may be regarded equal to the cents paid per pound.

		T.	M.	C.	C.	
Beef,		0.	0.	9.	0	per catty.
Buffaloe's beef,		0.	0.	5.	0	" "
Tongues,		0.	1.	0.	0	each.
Mutton,		0.	2.	4.	0	per catty.
Kid's flesh,		0.	1.	2.	0	" "
Pork,		0.	1.	0.	0	" "
Sausages,		0.	1.	5.	0	" "
Hams,		0.	1.	8.	0	" "
Pig's feet,		0.	0.	9.	0	" "
Hens,		0.	0.	6.	8	" "
Capons,		0.	1.	1.	0	" "
Ducks,		0.	0.	6.	8	" "
Geese,		0.	0.	8.	0	" "
Turkies,		3.	0.	0.	0	apiece.
Partridges,		0.	1.	2.	0	" "
Wild ducks,		0.	1.	8.	0	" "
Pigeons,		0.	1.	0.	0	per catty.
Pheasants,		0.	3.	0.	0	apiece.
Teal,		0.	1.	6.	0	" "
Sole fish,		0.	1.	0.	0	per catty.
White rice fish,		0.	0.	6.	0	" "
Oysters,		0.	0.	5.	0	" "
Salted fish,	5 can. to	0.	1.	6.	0	" "
Turnips,		0.	0.	1.	0	" "
Salad, greens, &c.	3 cash to	0.	0.	0.	6	" "
Oranges,		0.	0.	4.	4	" "
Le che,		0.	0.	3.	0	" "
Nelumbium root,		0.	0.	3.	0	" "
Water chestnuts,		0.	0.	1.	0	" "
Irish potatoes,		3.	0.	0.	0	per pecul.
Taro and sweet potatoes,		1.	0.	0.	0	" "
Yams,		0.	0.	3.	0	per catty.
Rice,	1½ to	3.	0.	0.	0	per pecul.
Flour, (wheaten)	4 can. to	0.	0.	6.	0	per catty.
Bread in small loaves,		0.	0.	2.	5	per loaf.
Eggs, (ducks, hens, &c.)		0.	0.	0.	7	apiece.
Salt	2 can. to	0.	0.	4.	0	per catty.
Tobacco,	1 ma. to	0.	2.	0.	0	" "
Sugar candy,		0.	1.	0.	0	" "
" Pingfa,		0.	0.	3.	0	" "
Wood,	1 ma. to	0.	1.	8.	0	per pecul.
Charcoal,		1.	0.	0.	0	" "
Fossil coal,		0.	2.	4.	0	" "

ART. IV. *British authorities in China: their present situation; orders respecting seamen, and a seamen's hospital; efforts to rescue the captured seamen of the Argyle.*

It was rumored among the Chinese early this month, that a British fleet had arrived off their coast, having come hither to seek redress for the injuries sustained during the last summer and autumn. After all that has transpired since lord Napier came to China, seven months ago, we do not wonder that the people should anticipate, and the local authorities fear, the presence of armed ships. The time cannot, we think, be very distant when the Chinese government must come in direct contact with the British authorities, and those of other 'barbarian nations;' and, only let the latter be well prepared for such an issue, and supported by a force which while it affords protection and security shall command respect, the sooner this takes place the better it will be for both foreigners and Chinese.

Hitherto foreign powers have taken great precaution to keep aloof from the Chinese. This course, however, so far from producing any respect and good-will, has had the opposite effect. If the course which the Chinese pursued with regard to lord Napier, were fully known to the king and people of Great Britain, it would call forth their united and strong indignation. That course was most barbarous and unjust; and there seems now a consciousness among the Chinese that their government has outraged the laws of common right and humanity. This sense of having done wrong is clearly seen in the imperial edicts relative to the hong merchants; and it is equally apparent in the conduct of the people and officers of Canton. Wrongs and insults have been heaped on the representatives of a great and powerful nation, seeking an amicable, an honorable, and a profitable intercourse. Proclamations, containing false and injurious statements concerning both the king and the people of Great Britain, have been sent through the empire, and in broad capitals "pasted up where all eyes can see them." If these gross injuries are passed by unnoticed, it will encourage and incite the aggressors to repeat and increase them. We wait with no small degree of anxiety to see what course the British government will adopt in the present emergency. There seems to be but two courses which can well be pursued: and foreign governments must either take the high ground of perfect equality, and maintain it, or abandon utterly all such pretensions. It is ridiculous to hoist the signal of authority, where none is acknowledged.—The present situation of the British superintendants in this country is well exhibited by an "Official Notice to British subjects in China," which we quote from the Canton Register.

"The superintendants have during the last few weeks devoted their serious consideration to the state in which past occurrences have

placed H. M. commission in China, and think it due to the British community to afford to them the following succinct statement of their views on the subject.

“Any determination in regard to the future, which it may seem fit to his Majesty in his wisdom to adopt, the superintendents will not presume to anticipate. It has been their duty humbly to submit a full detail of all the events which have transpired since the arrival of the commission in China, and this they have faithfully performed. It is proper to add, that in accordance with instructions under the royal sign manual, a transcript of the same report has been forwarded in duplicate to his Excellency, the right honorable, the Governor General of India.

“Adverting then to the situation in which his Majesty’s servants have been placed by the denial of the Canton government to acknowledge their public character, or admit them to official communication, they cannot but regret the inconveniences which may result to both English and Chinese from so strange and anomalous a state of affairs. It is manifest, that under these circumstances, no channel now exists for the conveyance, in an authentic shape, of any expression of the views or wishes of the Chinese government to his Majesty’s knowledge. The local authorities, after having from the very first arrival of the commission on their shores, persisted in rejecting the only legitimate means of communication, have no reasonable ground of complaint should their requisitions remain unanswered.

“The superintendents are led to make the preceding reflections in consequence of its having come to their knowledge, that several papers have been addressed to the private merchants of Canton purporting to emanate from the local government, and containing matter which it is desired may be submitted to his Majesty’s knowledge. After making every allowance for the strangeness of the Chinese to external relations, it is difficult to believe that the Canton authorities, who constantly profess to act in conformity to reasonable principles, should have voluntarily placed themselves in so false a position. To judge by mere intrinsic evidence, it might be fairly inferred that the particular papers alluded to were not authentic. Any other conclusion would involve the extravagant belief that the high officers of the Chinese government, enlightened men, and practiced in the proprieties of public business, would place themselves in the helpless position of attempting to convey the wishes of their own sovereign to his Majesty, the king of England, through the incongruous medium of commercial correspondence. Such a course would be at variance with all sound principles of dignity, and a departure from every dictate of reason. It would be to derogate from the majesty of their own sovereign, and to expose themselves to the certainty of preventing their communications from receiving the slightest degree of attention.

“Under present circumstances the superintendents must at once declare that they cannot seek the least occasion to open communi-

sation with the local authorities. However much they might have deemed it their duty, if suitably approached, to forward a decorous communication to his Majesty's government; they must repeat that in the actual state of things they consider themselves bound to await in perfect silence the final determination of the king. Pending this interval, the superintendents have to submit some few suggestions to his Majesty's subjects resident in China, and they do so in a spirit of serious earnestness, and with conviction that the vast importance of the subject will insure to their remarks the most attentive consideration. They formally counsel and enjoin the king's subjects, each in his own place, and by all the influence of his example, to avoid or prevent the chance of affording to the Chinese a plausible ground of complaint, and to refrain as much as possible from any allusions to the past, or anticipations with regard to the future. In fine, to impress the local government and the people, by the deliberate reserve of their conduct, with a proper sense of the confidence reposed in our sovereign's wisdom to conceive, and power to execute any measures which may be deemed necessary for the establishment of all things on a sure and permanent foundation.

"If any well founded complaint against the conduct of the Chinese authorities towards British subjects should arise, the superintendents trust that it will be preferred to them, and that the decision, as to the best course to be pursued, will be remitted to their judgment. They deem it superfluous to insist upon their desire to give to such questions the most anxious consideration; and to provide the most suitable way to a remedy. The superintendents will only observe, that these suggestions with regard to the procedure of British subjects under existing circumstances have by no means been made because they apprehend that the advice may be practically necessary, but rather to draw attention to the subject, with a view to inducing such a temperate and judicious course of conduct during the interval of the reference to the supreme powers, as shall insure the most prosperous results.

By order of the superintendents,
Macao, Nov. 10th, 1834, CHARLES ELLIOT, Secretary."

The following extract from the general instructions to the chief superintendent will further illustrate their present attitude, as well in reference to the Chinese authorities as to British subjects in this country.—"In execution of the said commission you will take up your residence at the port of Canton in the dominions of the emperor of China, and you will discharge the several duties confided to you by the said commission and orders in council respectively at Canton aforesaid, or at any other place within the river or port of Canton, or at any other place which may be for that purpose hereafter appointed by us, and *not elsewhere*. The Bocca Tigris, which is marked by a fort immediately above Anson's bay, forms the limit of the port of Canton, and your lordship will accordingly conform to that understanding." According to these instructions it appears that the several duties of the commission, are to be discharged *with-*

is the port of Canton, and not elsewhere, until some other place may be appointed for that purpose. Hence the propriety of the superintendents declaring, that under present circumstances "they cannot seek the least occasion to open communication with the local authorities," and "must repeat that in the actual state of things' they consider themselves bound to wait in perfect silence the final determination of the king."

It may be proper to add here, for the information of those of our readers who are not in China, that the commission, now resident at Macao, is composed of the following officers: Sir George B. Robinson, bart., chief superintendent; John H. Astell, esquire, second superintendent; captain Charles Elliot, R. N., third superintendent; Alexander R. Johnston, esquire, secretary and treasurer; J. Robert Morrison, esquire, Chinese secretary and interpreter; Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, joint Chinese secretary and interpreter; Rev. Geo. H. Vachell, chaplain; T. R. Colledge, esquire, surgeon; A. Anderson, esquire, assistant surgeon; and Edward E. Elmslie, esquire, clerk.

In our number for December last, we had occasion to animadvert on the conduct of shipmasters in 'turning adrift' and abandoning their men, as they sometimes have done, in this country. We are glad to observe the subject has engaged the attention of the British superintendents. We copy from the Canton Register the following

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

Considerable inconvenience and public expense having been incurred, by reason of the improper conduct of certain masters of British merchant vessels in willfully leaving behind in this place, men belonging to the said vessels; Notice is hereby given, that this practice is contrary to law, and that the offense may be prosecuted by indictment or information at the suit of his majesty's attorney general in the court of King's Bench at Westminster, as if it had been committed at Westminster in the county of Middlesex; and it is now declared, that the superintendents will take measures to institute proceedings against any master or masters of British merchant vessels found offending herein in future. By order of the superintendents,

A. R. JOHNSTON, secretary.

We are likewise glad to see, that, in connection with the British residents in China, the superintendents are taking measures to establish a British hospital for seamen. The following notices, and extracts we copy from the Canton Register of the 17th instant.

No. 1.

In conformity with the provisions of an act of parliament passed in the 6th year of his late majesty's reign, cap. 87. intituled "an act to regulate the payment of salaries to British consuls at foreign ports, and the disbursements at such ports for certain public purposes," Notice is hereby given, that James Matheson, esquire, has been duly authorized under the hands and seal of the superintendents of British trade in China to convene a meeting of all his majesty's subjects residing in or being at Canton, at 11 o'clock on Monday the twenty-third day of February, 1835, at the British hotel, Imperail hong, for the purpose of instituting a British hospital at Whampoa or elsewhere for the reception of any of his majesty's subjects, either seamen or others, needing medical care and relief.

By order of the superintendents of British trade in China,

Macao, Feb. 9th, 1835.

A. R. JOHNSTON, secretary and treasurer.

No. 2.

In virtue of authority to me, in that behalf given, under the hands and seal of his majesty's superintendents of British trade in China, I do hereby request and convene a meeting of all his majesty's subjects residing in or being at Canton, at 11 o'clock on Monday, the 23d day of February, 1835, at the British hotel, Imperial hong, for the purpose of instituting a British hospital for the reception of any of his majesty's subjects needing medical care and relief.

Canton, February 14th, 1835.

JAMES MATHESON.

No. 3.

Notice is hereby given, that, in conformity with the provisions of an act of parliament passed in the 6th year of his late majesty's reign, cap. 87, any of his majesty's subjects residing in or being at Canton on the 23d of February, 1835, and who shall have voluntarily subscribed any sum or sums of money not less than twenty pounds in the whole, nor less than three pounds by the year, for or towards the purpose of instituting a British hospital either at Whampoa or elsewhere for the reception of any of his majesty's subjects, needing medical care and relief, and being present at the meeting to be held on the 23d of February 1835, shall be entitled to vote thereat, and notice is further given, that, pursuant to the provisions of the aforesaid act, the superintendents will advance and pay on his majesty's account for and towards the purpose aforesaid any sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole, in any one year, the sums raised in that year by voluntary contribution.

By order of the superintendents of British trade in China,

A. R. JOHNSON, secretary and treasurer.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ACT. 6 GEO. IV., CAP. 87.

"XI. And be it further enacted, that in case his Majesty's subjects shall by voluntary subscription among themselves raise and contribute such a sum of money as shall be requisite for defraying one half part of the expense of erecting, purchasing, or hiring any church, or chapel, or building, to be appropriated for the celebration of Divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the united church of England and Ireland, or of the church of Scotland; or for defraying one half part of the expense of erecting, purchasing, or hiring any building to be used as a hospital for the reception of his Majesty's subjects; or for defraying one half of the expense of purchasing or hiring any ground to be used as a place of interment for his Majesty's subjects at any foreign port or place wherein any consul-general or consul appointed by his Majesty shall be resident, then and in any such case it shall and may be lawful for such consul-general or consul, in obedience to any order to be for that purpose issued by his Majesty through one of his principal secretaries of state, to advance and pay, for and towards the purposes aforesaid, or any of them, any sum or sums of money not exceeding in the whole in any one year the amount of money raised in that year by any such voluntary contribution as aforesaid; and every such consul-general or consul as aforesaid shall in like manner once in every year transmit to one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state an account made up to the thirty-first day of December in the year next preceding, of all the sums of money actually raised at any such port or place as aforesaid, for the several purposes aforesaid, or any of them, by any such voluntary subscriptions as aforesaid, and of all sums of money

by him actually paid and expended for such purposes, or any of them, in obedience to any such order as aforesaid, and which accounts shall by such principal secretary of state be transmitted to the lord high treasurer, or to the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, for the time being, who shall give to such consul-general or consul credit for all sums of money not exceeding the amount aforesaid, by him disbursed and expended in pursuance of any such order as aforesaid, for the purposes before mentioned, or any of them.

"XIV. And be it further enacted, That all consuls-general and consuls appointed by his Majesty to reside and being resident at any foreign port or place wherein any such church or chapel, or other place appropriated for the celebration of Divine worship, or hospital, or any such burial ground as aforesaid, hath heretofore been or shall hereafter be erected, purchased, or hired by the aid of any voluntary subscription or rates collected by or imposed upon his Majesty's subjects, or some person or persons for that purpose duly authorized by any writing under the hand and seal of any such consul-general or consul, shall, once at the least in every year, and more frequently if occasion shall require, by public advertisement, or in any such other manner as may be best adapted for insuring publicity, convene and summon a meeting of all his Majesty's subjects residing at such foreign port or place as aforesaid, to be holden at the public office of such consul-general or consul, at some time, not more than fourteen days nor less than seven days next after the publication of any such summons; and it shall and may be lawful for all his Majesty's subjects residing or being at any such foreign port or place as aforesaid, at the time of any such meeting, and who shall have subscribed any sum or sums of money not less than twenty pounds in the whole, nor less than three pounds by the year, for or towards the purposes before mentioned, or any of them, and have paid up the amount of such of their subscriptions, to be present and vote at any such meeting; and such consuls-general or consuls shall preside at all such meetings; and in the event of the absence of any consuls-general or consuls, the subscribers present at any such meeting shall, before proceeding to the dispatch of business, nominate one of their number to preside at such meeting, and all questions proposed by the consul-general, consul, or person so nominated as aforesaid to preside in his absence, to any such meeting, shall be decided by the votes of the majority in number of the persons attending and being present thereat; and in the event of the number of such votes being equally divided, the consul-general, or consul, or person so presiding in his absence, shall give a casting vote.

"XV. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for any such general meeting as aforesaid to make and establish, and from time to time, as occasion may require, to revoke, alter, and render such general rules, orders, and regulations, as may appear to them to be necessary for the due and proper use and management of such churches, chapels, hospitals, and burial grounds as aforesaid, or for the proper control over, and expenditure of, the

money raised by any such subscription as aforesaid, or otherwise in relation to the matters aforesaid, as may be necessary for carrying into execution the objects of this act, so far as relates to those matters or any of them: provided always, that no such rule, order, or regulation as aforesaid shall be of any force or effect, unless or until it be sanctioned and approved by the consul-general or consul for the time being, appointed by his Majesty to reside and actually resident at such foreign port or place; and provided also that, the same shall by such consul-general or consul, be transmitted by the first convenient opportunity for his Majesty's approbation; and that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty by an order to be by him issued through one of his principal secretaries of state, either to confirm or disallow any such rules, orders, and regulations, either in the whole or in part, and to make such amendments and alterations in, or additions to, the same, or any of them, as to his Majesty shall seem meet, or suspend for any period of time the execution thereof, or any of them, or otherwise to direct or prevent the execution thereof, or any of them, in such manner as to his Majesty shall seem meet; and all orders so to be issued by his Majesty, in relation to the matters aforesaid, through one of his principal secretaries of state, shall be recorded in the office of the said consul-general or consul, at the foreign port or place to which the same may refer, and shall be of full force, effect, and authority upon and over all his Majesty's subjects there resident."

Agreeably to the preceding notices, a meeting of the British residents was convened on the 23d, and resolutions, we understand, were adopted to facilitate the establishment of the contemplated hospital. In this noble undertaking we wish them every success; and sincerely hope that some plan may be devised, which shall secure the same privileges to *all* foreign "seamen or others, needing medical care and relief" in this country. British seamen are not the only men who are in need. It cannot be expected, however, that the British authorities, or residents, will extend their medical establishment so as to provide the necessary arrangements for any, or but few, except their own countrymen. Shall all other foreign seamen, then, be left destitute of medical care and relief?

Concerning the boat's crew of the *Argyle*, and the efforts made to rescue them, the following are the principal particulars which have come to our knowledge. On standing over from Luçonia for the coast of China, the *Argyle* encountered a heavy gale from N.E., lost nearly all her sails, and made the land to the leeward of St. John's (San shan), near *Hailing shan*. On the morning of the 20th ultimo, Mr. C. A. Hudson, the second officer of the *Argyle*, left the ship in the first cutter, manned with nine Lascars and two seacunnies, and went to the shore for a pilot. Having landed on a sandy beach, he proceeded immediately to some small huts which he saw about a mile distant. He took with him one of the seacunnies and two Lascars, and left the others to take care of the

boat. He reached the huts, but, after repeated efforts, was unable to make the people understand his wants. On returning, he perceived that the boat was being plundered, and hastened to the spot; —upon which the Chinese ran off, leaving several plundered articles behind them. The excuse made by the Lascars for allowing these depredations was, that the number of the Chinese, all armed with "choppers and bill-hooks," was so great, that it was impossible to resist them, and that they threatened to kill them if they did not remain quiet. During this time, the tide had retired, and left the boat almost dry. They launched her, and the Lascars were getting in when one of them found a large hole, through which she was fast filling with water. She was drawn up again, when it appeared that nothing could be done to repair her. The boat was old, but the surf was not so high as to account satisfactorily for her being stove. The Chinese, who had now assembled in great force, all armed as before, speedily bore away every relic of the boat, and disburdened the poor *fan kwei* of their clothes, not excepting even the shoes, stockings and shirt of the officer.

In the evening they were brought to a village about three miles from the beach, "where," says Mr. Hudson, "we were put into a room and locked up for about two hours. They then brought us some rice and sweet potatoes to eat, and having given us some straw to sleep upon, locked us up for the night. The next morning they let us out; I then made signs to them that I wanted a boat to go to the ship; this they would not give us. A seacunny having climbed a tree, saw the ship getting under weigh; she stood off and went out of sight." The whole party seem to have been taken in charge by the village elder, a literary gentleman, who wished to profit by their situation. While the ship remained in sight, the mate made every exertion in his power to get taken off to her. Their keeper gave them a very short allowance of food. In other respects, they were not generally ill used; though, often insulted by being spit at, and the Lascars sometimes beaten by the men in charge of them. They were allowed to go out anywhere during the day, but were always attended by a Chinese guard. Their keeper, the village elder, had obtained from a shipwreck, some muskets and a telescope. The latter he permitted Mr. Hudson to take with him in his daily excursions. On one of these rambles, Mr. H. fell in with an old man who was able to speak a few words of Portuguese, and engaged him to act as interpreter. Soon after this, on the third day, a ship was seen standing towards the shore, supposed to be the *Argyle*. Through the interpreter, Mr. H. offered the Chinese \$50 for a boat to go off to the ship, promising to remain himself as security, provided all the others might be allowed to go on board. This offer was declined, but it was promised that they should be sent to Macao. After eighteen days' detention at Ma-wei, (Ma-me) they set off for Canton; and passing through Yangkeang (Yoong-kong), Yangchun, Sishing, Shaouking (Shewhing), and Sanshwuy, arrived here on the evening of the 17th instant. The next day, they were taken before

the local authorities, examined, and released. Most of the way from Ma-wei to Canton they were brought in boats, but sometimes they were obliged to walk. While at Shaouking, Mr. Hudson obtained permission to walk through that city, but was not taken before any authorities. At that place they were furiously pelted with stones, apparently because they did not show themselves to the people. The same thing had taken place once or twice before. Their journey affords an additional instance of the little hospitality that it is to be expected from the Chinese.

Before the return of the boat's crew to Canton, considerable anxiety was felt for their safety, and every possible effort was made by the captain of the ship, and by the British superintendents to hasten their release. The latter dispatched one of their own body (the third superintendent,) accompanied by one of their interpreters, from Macao to the city gates of Canton, bearing an open letter to his excellency the governor, detailing the circumstances of the case, and stating also that "the affair concerned human life." But the letter was refused, and the delegation treated with indignity and insult. Other expedients were tried; but were, so far as we can ascertain, entirely without effect. There was, however, no reason to apprehend any thing for their lives, unless from the neglect and hard treatment of the Chinese.

ART. V. *The Chinese Oral language; marked distinction between it and the Written language; degree of affinity which exists between them; origin of different dialects; general character of several of these dialects.*

In the first number of the present volume, we entered at considerable length into the subject of the language of China, and particularly of the written medium, as used throughout the empire and in all the Chinese-language nations. While on this subject, we more than once adverted to the striking distinction between the written and spoken mediums of communication: a distinction which appears peculiar to the Chinese and its cognate languages; and which we stated to arise from the monosyllabic nature of the oral language, and the combination of ideographic symbols with more or less perfect representatives of sound, which exists in the written medium. Owing to this, it becomes requisite to use many more words in speaking than in writing; because the number of monosyllabic sounds being necessarily very confined, many different things come to be denoted by words of precisely the same *sound*, and the same tonic inflection; although differing in the written *forms*. The absence of an alphabet has proved a bar to the entire adoption of polysyllabic words, for the removal of this difficulty; because one character has still suf-

faced for expressing any single idea in writing; though in speaking, it has been found necessary to unite two synonymous monosyllables to denote the same idea. Thus the symbol 理 (*lǐ*) is quite sufficient, in itself, to represent to the eye of the instructed reader; and thereby to suggest to his mind, the idea of *reason*; but if he would communicate the same idea to another, unless in a connection so familiar that it could not be mistaken, he must say *tāu lǐ*, in order to be understood; both words having one common signification, which is shown by their combination to be the signification intended by the speaker. Thus while the sound *lǐ* alone would be ambiguous, because many words have the same sound, the phrase *tāu lǐ* is unambiguous, because that combination of sounds always occurs with the same meaning. This may be further elucidated by a reference to what occasionally occurs, but in a far inferior degree, in alphabetic languages. Write the word *heir*; and it is known, without the use of any expletive, that you mean one who is a successor to the property or title of another; but if you would express this idea orally, you must add expletives, to prevent being misunderstood, and to show that you do not refer to the atmospheric *air* around you. Here is an instance of *two* such homophonous words: but in Chinese there are many instances of *ten* or *twenty* such; and, if the tonic inflections be disregarded, of as many even as *one hundred and fifty*. Since many of these are, however, rarely if ever used in speaking, let even two thirds of the number be deducted, and a very confusing number of homophonous words must still remain. This consideration shows strongly the desirableness, if possible, of introducing into China some kind of alphabet, as an instrument of gradually rescuing the Chinese from their present Babel-like confusion of tongues.

But, notwithstanding the wide distinction which we have noticed, between the written and oral languages of China, the written language is so far affected by the oral, that it becomes often in a great degree assimilated to it, by the accumulation of synonymous words, employed for the sake of euphony. This produces a great degree of affinity between these two languages, or rather these two mediums of communication; the consideration of which affinity induced us to embrace the opportunity afforded by our remarks on the written language, in the first number of this volume, to give a detail of the system of orthography which we have hitherto adopted. This has occasioned an intermixture of distinct topics, which certainly is not philosophical. It would doubtless have been more correct to treat of the written and oral languages as subjects altogether separate; following in this the arrangement adopted by M. Rémusat, in his excellent *Grammaire Chinoise*. But it was requisite to sacrifice philosophical arrangement at the shrine of convenience. We therefore entered into some details respecting the Chinese system of sounds, giving a table of all the monosyllables contained in the national, or official, language, in English orthography. We may

here remark, that the system of orthography made use of for this purpose was not offered (though from inadvertence it purported to be so) as that 'best adapted' to express the Chinese sounds; but as that which was, under existing circumstances, most convenient for use, being an alteration of the orthography of Dr. Morrison's valuable Chinese Dictionary, only so far, and in such slight degree, as was absolutely necessary in order to obtain uniformity. To show that this is by no means a perfect system of orthography, especially as regards the vowels, it is only necessary to remark, that the *a* is used both as in *may*, and as in *papa*; the *e* as in *met*, and as in *le*, and as the *y* in *yet*, and the other vowels with similar discrepancies.

Having said thus much as to the distinctions between the written and oral languages, we will proceed to make a few remarks on the latter, and in particular on the variety of its dialects. In a succeeding number we propose to continue the subject, by offering some suggestions with regard to the general adoption of an improved system of orthography; such as may be suited, not merely to the existing orthography of any single nation of Europe, but equally fitted for general use among all occidental sinologues.

Viewed as a whole, the oral language of China is so contrary, in most of its idioms, to all the languages of the west, that long study of it is necessary to enable a European to understand it, or to be understood in speaking it, to any considerable extent. And many of its sounds are so peculiar, its varied inflections of tone so minute, that it is not surprising that it has been so frequently characterized as barbarous, harsh, unintelligible; or that it has so rarely gained the attention of foreigners residing in the country where it is spoken. As, however, it becomes better known, as facilities for acquiring it are multiplied, and as the way is paved for the introduction of improvements in its structure and dress, we may hope to see it assume a more commending attitude, and receive a more flattering degree of attention.

It is well known, that the difficulty of being understood in speaking Chinese is very much enhanced by the great differences which exist between the dialects of the several provinces, and even of various parts of the same province. In a nation which, from very small beginnings, has gradually extended its sway over so wide a territory, it is natural to expect that such would be the case. The general language of China, that which is spoken by the higher and middling ranks, who possess, or who aspire to offices under the government, has been from this circumstance denominated the *kwan hwa*, the language of public officers, or as it is more frequently called, 'the mandarin tongue.' Provincial dialects, or *patois*, are denominated *too tan*, local dialects; and, by the provincialists themselves, *pih hwa*, the plain speech,—the mode of speaking most plain and obvious to their understandings.

The language of the present inhabitants of China seems to have originated in the north-western extremity of the country, the modern

province of Shense. By whom it was introduced, and how long after the confusion of tongues at Babel, are questions of a mixed philological and historical nature, which it cannot be expected ever satisfactorily to determine. As the petty state with whose history the Chinese annals commence, at a period very partially rescued from the obscurity of fabulous or darkened tradition, gradually spread its dominions eastward, its language also extended into the northern and eastern districts, the modern provinces of Honan, Shanse, Cheihle, and Shantung.

From thence it progressively advanced into the southern regions, which were often found preoccupied by races more barbarous than those by whom it was spoken, and who were already in possession of languages less perfect in construction, and more harsh and unpolished in their nature. Over these also it gradually obtained supremacy, but not without incorporating a large portion of them, in more or less of their native imperfection and dissonance. In this manner have originated the very strongly marked dialects of Fuh-keän and a small part of Chêkeäng, of large portions of Kwangtung and Kwangse, as well as of Tungking and Cochinchina, and not improbably of the mountainous districts of Kweichow. In a still inferior measure, it extended to, and blended with, the original languages of Japan, Corea, and Lewchew; in which places, as in Japan, it is so greatly altered, or, as in Corea, so equally mixed, as to have lost, in its spoken form, almost every perceptible resemblance to its native character.

Where such barbarous tribes were not found, or where, being less firmly established, they were more easily expelled, the language continued to maintain in a greater degree its original character, and was subjected chiefly to those changes alone which are the universal attendants of progressive improvement, or to those discrepancies which are the natural consequences of the separation of the several parts of an extensive empire. Revolutions, conquests, and divisions have been not less frequent in China than elsewhere, wherever the human heart is left free to the impulses of criminal ambition, revenge, and animosity. Nor have invasions been wanting to aid the effect of the separations thus occasioned, by the introduction of foreign terms and idioms. The dialects that have been chiefly affected in this way are those of Keängnan (or Keängsoo and Nganhwuy), Keängse, the chief part of Chêkeäng, and Hoo-kwang. But the northern provinces, where the language was first spoken, Shense, Shanse, Cheihle, and Houan, having been frequently subjected to invasions, are those in which the language has been chiefly affected in this way; while Keängnan, having, in consequence of such hostile inroads, been for a long period, the residence of the Chinese court, and the chief seat of learning, is now regarded as the place where the language is spoken in its greatest purity. Shantung, the birthplace of Confucius, shares with it this distinction.

Those provinces which have been populated at a more modern period, by colonization, have received the language without any

great detraction from its purity. Such are the lately colonized districts of Soungaria, and, in a measure, the provinces of Kansuh and Szechuen, together with some portions of Kwangtung and Kwangse. Yunnan is too little known for us to hazard even an opinion respecting it. With regard to many of the other provinces, which are at a distance from the coast, we are compelled also to speak with caution and diffidence; and such must continue to be the case, not only on this, but on many other subjects, which the Romish missionaries in China have but slightly touched upon, until the gates of this empire shall have been thrown open, to admit the free intercourse of foreigners with its own people.

The characteristics of the general language of China (often but improperly called the mandarin *dialect*.) vary a little in different parts of the empire, according to the more lively or more phlegmatic character of the people who speak it. Of this we may convince ourselves even by the very slight intercourse which it is here permitted us to maintain with the better classes of people from other provinces: but we cannot venture to enter into details on the subject, until we have obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the various parts of the empire. The main characteristics of the language are, however, everywhere the same. The most prominent of these is the absence of all consonantal terminations, nasals alone excepted, and the frequent recurrence of short vowels at the end of words, which, in the Fuhkeën dialect, are commonly altered by the addition of one or other of the mute consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, and usually also in the Canton dialect; while in the northern provinces they are drawn out into their corresponding long vowels. From the nature of the language, it must necessarily want the smooth flow of words, and the beauty, of a polysyllabic language; but at the same time we cannot regard it as very rough in its structure, much less as harsh and dissonant. Neither can it be considered peculiarly a nasal language, though from the not unfrequent occurrence of *ng*, at the beginning of a word, it may often appear so to Europeans, who can hardly enunciate the sound in that position. It may be mentioned as a peculiar characteristic of the general language of China that its consonants are almost all such as require the use of breath alone, without the exertion of vocal organs. From the prevailing character and habits of the people, the language abounds in terms of politeness, formality, and servile adulation, while it is in an equal degree barren of all tender and endearing expressions.

In the dialects of the north, many guttural sounds are introduced which are foreign to Chinese, and the aspirates are softened down or corrupted. The short vowels are lengthened, so as to remove the native abruptness and vivacity of the central provinces. Of those dialects the peculiarities of which are strongly marked, that of Canton and the adjoining districts comes nearest to the general language; but it does not generally possess in common with the latter the liquid sound of *y* after a consonant; it is more guttural, and is also in other respects more rough and dissonant than the general language.

The character of the people of this province and the natural tone of their voices, are such as to give them often the appearance of anger, even in their ordinary conversation. The dialect of Fuhkeén, which extends, with slight modifications, into the eastern districts of Kwangtung, is the most strongly marked of all the dialects of China. It is exceedingly nasal, and is very harsh and rough. It abounds, however, in the vocal consonant *b*, which is unknown in all the other dialects: in the northern districts of the province this consonant, however, becomes either *p* or *m*, the same as in the general language. But what is most remarkable in this dialect is the strong distinction between the reading of the written, and the speaking of the oral, languages. Thus, the character 閩, one of the names of Fuhkeén, is in reading pronounced *Bin*; but in speaking the same name is pronounced *Ban*. This kind of double language may afford a subject of curious inquiry to the philologist: it exists likewise in Cochinchina; the language of which country bears a general resemblance, in other respects also, to the Fuhkeén; with however one conspicuous exception, the absence of the highly nasal character of the latter. The sound of *v*, which is hardly known in China, is common in Cochinchina and Tungking.

The Chinese language as spoken in Japan has undergone great changes; but we have not the necessary acquaintance with its variations to enable us to speak of them in detail. Much of the change wrought in it may probably be attributable to the adoption of an alphabet. It seems to be wholly devoid of the nasal sound *ng*, nor do the nasals *n* and *m* occur frequently. Consonantal terminations are common. It remains only to advert to the language of Corea, which present to us another curious anomaly. In that country, the Chinese language, without any great corruption, holds a mere equality with the native language of the country. For instance, *to sit* is in Chinese expressed by *tso*; while in Corean it is expressed by *indjil cho*; *indjil* being the original native word, and *cho* a slight corruption of the Chinese.—With these brief and unconnected remarks we must leave this interesting subject to the further researches of philologists.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: Destruction of St. Paul's church at Macao, by fire; new empress; smugglers caught, orders against the importation of opium; burning of opium; literary examinations; inundations; hoppo's domestics.*

At about half past six o'clock P. M., on the 26th ultimo, the discharge of cannon from the fort above St. Paul's, (Macao,) gave the alarm of fire. The signal was quickly answered by guns from the other forts, by ringing of church bells, and the beating of drums. The principal authorities, with the troops and many of the inhabitants of Macao, were soon in motion. But, except to those who were near the church, it was for some moments doubtful what

building was on fire;—the state of the atmosphere at the time being such that the smoke could not ascend, but driven by a light breeze from the north-west, it enveloped the whole eastern part of the town. It was not long, however, before the flames, bursting through the roofs, left no doubt as to the point from whence they issued. All the apartments which constituted the left wing of the church, and which were formerly occupied by priests, but recently by the Portuguese troops, were soon on fire. For a while, some hope was entertained that the main part of the church, the chapel, might be saved. But before eight o'clock, the fire reached the highest part of the building and also the vestry in the rear of the great altar. Dense smoke mixed with flames soon burst from the windows on all sides, and then rising through the roof presented a sight awfully grand. The flames rose very high, and the whole town and inner harbor were illuminated. Just at that moment the clock, (which was presented to the church by Louis XIV.) struck eight and a quarter. Hitherto, efforts had been made to check the progress of the flames; but now, when it was quite evident that they would not extend beyond the buildings of the church, every one seemed willing to stop and gaze at the scene.

Judging from all that we witnessed on the occasion, Macao is but poorly prepared to resist such an invasion; and if fires continue to be as frequent there as they have been during the few last months, some new arrangements will certainly be required for the better security of persons and property. Only three days previous to the burning of St. Paul's church, a house was consumed with one of its inmates, who was, however, supposed to have been intoxicated, and while in that state to have set the house on fire.

As early as 1565 the Jesuits had erected a church in Macao, near the site of the late one. The former was burnt by accident; and the latter was built in its stead. This was named 'S. Paulo,' and has remained to the present time, one of the most noble and magnificent buildings in the east. On the corner stone was the following inscription:

VIRGINI MAGNÆ MATRI
CIVITATIS MACAENSIS LIBENS,
POSUIT AN. 1602.

The site of the church was well chosen, and the whole edifice was formed of the best and most durable material, and in beautiful style. You approached the building by a broad and lofty flight of stone steps. The front of it consisted entirely of granite, "where the ingenious artist has contrived to enliven Grecian architecture by devotional objects. In the middle of ten pillars of the Ionian order, are three doors leading into the temple. Above them range ten pillars of the Corinthian order, and constitute five separate niches. In the middle one, directly above the principal door, there is a female figure trampling on a globe, the emblem of human habitation, and underneath it is written *Mater Dei*. On each side of the queen of heaven are statues of saints. In a superior division, St. Paul is represented; and above him there is a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost." On various parts of the front there were inscriptions, some in Latin, others in Chinese. The interior of the building was every way equal to its exterior. The whole is now a pile of ruins.

Feb. 28. *New empress.* In the second volume of the Repository, (pages 149 and 212,) we noticed the death of her late majesty, the empress of China, which occurred on the 16th of June, 1835. His majesty Thaikwang has made choice of a new consort, who was raised to the imperial rank on the 18th of November last. This event has just been announced in Can-

ton, by a special messenger from the capital. The ceremonies, &c., of the occasion will be reported in due time, and we shall endeavor in our next number to give our readers some account of them.—The seventieth anniversary of the emperor's mother occurs this year, and will, it is said, be celebrated throughout the empire.

February 14th. Capture of smugglers, and orders against the importation of opium. Three or four months ago, a number of smugglers were captured off Lintin; and both they and their drug, "several tens of chests," were delivered over to the chief authorities in Canton. This capture was made by an officer of Heāngahan; and the reason assigned for it was, that the smugglers did not conform to the regulations of the trade. Another seizure has just now been made; and, if report be true, for the same reason as before. If these statements are correct, it would seem that the smuggling trade is becoming a monopoly of the government. The following case has recently come to our knowledge: A severe edict was issued, which restricted, by the heaviest penalties the exportation of a given article: however, application was soon made to the usual persons to transport a certain amount of this commodity; they declined, fearing that they should fall into the hands of the people on board the cruisers; application was next made to those people themselves, and the commodity in question was speedily, safely, and cheaply, conveyed 'outside' and delivered in due form on board one of the foreign ships at Lintin. The boat employed in this case belonged to the very officer who had issued the edict.—The following imperial order was published by the local authorities on the 3d of last November.

"Loo and his colleagues have made a report of the existing circumstances of foreign vessels selling opium and of the measures taken for inquiring and acting with regard thereto. The barbarian vessels which clandestinely bring opium to Canton, chiefly dispose of it in the outer seas; having a race of native banditti hooked together with them, to afford them supplies, and remove (their cargoes). Loo and his colleagues have given strict commands to the war vessels, from time to time, to urge and compel the barbarian vessels to get under weigh, and to prohibit the native vessels and tanka boat people from holding intercourse with the barbarian vessels; also with severity to seize the smuggling native vagabonds.

"But when all the vessels are crowded together on the face of the sea, 'it is difficult to separate the worthless stones and gems;' it only remains, after the merchant vessels of every nation have sailed away, to examine thoroughly, and if there be on the sea any warehousing, smuggling ships, immediately to send forth the naval force, and with a great display of lofty dignity, strictly to drive them out. Orders should further be given to the officers to appoint two cruisers to anchor at sea, among the barbarian vessels, in order to make search, and to prevent all native vessels and tanka boats from approaching the barbarian vessels to hold clandestine dealings with them, that thus the supply of provisions may be cut off. If any native vagabonds go in fast boats to the barbarian vessels, to land the opium for sale, or clandestinely to purchase goods, let them be immediately sought after, seized, and brought to trial, and punished with severity. The military commandants and the district magistrates on the inner rivers, must also be held responsible for appointing cruising vessels at the maritime ports, to be stationed severally in previously arranged positions, so as to occupy all the inlets communicating with the sea, and there to cruise about in rotation, through the night, for the purpose of making seizures. If any people, taking (opium) to sell, steal through, either inward or outward, let them be immediately seized and committed. Let the custom-houses, one and all, search strictly and with real earnestness. And whenever a seizure has been made of men or vessels smuggling what is contraband, or evading the duties, let application be immediately made, according to rule, and the parties be severally rewarded and encouraged. If any officers are negligent in keeping up guard, or if soldiers or police-men take fees to connive, let the soldiers or police-men be punished according to law, and

let the said commanding officers be reported against with severity. Let the local officers be commanded also to inquire after and seize native yagabonds who open 'opium furnaces,' making diligent search for them, and punishing severely. If any do not act with fidelity, they must, whenever convicted, be severely reported against. Let the hong merchants likewise be commanded to enjoin commands on the English barbarian merchants, that they are mutually to examine and inquire, and that if one vessel smuggle and evade the duties, all the vessels shall be immediately prohibited trading; that thus they may themselves be caused severally to investigate, and adopt preventive measures, which will be a plan more sure and perfect.

"Loo and his colleagues, when they meet with any of these cases and circumstances, must punish offenders; they are not permitted to extend mercy towards them. Still more, must they not, in lapse of time, become careless and indolent, regarding this as a mere prepared paper."

There is further a postscript to the report, "stating that by nature the barbarians have no other object but gain, and their clandestine trade having existed long, they certainly will not contentedly relinquish it. Either, after the government force has dispersed they will come again, or else they will creep, rat-like, into other provinces. The said governor and his colleagues are imperatively required to keep them under very strict control, maintaining outside, a cruising squadron of government vessels, and within, a strict guard at the maritime port; so that they may neither dispose of (goods), nor yet be suffered to escape into other provinces. To sum up, they are expected to form plans, and to conduct the matter securely, strictly prohibiting, till they eradicate offenses. Then will they not fail of fulfilling the duties of their offices. Respect this."

Monday, 23d. Burning of opium. It is often utterly impossible for foreigners to ascertain the truth from the Chinese. On many subjects it seems to be the prevailing usage not to tell the truth,—the idea being entertained, that if a man speaks falsehood it can do him no harm, but should he utter the truth it may involve him in difficulty. Since the seizure of the drug, noticed above, was made, several reports have been current respecting the disposition that would be made of it. It is now officially announced that, "their excellencies, the governor and fooyuen (this day) deputed the Kwangchow foo and the chebeens of Nanhæ and Pwanyu to convey it to the military parade ground on the east of the city, and there burn it." That some part of the drug contained in the 'several tens of chests' has been thus publicly destroyed is very probable; but notwithstanding this parade, no one supposes that the whole, or even the largest part of it, was burnt.

Friday, 27th. Literary examinations, during the last few days, have been in progress in the provincial city. The number of students assembled has been between five and six thousand.

Inundations. It is rumored here that Canton will be visited by an inundation during the fourth moon of the current year. Predictions of this kind are frequent in China; but they are not often fulfilled. The government is expending large sums of money to repair the breaches made in the embankments last year and the year before that. It is also raising new embankments, and widening some of the narrow channels in the river westward from Canton. It is said that the hong and salt merchants will be 'invited' to subscribe liberally to defray these expenses, and that some of the outside merchants who have been seized, will be liberated on condition of paying largely for the same object.

Hoppo's domestics. One of the principal secretaries of the hoppo has carried his extortions to such an extent, that the governor has seen fit to deliver him over to the Kwangchow foo, who having secured for him a suitable flogging, has lodged him in the prison of the Nanhæ. This was one of the 'hoppo men' who for several years has been employed in overseeing and regulating foreign commerce; and it is, we believe, from the duties on this trade that he has made these extortions.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III. — MARCH, 1835. — No. 11.

ART. I. *The Chinese peasant Hoo Loo: his removal to England; operation performed on him at Guy's hospital; remarks on the operation by Mr. W. Simpson, and by J. M. Tilley, M. D.*

IN the account of the Ophthalmic Hospital, which was published in our number for last December, we promised to lay before our readers further particulars concerning the interesting case of Hoo Loo. Attracted by the reports of the success of the infirmary, this poor man came to Macao, and desired to be admitted into it. While there, witnessing the operations performed on others, he requested that an attempt might be made to remove the tumor with which he was afflicted. Accordingly, arrangements were soon made for his passage to England, where, under the care of sir Astley Cooper, bart., the desired operation was undertaken. "Hoo Loo's principal motive for going to England was the hope, that his disease being there removed, he might prove a comfort to his aged mother instead of being, as he was, a burden to her. The poor old woman since his death has subsisted upon a pittance, the interest derived from a small sum which was appropriated to her use by Mr. Colledge, out of money given by a few charitable individuals who took an interest in the poor man's welfare." We have before us a paper with her '*sign manual*,' by which it appears that she is still living in Singun, about a hundred miles from Canton. This year, not being able to go to Macao to receive her annuity, she sent the above-named paper, that the money might be paid to its bearer. The writing is on a large sheet and was executed by some friend; it consists of only two lines, on each side of which there is an impression of her right hand. The whole is done with red ink, and in a style which cannot easily be counterfeited. '*Sign manuals*' executed in this manner, are employed in China chiefly by those who are unable to write, which is the case,

it would appear, with the mother of Hoo Loo.—The remarks and statements which we subjoin are from the *Lancet*. The following paragraph, by the editor of that work, is under date of London, Saturday, April 16th, 1831.

“The account of the operation performed upon the unfortunate Chinese, on Saturday last at Guy’s hospital, will be read with deep and painful anxiety. Without calling in question the manual skill of the operator, we are of opinion that in this proceeding, some very serious errors were committed: First, it was injudicious, nay, particularly unphilosophical, to perform an operation of such vast importance upon a native of the climate of China, so quickly after his arrival in this country, to the atmosphere of which his constitution could in no degree be familiarized; and, secondly, nothing could be more injudicious than to perform such an operation upon a man who had been exposed during several months to the pure and peculiarly invigorating breezes of the ocean, in a theatre, or rather a well, the atmosphere of which must have been rendered unfit for the purposes of respiration by the crowd. These errors when considered in connection with the length of time which poor Hoo Loo was under the tortures of the knife, furnish more than sufficient grounds for the removal of any astonishment which may at first have been entertained as to the unsuccessful issue of the operation. True the ventilation was open, and the crowd around the patient frequently stood aloof, in order that the purest atmosphere which the place could afford should come in contact with him. But notwithstanding these occasional precautions, the depressing influence of the obnoxious atmosphere may in some degree be conjectured, when it is stated that many of the spectators were covered with perspiration, were pale as death, and closely approaching a state of fainting. What then must have been the condition of Hoo Loo, who with bound limbs was compelled to breathe in such a place for a period of two hours, during one hour and forty-four minutes of which he was under the infliction of the knife? It is admitted, generally, that Mr. Key performed the operation with extreme care; and it is said that on the night previous, a considerable time was spent in examining and measuring the parts, in order that the flaps of the integument might neatly approximate after the tumor was removed. But it may be doubted if it were wise to discontinue the use of the knife, while the patient was in a state of syncope; for whether the fainting arose from the loss of blood, or from the shock to the nervous system, the propriety of desisting during those intervals may fairly be questioned. The vital energy is unable to contend against the long continuance of such unusually severe pain. Had the operation of Mr. B. Cooper on Stephen Pollard been less protracted, the result might have been otherwise; and had Mr. Henry Early, when he removed the bones from poor Brady’s ear, in St. Bartholomew’s hospital, instead of the nail for which he was seeking, desisted from his attempts at the expiration of ten or fifteen minutes, the unfortunate child might now have been alive and well. Such protracted operation cannot be too strongly

depreciated. We hint not in the remotest sense that Mr. Key made a single incision more than was necessary, or that he performed one cut unscientifically, but we think that the pauses were injudicious, and are decidedly of opinion, that the time and place selected for the operation showed an extraordinary, if not a fatal, want of professional discrimination."—The following is "the account of the operation," noticed above.

"Hoo Loo, a Chinese laborer, was admitted into Luke's ward, Guy's hospital, in the third week of March last, with an extraordinary tumor depending from the lower part of the abdomen, and of a nature and extent hitherto unseen in this country. He had been brought to England from Canton, by his own desire, in an East Indiaman, for the purpose of having this tumor removed at one of the London hospitals, the native surgeons declining to make the attempt, a general disinclination to the performance of serious operations prevailing in the East, where both the climate and the law offer important objections to surgical proceedings which may lead to the loss of human life. The case excited considerable interest, both in and out of the profession, from the first moment of his arrival, and he was visited in the hospital by a great number of persons of all ranks. We have heard that on his voyage to this country, the change of air had such an effect on his constitution, as to occasion a material increase in the tumor. Since his arrival, his appetite, health, and spirits, were extremely good. While in the hospital there appeared nothing to induce the surgeon to order him any medicine. His diet consisted principally of boiled rice, and no restraint was placed on his appetite, which was very great. He was generally considered to have improved in health while in the hospital, though it was difficult to form a decided estimate on this point. He all along contemplated the operation with satisfaction.

"It was generally understood that the operation would be performed on Tuesday last, but so great a crowd of spectators was apprehended, that Saturday, which is a *dies non* in the hospital, was fixed on instead. Notwithstanding this precaution, however, an assemblage, unprecedented in numbers on such an occasion, presented themselves for admission at the operating theatre, which was instantly filled in every part, although none but pupils, and of those only such as could at the moment present their 'hospital tickets,' were admitted. Hundreds of gentlemen were consequently excluded, and it became obvious to the officers of the hospital, that some other room must be selected. Accordingly, sir Astley Cooper entered, and addressing the pupils, said, that in consequence of the crowd, the patient being in a state which would admit of the removal, the operation would take place in the great anatomical theatre. A tremendous rush to that theatre accordingly took place, where accommodation was afforded to 680 persons; and where preparations were immediately made for the patient. In about a quarter of an hour, Hoo Loo entered, accompanied by two nurses and a *posse comitatus*, consisting of various functionaries of the hospital, and in the

course of a few minutes he was secured on the operating table. A short consultation now took place between sir Astley Cooper, Mr. Key, and Mr. Callaway, during which it was finally agreed, that if it were found possible, the genital organs should be preserved. The face of the patient was then covered, and Mr. Key taking his station in front of the tumor, commenced the operation. His object, apparently, was to make three flaps. * * * But a period of time elapsed before the conclusion of the operation which must have far exceeded the anticipation even of the most fearful, and by the time the tumor was entirely separated and the exposed parts were closed over, an hour and forty-four minutes had passed. This tremendous protraction was chiefly occasioned by the intervals which were from time to time allowed the patient for recovery from the fits of exhaustion which supervened. Complete syncope occurred twice, and during the whole of the latter steps of the operation, he was in a state of fainting. The quantity of blood lost was variously estimated by those who assisted, and though certainly not large, it was the operator's own impression that the hemorrhage was the immediate cause of death. It would probably be correct to state the loss at twenty-five ounces, although as few as fourteen, and as many as thirty were named. Of this quantity not more, we should think, than a single ounce was arterial; all the ligatures were quickly applied, and with great dexterity. The number of large veins divided was immense, but only three small arteries, besides the two spermatic, were taken up. Immediately after the removal of the tumor, another fit of syncope—if syncope could be said to be at all incomplete for the half hour—came on, from which the poor fellow did not for a moment rally. No remedies that were directed to overcome this state of collapse had the slightest effect; warmth and friction of the scrobiculis cordis, the injection of brandy and water into the stomach, and, ultimately, from suspicion that the loss of blood had been too great, transfusion to the amount of six ounces, taken from the arm of a student—one amongst several who offered to afford blood,—were amongst the means resorted to. The heart's action gradually and perceptibly sunk. The patient did breathe after the operation, but that is as much as can be said. Artificial respiration was subsequently, but vainly attempted.

"The fortitude with which this great operation was approached, and throughout undergone, by Hoo Loo, was, if not unexampled, at all events never exceeded in the annals of surgery. A groan now and then escaped him, and now and then a slight exclamation, and we thought we could trace in his tones a plaintive acknowledgment of the hopelessness of his case. Expressions of regret, too, that he had not rather borne with his affliction than suffered the operation, seemed softly but rapidly to vibrate from his lips as he closed his eyes, firmly set his teeth, and resignedly strung every nerve in obedience to the determination with which he had first submitted to the knife. His character was naturally exceedingly amiable. When occupied in thought, his features assumed an appearance of slight

melancholy, but at other times a very cheerful and good tempered expression of countenance prevailed. The appearance of the features after death was very characteristic of this: Whenever an exhibition of the tumor was desired, he was displeased and somewhat reluctant, seeming to imply by his language, that it was of 'no use' to show it. With the nurses he had become a great favorite, and his death elicited the utmost commiseration, perhaps a few tears, in the ward which he inhabited.

"Hoo Loo was thirty-two years of age, and the tumor had been ten years arriving at its present growth. Its effect upon his frame, and muscles of the abdomen was not particularly oppressive. It of course occasioned a very great strain upon the fore part of the body, and to preserve his balance he was compelled to throw the shoulders backward, and assume the gait of an alderman whose belly preponderates and displaces his centre of gravity. The weight of the tumor was conjectured to be about seventy pounds, but when placed in the scales after its removal, it weighed but fifty-six. His strength was not affected by it. He could take a stout lad in his arms and toss him with ease."

Mr. Simpson, adopting for his motto the words of his 'talented friend,' Armstrong, that—"Modern surgery is a vampire which feasts upon human blood,"—wrote to the editor of the *Lancet* in the following words:—

"Sir, such was the language of my late lamented and talented friend, founded on the accurate observations of an ardent and philanthropic mind; not uttered in the spirit of satire, but flowing from the refined feeling of genius. He alas! has passed from this scene, but his name will survive in the works of his mighty mind, 'for' (to use his emphatic language in speaking of his favorite Sydenham,) 'genius revives even from the tombs, and again breathing and informing, it has an immortality in the respect and admiration of present and succeeding ages;' 'his name will be ranked among those great benefactors of mankind who make times and countries worthy of our remembrance.' We have heard much, Sir, of the *esprit du corps* in our profession; I respect and venerate the sentiment as much as any man, when it is the bond of brotherhood cementing that good feeling which should characterize the members of a liberal and philanthropic profession, impelling them to the advancement of that science which is so intimately blended with the happiness of the human race. But we must not forget the duty we owe to our fellow-creatures, and that the *esprit d'humanite* must be paramount to the *esprit du corps*."

"I have been led to make these remarks, from having read an account of an operation performed at Guy's hospital on an unfortunate Chinese, on Saturday last. It appears that this man was afflicted with an enlargement, or as some have termed it, elephantiasis of the scrotum; which commenced eleven years since, and had been gradually increasing till it had obtained the enormous size of sixty pounds. The case I believe which bears the nearest affinity to this

is recorded by Delpech, by whom the tumor was removed. The patient recovered from the operation, but died a few weeks after. I feel bound to say that I consider such operations as this unjustifiable; for independent of the hemorrhage, the extent of which no surgeon can foretell, and the shock which the constitution must sustain at the time, in connection with the immense change which takes place in the state of circulation afterwards, is sufficient to preclude any rational hope of recovery. In this case, death was not near at hand, nor was the patient's life rendered wretched and miserable by torment and pains incidental to a malignant disease. When I saw him, his spirits were buoyant, and his health was excellent. I gave it as my opinion (judging from the enormous size and apparent vascularity of the tumor,) to two individuals who were present, that if the operation was performed, death would be inevitable. Let the tortures which a poor creature must undergo whilst experiencing a *living dissection of a tumor, one third the weight of his whole body, lasting upwards of one hour and a half*, be considered for a moment! I trust that nature was more merciful than man, and from the extremity of his sufferings formed a veil of oblivion, which rendered this unfortunate being at least *partially* insensible to his agonies. I think that this operation could neither advance the science of surgery, nor be otherwise beneficial to the human race; that it was neither sanctioned by reason, nor warranted by experience. I have no doubt it was well performed, from my own observation of the skill Mr. Key displayed when I was formerly in the habit of witnessing his operations; and from the celebrity he now enjoys, though at a very early age; and as a surgeon's fame is intimately blended by the public with success in his performances, there can be no doubt it was decided upon with the best intentions.

"But I feel bound to call upon surgeons, generally, to pause ere they attempt such bold and unusual operations; to warn them that the spirit of philanthropy and intelligence is abroad; that such things are no longer confined to the narrow circle of professional, and too often cold-blooded, ratiocination; but are freely canvassed by the 'public,' and that the mighty influence of the public voice will ere long be felt with still greater force in all the departments of knowledge which affect man as a civilized being."

In reply to the foregoing letter, Dr. Titley wrote the following communication, which was published in the *Lancet*, May 7th, 1831.

"I have perused in the last number of the *Lancet*, a communication from Mr. Simpson; in which he censures the late operation on Hoo Loo, as being neither sanctioned by reason, nor warranted by experience, and as one in which death must inevitably ensue. Were I not satisfied that this opinion may be most effectually controverted, I should feel but little inclined publicly to remark upon it. The profession is already aware that the responsibility of an operation of the kind was first incurred by me;—that in the year 1813, I removed from a negro in the island of St. Kitts, a tumor half as large again as that of Hoo Loo, weighing 70 pounds;—that at subsequent

periods I performed five similar operations, all with perfect success ; that I assisted in four other cases, where the tumors weighed about 50. pounds each, one only of which was fatal ;—and that I have recorded another attempt, at which I was not present, where the patient died from exhaustion after an operation lasting eight hours, the tumor weighing 156 pounds. The profession is also aware that a like tumor of 45 pounds weight, was removed by Mr. Liston, of Edinburgh, another by Dr. Wells of Maracaibo, and a third by M. Delpech, all with success.

“ We have here, then, together with the case of Hoo Loo, fifteen examples of the operation, whereof three only were fatal. In the first unsuccessful instance, the very great size of the tumor, weighing as it did more than the body to which it was attached,—and the second, the existence of a leprous constitution, will, perhaps, be considered sufficient to account for the fatal result. Various causes assigned for the unfortunate issue of the operation on Hoo Loo, are before the public, and these I leave to individual judgment. The proportion of successful cases is, therefore, fully equal to that of most of the capital operations, while it far surpasses that of several others, and, therefore, sufficiently disproves Mr. Simpson’s assertion, that the operation was not warranted by experience, and must inevitably prove fatal. Moreover, since ascertained fact is the best ground for arguments in the justification of any proceeding, I think, from the foregoing facts it may be inferred, that the operation is also justifiable. Nor can I think that the patient is without adequate hope of benefit consequent on the removal. An operation which removes a formidable incumbrance, and restores ability for active exertion, while it leaves health and strength unimpaired, may surely be deemed a benefit. Mr. Simpson has, indeed, stated his conviction, that, even in the event of a patient surviving the immediate effects of the operation, the immense change which takes place in the state of the circulation afterwards, is sufficient to preclude any rational hope of recovery. To this I would reply, that all the nine patients who survived the operation at St. Kitts, were alive, and in excellent health when I left that island in the year 1823,—periods of from three to ten years having elapsed since the several operations were performed. The patients were highly pleased with their improved condition, and grateful for the advantages they had derived from art.

“ I did not, like Mr. Simpson, form an unfavorable prognosis with regard to Hoo Loo ; I must confess that I considered his a very favorable case for operation, and certainly anticipated a fortunate result. The tumor was not of a bulk inconvenient to the operator ; the neck of it was comparatively small ; the patient was young, robust, in excellent spirits, and anxious for relief ; while, from the state of his pulse, and the appearance of his tongue, he seemed to be in good health. As these tumors rarely, under any circumstances, place life in jeopardy, I should suffer the question of removing them to rest entirely with the patient, and in the event of requisition to operate, I should not for a moment hesitate in complying, where

no contra-indication existed. I should proceed by the same method which I have hitherto adopted, and with very sanguine expectations of a favorable result. Whether the science of surgery has been advantaged by my deliberate extension of its practical efforts for the relief of those who have been afflicted with scrotal elephantiasis, it remains with the profession to decide, and, notwithstanding Mr. Simpson's unpropitious judgment, I am not apprehensive of very general censure."

ART. II. *Memoirs of Count Benyowsky: account of himself; his arrival on the eastern coast of Formosa; skirmish with the natives; treaty with a friendly tribe; goes with them as an ally to battle; observations on the island, and the people.*

The sketch of Formosa in our last volume related almost exclusively to the western division of the island. "The Memoirs and Travels of Maurice Augustus, count de Benyowsky," we now take up solely for the sake of obtaining notices respecting the eastern division. This remarkable adventurer, whatever qualities might be wanting in him, will hardly be denied the possession of great enterprise, ambition and talents. By birth a Hungarian nobleman, after serving several years as an officer in the Austrian army, visiting Holland and England in pursuit of nautical information, he went to Poland, where he joined the confederacy against the Russians, became a commander of cavalry, and quarter-master general. But he was taken prisoner, and in 1770 banished to Kamtschatka, being then twenty-nine years of age. Here in conjunction with several other exiles, he conceived the project of seizing a vessel and escaping from Kamtschatka, bearing away with him Aphanasia, the daughter of the Russian governor, who had been so captivated by the attractions of the noble captive, that she determined to share his fortunes, though aware that his wife was then alive in Europe. In 1771 he effected his escape, in company with ninety-six other persons, touched at Japan, the Lew Chew group, Formosa, Macao, and at length, in a French ship he reached France. The French government desirous of profiting by his talents, commissioned him to found a colony on Madagascar, which he effected, and persevered for three years amidst no ordinary difficulties. But the desire of the French ministry to reduce the island to their authority, not coinciding with the count's wish and treaties to leave the native chiefs independent, was the cause of his resigning his commission,—at least, so says the count himself. Upon this he was appointed king by the friendly chiefs, and left the island with powers, and the design of entering into a commercial treaty with some European govern-

ment, and securing their alliance. He applied to the British ministry in 1783, as it would appear without success; but he received aid from private persons in London, and from a commercial house in Baltimore. Leaving his wife in America in 1784, he set out again for Madagascar, where he commenced hostilities against the French, and was killed in battle, in 1786. His widow died at her estate near Betzko in Hungary, December 4th, 1825. Benyowsky wrote his *Memoirs* in French, a translation of which from the manuscript, was published in English by William Nicholson.

With this account of the man, we turn to his book, and open it at the point of his arrival on the eastern shore of Formosa. From reading Anson's voyages, the company of returning exiles had become desirous of adding the knowledge of Formosa to their other discoveries, and accordingly on the 26th of August, 1771, they made the eastern shore in latitude 23° 22' N. They anchored in fourteen fathoms, and sent two boats on shore with sixteen men, who returned in a few hours with three of their number wounded, and with five native-prisoners. The report of the officer was that they found the harbor good, the soundings from eight to three fathoms; that on landing they saw a fire and a few islanders to whom they signified their desire of food. They were accordingly conducted to a village, where they were fed with roasted pork, boiled rice, lemons and oranges. The natives appeared quiet; but observing several parties of armed men assembling, he judged it prudent to withdraw, lest they should seek an occasion of quarrel. After making them presents of some knives, he began to return; but before reaching the shore, was assailed with a flight of arrows, wounding two of his men; this was returned with a discharge of musketry, which prostrated six natives, and checked the remainder. But they rallied, and attacked the party again when they reached their boats, but were driven away at length, with the loss of sixty slain, besides the five prisoners.

Upon this inauspicious commencement, the count would have quit the place, but his associates insisted on entering the harbor and taking vengeance, as if enough had not been inflicted already. On the next day, therefore, he brought the vessel up within one hundred fathoms of the shore, and ordered twenty-eight of his men to land. They were immediately met by natives bearing branches of trees, unarmed, and prostrating themselves at their feet. This submission pacified the enraged party, who immediately laid aside their caution with their anger, and entered the village, where either for their licentiousness, or for some other cause, the natives again fell upon them and drove some of them entirely naked from the village. Benyowsky himself was obliged to go and meet them with a reinforcement, when they again drove the people from their village, killed two hundred persons, and finally set it on fire.

Satisfied with what they had seen, the adventurers weighed anchor, and with a light wind and northward current, coasted the island, proceeding towards the north. The count observed that the current caused the vessel always to follow the sinuosities of the shore, and

keeping her always at the same distance from it, removed any apprehension of being thrown on the land by the force of the current without any wind to give power to the helm. After passing a short distance of the coast in this manner, they were piloted into a beautiful harbor with three fathoms of water by two native boats which came off to them. This he named Port Maurice; but we find nothing more definite as to its position—the count having left us in doubt in that respect, not perhaps without design. Numerous boats immediately appeared, bringing them supplies of poultry, hogs, rice, and fruits. Soon after another party arrived with a European at the head of them. He declared himself a Spaniard from Manila, from whence he had fled seven or eight years before, having unfortunately killed a Dominican, who was more unfortunately detected in criminal intercourse with his wife. He had formerly been captain of the port of Cavité at Manila; his name was Don Hieronimo Pacheco. To secure the aid of this man as his interpreter and friend, Benyowsky gave him valuable presents and promises of more, if he found him faithful during his stay at the place.

But as if the adventurers were doomed never to be long out of trouble, the next morning, while a party of them were watering, they were attacked by the natives. The watering place it appears was at a distance from the anchorage, and though Don Hieronimo warned them to beware of the natives of that district, who were in hostility with those of his own; yet the party suffered themselves to be surprised, and three of them were slain. Don Hieronimo and his friends resolved to avenge the death of the three on the hostile tribe. His associates also demanding vengeance on their foes, Benyowsky reluctantly consented: and, “in order that his men might not expose their lives to no purpose,” he led them himself. But when he was once engaged he proceeded with no slack hand. They first massacred all the prisoners they had taken, then attacked all the boats that were approaching them, whether for peace or war, being all unknown, and hung up the men. Forty-two of his party left the ship, and with two hundred under Don Hieronimo proceeded a short distance inland in search of their remaining enemies. They met the hostile tribe and drove them towards a steep hill, where the guns of the ship being brought to bear upon them on one side, and the Spaniard and the count pressing them on another, the poor savages in despair threw themselves prostrate on the earth. Benyowsky now declared that he would fire on his party if they continued the massacre longer. Eleven hundred and fifty-six were counted of the slain; among whom were many women who were armed in the same manner as the men, and died fighting for their homes. Six hundred and forty captives were taken, all of whom were relinquished in favor of the Spaniard and the friendly natives.

The next day after this bloody affair, the count requested permission to “establish a camp” on shore, to which his friends readily agreed, and themselves prepared huts for the reception of their foreign allies. When these were finished, Benyowsky removed on shore

with the wounded and with the females of his party, when he was introduced to the family of Don Hieronimo, and many other friends, from whom he learned that Huapo, one of the independent chiefs of the country, had heard of the chastisement which he had inflicted on his enemies, and was coming to present him thanks. He was told also that the chief could muster as many as 20,000 or 25,000 armed men; that his residence was about thirty leagues inland; that he was much annoyed by Chinese on the west; and that his central territories were civilized, but that the eastern coast, excepting of course Huapo's division, was possessed by savages. During the day, an officer, called the *general*, arrived from the chief to announce his approach, and make preparations. The count received him with much respect, and by a well adapted policy secured his friendship. After hearing his history, the general requested him to delay his departure till the arrival of the chief, by whom he had been sent before with troops to protect the count from any danger. Benyowsky returned suitable thanks, but did not fail to remark that the kind precaution was quite superfluous, and he needed no aid in his own defense. The dress of this general is minutely described by the count; "he wore a long close garment fitted to the body and reaching from the head to the foot, Chinese half boots, a white shirt, a black vest, and a red outer garment with buttons of coral set in gold. His bonnet of straw was exceedingly pointed, and the upper extremity ornamented with horse hair, dyed red. His arms were a sabre, a lance, a bow and quiver with twenty-five arrows. His troops were naked, with the exception of a piece of blue cloth around the middle; and their arms were bows and spears." The interval till the coming of Huapo was spent in dining with the general, and in making exhibitions of gunnery. Meantime "the islanders had become so familiar as to leave their daughters in our camp."

The arrival of the prince is described as follows: "first came six horsemen, with a kind of standard; these were followed by a troop of infantry with pikes; after them came thirty or forty horsemen, and another body of infantry with bows; a troop armed with clubs and hatchets came next; and last of all came the prince attended by twelve or fifteen officers mounted on small but beautiful horses. The rest of the troops came without any regular order; on their arrival at our camp, every one lodged where he could, and there was no guard set." The count was immediately invited to the presence of the chief, who sent horses to bring him. The appearance of the chief was such as to "strike at first sight; he was between thirty-five and forty years of age, about five feet and three inches high, of a strong and vigorous make, with a lively eye and majestic carriage." He immediately made the count welcome to the island; and thanked him for the effectual manner in which he had humbled one of the hostile tribes. He proceeded further to state his opinion that the count must be the stranger predicted by their diviners; whose coming was a forerunner to breaking the Chinese yoke from the necks of the Formosans; he therefore offered him all his power

and influence to aid in the design of liberating the island. This beginning, says Benyowsky, and the representation of Don Hieronimo that I was in fact a great prince, insensibly led me to play a new part, as though I had visited Formosa for the purpose of satisfying myself concerning the position of the Chinese and of fulfilling the wishes of the inhabitants by delivering them from the power of that treacherous people. The count was indeed no stickler for the right; whenever he could gain his ends by playing a new, or an old, or a double part.

In another visit, the chief entered more into the detail of his reasons for wishing to make war on the Chinese, and "left me no reason to doubt, that vanity induced him to declare war upon them." As the count began to cherish the idea of returning again and founding a colony on the island, he foresaw that the friendship of a native chief would be very serviceable both on the spot, and in enabling him to make the proposal of a colony seem reasonable to some European power. He resolved therefore to secure the friendship of Huapo by all means. For this purpose he showed him the ship, gave him an exhibition of fire works, and on retiring, the chief gave him his belt and sabre, as a token that he would share with him the power over the army. The count in return prepared presents for the chief, consisting of two pieces of cannon, thirty good muskets, six barrels of gunpowder, two hundred iron balls, and fifty pounds of match: besides fifty Japanese sabres, part of the prize, as we suppose, of the Japanese junk which our adventurers had previously captured.

The count meanwhile improved the interval, till another visit, in questioning and receiving information from Don Hieronimo; so that his answers were ready conned for the proposals which the prince made to him. Some of these proposals were the following: that he should leave a part of his people on the island till his return; that he should procure for him armed vessels, and captains to command them; that he should aid the chief to expel the Chinese, on condition of receiving at present the entire proprietorship of the department of Hawangsin, and finally when completely successful, that of his whole territory; that he should assist him in his present expedition against one of the neighboring chieftains, for the payment of a certain sum, and for other advantages; and last, that they should enter into a permanent treaty of friendship. To all of these propositions, except the first, the count assented, stating the cost of procuring the required supplies of men and shipping; and then they prepared to ratify the agreement of perpetual friendship. The accompanying ceremonies remind us of a similar custom which prevails extensively in many islands of the eastern Archipelago, as well as elsewhere, when a savage chief would assure a guest of his friendship: "We approached a small fire, upon which we threw several pieces of wood. A censor was then given to me, and another to him. These were filled with lighted wood, upon which we threw incense, and turning towards the east, we made several fumigations. After this ceremony, the general read the proposals and my answers,

and whenever he paused, we turned towards the east and repeated the fumigation. At the end of the reading, the prince pronounced imprecations and maledictions upon him who should break the treaty of friendship between us; and Don Hieronimo directed me to do the same, and afterwards interpreted my words. After this, we threw our fire on the ground, and thrust our sabres in the earth up to the hilts. Assistants immediately brought a quantity of large stones, with which they covered our arms; and the prince then embraced me, and declared that he acknowledged me as his brother." When these ceremonies were ended, the count was dressed in a complete suit after the fashion of the country, and was received with every demonstration of joy. Accompanied by the chief he rode through the camp, and received the submission of all the officers, which was signified by each one touching with his left hand the stirrup of the one whom he saluted.

"After having determined to assist the chief in his expedition," say the Memoirs, "I thought proper to make some inquiries on the subject." A very commendable mode of procedure, certainly, for all adventurers who do not mean to be turned from their purpose by any disclosures of the right and the wrong which a subsequent inquiry may evolve. He thus learned, 'that *Hapuasingo*, a native chief, allied and tributary to the Chinese, had demanded that Huapo should punish with death several of his subjects, on account of some quarrels between private individuals; but that Huapo, instead of acceding to the request, made an unsuccessful war against Hapuasingo, and was compelled to submit to pay him a considerable sum as an indemnification; that the Chinese governor, under the pretense of obtaining further reimbursement for his expenses, had in conjunction with Hapuasingo seized one of his finest districts; that his enemy's capital was not more than a day and a half's march distant; that his army did not exceed 6,000 men, and the Chinese were about 1,000, with fifty muskets.' Benyowsky promised to maintain the quarrel of his friend, and required sixty horses for the transport of forty-eight of his company, with four *pateraroes* and ammunition.

On the third of September, the combined army set forward on its march for the enemy, moving only in the morning and evening to avoid the extreme heat of the noonday. At regular intervals they were refreshed with supplies of rice, fruits, and *brandy*, while their horses were limited to the headtier article of rice only. When they drew near the seat of war, the deserted villages and fields told that the enemy had taken the alarm. Within six hour's march of the enemy's capital, the count halted for the army of Huapo to come up, which was one day's march in the rear. But small parties of the enemy having appeared, and engaged in skirmishes, Benyowsky pitched a sort of camp, and fixed his small cannon for its defense. Presently the whole army of ten or twelve thousand at least, approached him, and attacked his camp. Twice he drove them back with great loss, and pursued them the second time till night. At this time Huapo arrived, and it was resolved to attack the enemy in their

turn next morning. The count divided his own little company into three parts, and attached one part to each division of his allies. But the noise of the musketry and cannon alone, after the experience of the preceding day, was enough to put them all to flight. The result was a great slaughter, the capture of the hostile chief and four of his women. When Huapo was sought for, in order to receive his prisoners, it was found that like a prudent man he had quite withdrawn from the scene of danger, "desirous rather of being a spectator than an actor." To him the count delivered the captive chief, on condition that he should suffer no personal injury.

The battle appeared decisive, and all warlike operations being given over, the count announced his purpose to return and embark immediately. The chief and the general overwhelmed him with protestations of friendship, and did not forget the more solid part of thanks. The presents of the prince consisted of some fine pearls, eight hundred pounds of silver, twelve pounds of gold. For his private use, the count received a box containing one hundred pieces of gold, which together weighed thirteen pounds and a quarter; and the general was charged to attend him with one hundred and twenty horsemen, and to provide subsistence. The count left with the chief the pateraroes, whose usefulness he had seen so fully tested; and one of his companions to teach their use, as well as himself to learn the language until the return of the count. On returning, they passed through a pleasant, well cultivated country, watered with fine streams, and very populous, as appeared from the frequency of the villages.

When he arrived on the coast, the count distributed the whole of his presents, private and all others, among his associates, officers and women, reserving nothing to himself. This act of generosity gave him unbounded influence over his companions in adversity, but no more than was necessary, as immediately appeared. His confidential officers came in a body and endeavored to persuade him to accept the department which had been ceded to him, and fix his residence here, resting from their wanderings, on this friendly and unknown island. "If we, exiles, reach Europe, what shall await us there: in the land which has cast us out of its bosom? Here we can live safely and happily under your command, and we are enough to found a European colony." Indeed, they argued the point so well that we almost wonder they did not prevail; but it appears that the count from his past experience had some suspicion that the morals and habits of his followers would be little security against insubordination and crimes, which would subvert any attempts to plant a colony. By other arguments than these, however, such as the desire of seeing his family, and the hope of securing some governmental patronage, he prevailed on them to accompany him. Accordingly they left the harbor on the 12th of September, and sailing round the northern headland of the island, steered for Macao.

We shall conclude this article, with a summary of Benyowsky's observations upon the eastern coast, and some remarks drawn from Chinese authorities. Formosa, the 'beautiful,' is called by the Chinese

Taewan, and by the natives, Pacca, or Paccuhimba. From all accounts, the western division of the island well deserves the name which the Portuguese gave it. But the eastern portion has been said to be uncultivated and barren; on what good authority, we know not. Our author, who wrote more than sixty years ago, and who had seen no part but the eastern, describes it as "one of the finest and richest in the world." Instead of being uncultivated entirely, he says, "the soil in numberless places produces two harvests of rice and other grain annually, with a great variety of trees, fruits, plants, animals and birds. Cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry are very abundant here." The country is well watered, and the waters abound in fish. The mountains produce gold and silver, cinnabar, white and brown copper, and fossil coal. He fully confirms the opinion that the coast has many commodious harbors, and bays. Sounds are formed by the islands, which line part of the shore, between which are inlets leading to the main island. The count states that the inhabitants are civilized, except a part of them who dwell by the seaside; and confirms it by their use of books, the cultivation of their lands, and by their buildings. But nothing which he has written goes to convince us that they have advanced at all beyond semi-civilization. On the other hand, Chinese books describe the natives as altogether uncultivated, and barbarous; but at the same time allow that they are of a gentle disposition among themselves, but implacable towards their enemies; having no laws or civil government, and without any tokens of religious worship. But we cannot fail to recollect that the Chinese apply the epithet "*barbarian*" impartially to any and all of the unfortunate race of man, who have not yet felt the transforming influence of the celestial empire. The count moreover allows that the natives are effeminate, cowardly, and indolent, rather indebted to the goodness of the soil than to their own industry, for preservation. He asserts, however, that they did not show a thievish disposition. The sands of the rivers they washed to obtain gold, but resorted to no more laborious mode of gathering the precious metal. Blue cotton was the clothing of the common people, if clothing it might be called, which was no covering. The towns were always built on the plains, and the villages on the mountains. The houses of men of rank were extensive but plain, and the apartments of the females were separate. Those of the people were mere huts, "and they were not permitted to build better."

The Chinese possessed the three western of the 'eight principalities' into which the island is divided; and besides these, their officers on the frontiers by intrigue and alliance have acquired several other districts, and are constantly extending their jurisdiction eastward. Notwithstanding the assertion of the Chinese books, that there is no regular government among the unsubdued natives, the count assures us, that the unconquered districts are ruled by independent chiefs who have unlimited authority over their subjects. The right of soil belongs to the chiefs alone; but the subject reaps advantages from cultivating it. Veteran officers or soldiers are placed in com-

mand over towns and villages; and there is no village, if we may trust the Memoirs, which is not under the oversight of a soldier, who in turn is subject to his superior. Domestic slavery is greatly practiced; some of the principal people had hundreds of slaves. The chiefs have a body guard of a few hundred young men, and keep a number of vessels, each with two masts and twenty-four oars; but they make no use of cannon.

In each district there are five or six towns where instruction is given in reading and writing. The count declares that they obtain their books from China, and that their characters for writing are as difficult as the Chinese. If this be so, it is probable that their literature was quite dependent on China for its origin; and that they either derived from thence the knowledge of writing, or that the Chinese mode of writing has superseded their own, or combined with it, as in Corea and Japan. In the matter of religion, the count quite disagrees with Chinese authors, affirming that the religion of the people consists in adoring one God, and in the performance of good offices towards their neighbors. But we do not attach implicit reliance to the count's testimony on this subject; because we judge that he was not so nice an observer on this point as on some others. Their pure and simple theism, like that of the Chinese which was once so lauded, will probably prove to be an idea always unknown, or long since lost, among the people. But all agree, however, in describing them as free from any tokens of idolatry, yet as subject to the influence of conjurers and diviners;—in these respects bearing much resemblance to the aborigines of North America.

In conclusion we would say that we have quoted from this curious book, rather because it speaks of a subject quite unknown, than because it is of undoubted veracity in all its statements. They are the observations of a military man, observing and shrewd, and designed, no doubt, to give on the whole a favorable aspect to his proposed enterprise of colonizing the island. But since we do not find his Memoirs have been corrected by subsequent observers, so far as they have had opportunity to verify his statements relative to other subjects treated of in his book, we suppose that these may in general sustain the same test, if any one shall ever be permitted to visit the same ground. He evidently intended to return and risk his own fortunes on the island, but was subsequently diverted from his design by the offer of royal patronage in Madagascar; so that our knowledge of eastern Formosa remains at the present day as it was half a century ago. Enough, however, is known to show that the acquisition of further knowledge is practicable. The anchorages are good and numerous. Though he did not see the "gigantic race of negroes" which Valentyn declared might be seen there, yet he found an olive colored people, with whom he held a varied intercourse; a country already to some degree furnishing the means of trade, and with proper motives to the cultivators, capable of a vast increase of such means; he found them not exempt from the vices of such a state of semi-barbarism, but without idolatry.

ART. III. *Siamese Romance*: translated from the original Siamese by Mrs. ———, while residing at Bangkok the capital of the kingdom of Siam.

It will be in our power ere long, we hope, to entertain our readers with verities concerning the history, geography, literature, manners, habits, government, religion, &c., of the Siamese. As a nation, they are excessively fond of the wild vagaries of Buddhism. Those who have amassed wealth, often employ it in building temples or pagodas for the convenience of the priests and the honor of their religion. Those also who have the means, maintain large numbers of the priests, who pass their whole time in perfect idleness. People often invite the priests to their houses to perform religious services. In such cases, seated "squat like a toad," on a seat a little elevated, they rehearse in a drawling voice a piece similar to that which we subjoin. During the performance, the auditors, who are generally few, and chiefly old women, remain on their knees, with raised hands, until the dull tones of the orator have lulled them to sleep. After the service is ended, the priest is richly entertained and liberally paid.—The following is an extract from one of those pieces, which are rehearsed in the manner above described; it seems to have been published as an address to readers.

"Now I am about to republish a story. At the time when the vacuum was in existence, and all things were in the most profound silence, long, long ago in olden time, there was a kingdom, called the realm of Chambauk. The king bore the name of Chambauk Rachareteret, and his queen was the lady Chantahtawee. She was both amiable and dutiful, and a thousand times fair and slender. Her countenance was very handsome, her deportment elegant, and she was quite superior to all her maids of honor. Now I would speak in praise of the kingdom. The whole surface was covered with an immense population, who lived extremely contented, and filled with happiness. The symmetry of their bodies adorned the kingdom. They came in crowds to bring stones for the wall of the city.* They also built a spire of three stories, and adorned it with the finest sculpture and carving.† The pillars were well proportioned, and sustained a splendid dome, laid out with lamina; to the sight it was like branches drooping from a tree. The vault of the dome was very great; upon it were griffons fighting with giants. In front of the pillars, was abundant splendor. The plan was laid out in the utmost grandeur. The whole was perfect, surrounded by a moat, which thus con-

* In Siam and Camboja, one of the greatest beauties of the city is the wall which surrounds the imperial residence. In 1830, the city wall of Bangkok in Siam, required whitewashing; the nobles were collected, and to each a part of the wall was allotted to be cleaned and whitewashed at his own expense. The rich had the smallest portion, but the poor were favored with a wider space.

† The spire is the highest decoration of a palace, and is usually gilded, and inlaid with a species of mother of pearl.

stituted it a camp; and there they erected towers like shields, and made loop holes, which everywhere embellished the city walls. About the massy gates were crowds of people observing the glory of the nation. The high towers were elegant, beautiful, fine! Within the walls was a market, where bustling crowds bought and sold. All was undisturbed, universal gaiety and joy, and there they walked in stirring rows,

"Now, my good reader, when the king cherished love towards the lady Chantahtawee, he wished to raise her to the rank of queen* above all the ladies, and all the train of waiting maids. He observed, therefore, the directions of the sacred books, showed himself generous, and gave alms to the poor, wretched, and destitute. The king showed himself gracious, and bestowed gifts on all his slaves, female as well as male. He expended and distributed much property, made all the people cheerful, gave them gifts according to their wishes, and provided food for the future. At the same time, he built a temple, destined for the priests, where they should commemorate the *passover* [?], live piously, and keep their bodies in subjection; investigate and investigate the sacred books. The king also ordered the sacred books to be translated, and to be studied according to the rule of the sacred code, so that the behavior of the priests might be regulated. Thus he glorified the holy ritual, made it splendid, and without spot.† The glory and might of the king was exceedingly great.‡ His fame and honor spread even to far distant kingdoms, whose inhabitants willingly became his slaves.

"Now, my reader, when lady Chantabtawee had lived with the king, she became pregnant. At this time, rice, coriander, peas, and beans were produced in large quantities. Whilst the queen enjoyed health, she frequently came to behold the nation, till the time of her delivery arrived. She then brought forth a son, beautiful and vigorous as a bow from the moment of his birth. He was the possessor of great riches and honor; a large train of attendant slaves waited on him without cessation, day by day. Now this mighty king wished to show kindness to his best beloved son; and chose for him both wet nurses and governors, whose business it was to superintend him day and night. There was also issued the royal decree, that a hundred waiting maids, high in authority, and of noble extraction, who possessed honor, and rank, and beauty, and elegance, finely proportioned, in complexion neither black nor white, but of the lovely yellow of the saffron, should be selected. Their beauty was

* When the king comes to the throne, his wife does not become queen, till her husband chooses to confer that favor upon her; but usually, on becoming king, he marries another person, and the first giving place then becomes his second wife.

† On the occasion of marriages, the priests are the principal objects of regard; to them abundant presents of clothing, food, and money are given, for which they are expected to say prayers or masses. The poor are generally the least remembered, but receive some trifling gifts when the prayers are said.

‡ The greatness of a king consists in building temples, and supporting an immense number of priests.

sparkling, and their countenances glistened with splendid majesty and chastity. They had to sing, and dance, and chant to the son of the king with their melodious voices, like the celestial beings who reside in the kingdom of heaven.

“Now, my reader, I must speak about the beauty of this exalted child, because it was of royal extraction and parentage. When it was born it was wonderful. There was a wonder: the stars sparkled, shone, and glistened with immense beauty; and in the universe the angels,* gathering in crowds, pronounced a blessing, and strewed flowers, the fragraney of which penetrated every corner. When the prince was born, there was a Brahmin came from another country.† He brought fine, large elephants, and presented them to the new born prince, together with golden anklets. The king rejoiced exceedingly and made presents to him as a remuneration; raised him above all the other Brahmins, and made him the ruler of the kingdom. Now, reader, when the child was grown to the age of five years, his majesty gave him the name of Chow-tee-ah-woo-ke-man. He was at that time, well proportioned, of slender hip and possessed a smiling countenance, with tender features. When he wished to go out, there was prepared for him a golden palanquin, beautiful to behold.‡

“In his superiority, he possessed riches and dominions. His look was condescending, surpassing all the kings of other kingdoms. He also held a kingdom which was incomparable. By the merits of this royal prince, the nation was happy, contented, and cheerful.

“Now, reader, I must break off awhile from this story, and I will relate something of another kingdom called Bunchal; the name of the king was Bunchalret; the name of the queen was Nuntahtavi. She was fair, tender, and slender; she had many daughters, who accompanied her, and superintended the slaves. The king had a very amiable disposition towards his ladies; and because they were pleasing, he founded a city according to the pattern of the ancients, planted it with many trees, built it with stones, and whitewashed it with lime. He built a market with a channel, where all the people assembled in crowds; there, seated in rows, they bought and sold as much as was sufficient for their necessities. The people were happy, cheerful, and suffered no oppression. The king also built a dome. Everything in the kingdom was elegant and splendid. The nation gathered around, cheerful, happy, and without cares; and the nobility followed the pattern of the ancients. The king

* The Cambojans believe that there are different ranks of angels: some dwell in paradise, others in woods or with men. All are the attendants of men to whom prayers are addressed, and sacrifices offered.

† The Brahmins frequently visit and even settle in Siam; they are chiefly employed as astrologers and sorcerers, perform the rite of baptism, explain the Pali-books; and the kings emulate each other in building for them splendid temples, and supporting them with all imaginary dignity.

‡ Only those persons who are of the highest rank, are allowed a palanquin or chair; and the members of the royal family only are allowed to have an umbrella carried behind them.

also took care, that there was no want of justice. So he was celebrated, and possessed great honor; his name was famous in the whole universe, and his glory and majesty were unspotted. When the king was thus happily seated, his queen again became pregnant, and great wonders appeared. The earth shook, thunders rolled, lightnings flashed in variegated colors, and the people came together to praise the merits of the king. Then the queen brought forth a daughter, beautiful, without spot, and very dutiful; her smiling face resembled the moon when she is in her fullness. The whole nation brought presents of gold and silver, offering them to the new born daughter. The king sought for five hundred virgins to wait on the young princess; they were pure, chaste, and unspotted; while the nation rejoiced, and was perfectly happy. When the princess had attained her fifth year, her beauty was perfect. His majesty appointed governesses to watch over her with the utmost care. These ladies were famous in other kingdoms. Every body, nobles as well as the common people, came to admire the royal child; they thronged in immense numbers, and the voice of their praise shook the earth.

“I shall now discontinue this relation, and speak again about the former king, Chambauk Rachareteret. While this monarch was enjoying perfect ease, there came hunters from a far kingdom. They announced that in their excursions, they had seen the immense beauty of this princess, and now came to acquaint his majesty of it. The king was greatly delighted, consulted with his consort, and commanded to take another sight of her. They then went back, and arriving in the garden by stealth, they hid themselves in the bushes, and laid themselves down in the pleasant shade; when, accompanied by an immense train of maidens, the princess entered. Elephants, horses, and chariots, with soldiers, followed. When all the attendants had arrived, they surrounded the royal child on all sides, and coming to the brink of a stream of water, they put down the palanquin which they bore on their shoulders. The governesses, then anointing the royal child, undressed her, after which the glorious princess, with all splendor, descended into the sparkling, glistening water. Now the whole company began to play, dandle, and caress each other full of joy and cheerfulness. The royal princess dived and swam, leaving the maidens far behind, and hid herself under the shadow of the trees. The hunters, beholding the royal daughter, stood astounded, looking at her elegant beauty and accomplishments. They addressed her, saying, ‘O wonderful nymph! from the time of our first existence, we have never beheld a countenance like thine, so beautiful, so fair: there is no female like thee: thou art to be compared to celestial beings and angels who dwell in paradise; but comparison is vain.’ Fainting with astonishment, the hunters resolved to give a full account to the king Chambauk Rachareteret, that the prince might become her partner. Who was so worthy, as the son of so great a lord? While they were thinking thus, they lingered and looked in deep silence, that they might see

plainly, and be certain. At the same time, the governesses were following the royal daughter, who had swam far away, to snatch her from the danger. While they were thinking, they were scattered; some swam, dived, and rose to rejoin her; the eyes of some were shut, and they could not see; others passed her; others cried, 'catch the princess!' but nothing was heard of her. Finally, when they reached her, the princess praising their zeal, said, 'maidens, do not hurry, nor complain that you do not see me; wait a little, and I shall return.' And so she dived, came up, and dived again, grasped the hand of the governesses and maid servants who had been shocked at her going so far, and had exerted their utmost to induce her to return. She was very dextrous in the water, and superior to all of them, to the great astonishment of the maidens, who remained speechless.

"When the afternoon was come, the attendants prepared to return to the palace. Some soldiers were chosen to pluck flowers of different kinds for the princess, which she was to present to her illustrious parents, to whom she had to pay her respects. When they arrived at the palace gate, the parents heard of it, and his majesty went down to receive his royal daughter, who had been perfumed by the flowers. He stroked and caressed the child, saying, 'dearly beloved daughter of your father, what have you brought to present him?' The child replied, 'nothing but a few flowers, among which is the lotus; these I come to present to my father.' Whilst fragrance perfumed the whole, the king commanded, saying, 'my good health and strength be given to you, and no sickness or weakness ever trouble you. Maid servants be of good cheer.' All understood the meaning, and they began to sing harmoniously, and enjoyed the bliss, and till late at night, made the earth shake with their exultations. During the time of the tranquil night, they praised the merits of the illustrious king, till exhausted and wearied, like a man who is carrying a thousand pounds and puts them down from off his shoulder unable to speak, they looked around and saw the princess among them, fair and shining as a nymph, endeavoring to gain merit and applause by being among them.* Then the king beginning to slumber, commanded the princess to lie down on the couch to sleep, and wander in dreams. The princess walked into her chamber, and stretched herself on the couch, after fastening the door. In her dream, she being astonished, called for the help of her governesses, saying, 'my ladies, assist your younger sister, whose whole body is shackled.' The women, greatly surprised, rose and came. The princess related the dream which she had seen, that a prince had entered the room, and begged her to become his spouse. The women answered and said, 'the dream at which your highness was so astonished is very lucky.' The princess replied, 'tell me about the matter, do not fear, hide nothing, I shall not be angry.' The women said, 'we will tell you; did not your highness see a serpent winding

* On solemn occasions, the Cambojans spend a whole night in singing and music: this they call meritorious, and boast of their generosity.

itself around your body? Now this signifies a king who has received an account of you, and comes to petition an alliance of love; do not tarry to accede.' The little princess replied, 'is this the good fortune you tell me of; do not talk so to your young sister.' And the women were silent." * * * *

ART. IV. *The Bonin islands: their situation, productions, &c., as noticed by the Japanese in 1675 and subsequently; by Captain Beechey in 1827; more recently by a correspondent of the London Metropolitan; and in August, 1834, by Mr. ———.*

These islands, which are about twenty-nine degrees east of Canton, and eight south from Jedo, 'are most conveniently situated for watching the trade of China on the west, the Philippines on the south, and Russia on the north; and if any intercourse is soon to be opened with the Japanese, they form the position from which it could be most easily effected.' The earliest account which we find of the Bonin islands is contained in Kämpfer's history of Japan. "About the year 1675," says the historian, "the Japanese accidentally discovered a very large island, one of their barks having been forced there in a storm from the island Fatsisio, from which they computed it to be 300 miles distant towards the east. They met with no inhabitants, but found it to be a very pleasant and fruitful country, well supplied with fresh water, and furnished with plenty of plants and trees, particularly the arrack tree, which however might give room to conjecture, that the island lay rather to the south of Japan, than to the east, these trees growing only in hot countries. And because they found no inhabitants upon it, they called it *Bunin sima*, or the island Bunin, [in Chinese *woo jin* 'without people,'] the uninhabited island. On the shores they found an immense number of fish and crabs, some of which were from four to six feet long."

The following description of the islands is from a Japanese work published in Jedo in 1785. 'The group is composed of eighty-nine islands, of which the most considerable are two large ones, two of middling size, and six smaller. These ten are spacious, and covered with herbs and trees; their plains offer an agreeable residence for man. As to the other islands, they are nothing but steep, sterile, and uninhabitable rocks. This archipelago is in latitude twenty-seven degrees north; the climate is warm; and the vallies, situated between the high mountains, are fertile and watered by rivulets. The islands produce vegetables, grain of all kinds, great quantities of sugar-cane, with extensive pastures. Some of the trees are large, and the wood is hard and beautiful. Palm trees, cocoa nut, the betel nut, camphor, red sandal wood, mountain fig, mulberry, cinnamon,

the tallow, and the wax trees, are found there. Among the plants are the *Smilax china*, and others used in medicine. Few quadrupeds are seen; but birds are in abundance. There are several kinds of parrots, also herons, and partridges. The chief productions of the mineral kingdom are alum, green vitriol, stones of various colors, petrifications, &c. In the sea are whales, great lobsters, enormous shell-fish, and sea eggs. The largest of these islands is about forty miles in circuit, another is thirty-two, the other eight are from six to twenty miles around.' (Canton Register, March 20th, 1833.)

In his voyage to the Pacific, captain Beechey, while steering eastward from the Lewchew islands, on the 8th of June, 1827, had the satisfaction to descry several islands extending north and south as far the eye could reach. They all appeared to be small, yet they were high and very remarkable, particularly one near the centre. On the 9th, the Blossom entered a secure harbor, and came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms, almost landlocked. "This harbor is situated in the largest island of the cluster, and has its entrance conspicuously marked by a bold, high promontory on the southern side, and a tall quoin-shaped rock on the other. It is nearly surrounded by hills, and the plan of it upon paper suggests the idea of its being an extinguished crater. Almost every valley has a stream of water, and the mountains are clothed with trees, among which the *Areca oleracea*, and fan-palms are conspicuous. There are several sandy bays, in which green turtle are so numerous that they quite hide the color of the shore. The sea yields an abundance of fish; the rocks and caverns are the resort of craw-fish and other shell-fish; and the shores are the refuge of snipes, plovers, and wild pigeons. At the upper part of the port, there is a small basin, formed by coral reefs, conveniently adapted for heaving a ship down; and on the whole it is a most desirable place of resort for a whale ship." By a board nailed against a tree, it appeared that the port had been entered in September, 1825, by an English ship named the Supply. Captain B. could not allow so fair an opportunity to escape of taking possession of the islands; and accordingly, in due form, he "declared them to be the property of the British government by nailing a sheet of copper to a tree, with the necessary particulars engraved upon it." The harbor he called Port Lloyd, 'out of regard to the late bishop of Oxford,' and the island in which it is situated he named after sir Robert Peel.

They continued in Port Lloyd till the 15th of June; and enjoyed frequent opportunities for examining the surrounding country. Peel's island is entirely volcanic, and there is every appearance of the others to the northward being of the same formation. Basaltic columns were noticed in several parts of Port Lloyd, and in one place they were divided into short lengths as at the Giant's Causeway. Many of the rocks consist of tufaceous basalt of a grayish or greenish hue, frequently traversed by veins of petrosilex, and containing numerous nodules of chalcedony or cornelian. Zeolites were not wanting; and the stilbite, in the lamellar-foliated form, was

abundant. Olivine and hornblend were also common; and the druses were often found containing a watery substance, which had an astringent taste not unlike alum. Coral animals have raised ledges and reefs of coral around almost all the bays. The hills about the anchorage were wooded from the water's edge nearly to the summit. They found among these trees, besides the cabbage tree and fan palm, the tamanu of Otaheite, the *Pandanus odoratissimus* and a species of the purau; also some species of *Laurus*, of *Urtica*, the *Terminalia*, *Dodonæa viscosa*, *Eleocarpus serratis*, &c. Wood for building boats was found, which answered well for knees, timbers, &c. They saw no wild animals of the mammalia class except the vampire bat. Of birds, besides the herons, plovers, snipes, and pigeons, they saw rails, the common black crow, a small bird resembling the canary, and a crossbeak,—all very tame. The sea abounded in fish, some of which were beautiful. "We were," says the captain, "surrounded by sharks so daring and voracious that they bit at the oars and boat's rudder, and though wounded by the boat-hook, returned several times to the attack. At the upper end of Ten Fathom Hole [a part of the above mentioned basin which was so named in consequence of there being ten fathoms of water all over it,] there were a great many green turtles; and the boat's crew were sent to turn some of them for our sea stock. The sharks, to the number of forty at least, as soon as they observed these animals in confusion, rushed in among them, and to the great danger of our people, endeavored to seize them by the fins, several of which we noticed to have been bitten off. These turtle weighed from three to four hundred weight each, and were so inactive that, had there been a sufficient number of men, the whole shoal might have been turned."

Captain Beechey, unable to visit the southern islands, confined his observations to the northern group which 'consists of three clusters lying nearly N. by E. and extending from the latitude of 27° 44' 35" N., to 26° 30' N. and beyond, but that was the utmost limit of our view to the southward. The northern cluster consists of small islands, and pointed rocks, and has much broken ground about it, which renders caution necessary in approaching it. I distinguished it by the name of Parry's group. The middle cluster consists of three islands, of which Peel's island, four miles and a fifth in length, is the largest. This group is nine miles and a quarter in length, and is divided by two channels so narrow that they can only be seen when abreast of them: neither of them are navigable by shipping. The northern, I named Stapleton, and the other, Buckland. At the southwest angle of Buckland island there is a sandy bay, in which ships will find good anchorage; but they must be careful in bringing up to avoid being carried out of soundings by the current: I named it Walker's bay. The southern cluster is evidently that in which a whale ship commanded by Mr. Coffin anchored in 1823, who was the first to communicate its position to this country, and who bestowed his own name upon it. These clusters of islands correspond

so well with a group named *Yslas del Arzobispo*, in a work published many years ago in Manila, entitled '*Navigation Especulativa y Pratica*,' that I have retained the name, in addition to that of Bonin; it is extremely doubtful from the Japanese accounts of Bonin sima, whether there are not other islands in the vicinity, to which the latter name is not more applicable. In the Japanese accounts, the two large islands are said to be inhabited, to contain several villages and temples, and to produce leguminous vegetables, and all kinds of grain, besides a great abundance of pasturage, sugar canes, lofty palm trees, cocoa nuts, and other fruits, also sandalwood, and camphor. But the group which we visited had neither villages, temples, nor any remains whatever. There were no cocoa nut trees nor sugar canes, no leguminous plants, nor any plains for the cultivation of grain, the land being very steep in every part, and overgrown with tall trees.' Captain B. found two individuals on Peel's island, who had resided there about eight months. They were a part of the crew of the *William*, a whale ship belonging to London. They informed the captain, that in winter there is much bad weather from the north, and north-west; but that as summer approaches these winds abate, and are succeeded by others from the southward and south-eastward, which prevail throughout that season and are generally attended with fine weather, with the exception of fogs which are prevalent. They stated also that earthquakes were frequent during the winter.

To the learned editor of the *London Metropolitan* it appears that nothing more is required to add both the Sandwich and Bonin islands to the British colonies, 'than to send out a frigate to each group of islands, with a large proportion of artificers in each, and their wives to be permitted to go out with them,—the captains of the frigates to be the governors of the islands. In a very short time, more would be effected by this means, than by the usual expensive system of colonization, which up to the present time has been resorted to.' His correspondent maintains the same opinion, and regrets that such a measure was not adopted in 1824; for then 'discovery, civilization, and Christianity, would have been more effectually advanced, and British commerce would long ere this have supplanted that which is now almost exclusively carried on by our more enterprising friends, the Americans. The two positions are of great importance, as they are situated in the line of communication between western America and China. Eventually, I little doubt, that the mails from China, when Mexico shall have become a settled state, will find their way by this route; viz:

From England to Vera Cruz, in N. lat.	19,	say	6	weeks;
Overland to San Blas,	"	"	21,	"
San Blas to Sandwich islands,	"	"	21,	"
Sandwich islands to the Bonin,	"	"	27,	"
And from the Bonin to Canton,	"	"	23,	"
Allowance for delays, &c., say			2	"

Thus the passage to Canton will occupy only sixteen weeks.

'The passage cannot be performed in much shorter time than one hundred and twelve days. By this conveyance the trade winds can be depended on throughout the whole distance, and the wear and tear of a packet will be trifling.' The correspondent of the Metropolitan is quite safe in saying that the passage, according to the present mode of traveling, cannot be made in much shorter time than sixteen weeks. We are assured by good authorities that three weeks would be considered a quick run from San Blas to the Sandwich islands; and that it would require a still longer time to sail from the latter to the Bonin islands. During the most favorable seasons, passages, round the Cape of Good Hope, have been made *from* England and the United States in 98, 104, and 110 days; and passages *to* the same places have been made in 98, 100, 104, and 110 days (perhaps sometimes, even shorter than these); but in the favorable seasons, no one ever thinks of sending by San Blas, or the Red sea. How quick the passage will be performed when steam vessels are made to traverse the Pacific, and rail roads are built across the continent from Europe to eastern Asia, we will not venture to predict.

Our latest and most authentic information concerning the Bonin islands, is from an English gentleman, who visited them last autumn, and who has very obligingly furnished us with the following particulars; some of which corroborate, and others contradict, those contained in the foregoing statements. Port St. George, or Lloyd as named by Beechey, he found by careful and repeated observations to be in latitude 27° 6' 30" N. and longitude 142° 16' E. He says:

"In August, 1834, the American barque Volunteer, touched at the Bonin islands to procure supplies. Having been informed at the Sandwich islands that the settlers had gone to the south island, we made for that first, and after a fruitless search for them of three days, we found them on the south of the north island. On the 24th of August, under the pilotage of Mr. Mazarra, we worked into the harbor, named by captain Beechey Port Lloyd, but by the settlers Port St. George. Mr. M. is the person who fitted out a vessel at the Sandwich islands, and brought the present settlers from thence to the Bonin islands, about six years ago. We found the harbor large and safe, there being two reefs which form a breakwater and perfectly shelter vessels from the south-west winds, from which point the harbor is most exposed. The upper part of the harbor forms a basin, in which vessels of light draught can moor in perfect safety. The harbor is capable of containing from thirty to forty sail.

"The settlers cleared, and now have under good cultivation, large tracts of land, on which they raise Indian corn, yams, sweet potatoes, melons, plantains, onions, beans, salad, and pumpkins. They have had cabbages, and Irish potatoes, but they did not thrive. For all these vegetables the settlers find a ready sale, when the whale ships visit the islands. During the seasons 1833 and '34, sixteen of these vessels arrived. The settlers have also a great many hogs; and in a year or two more, goats will be plentiful. On their arrival, they turned a bull and a cow into the woods; but there is every rea-

son to suppose the bull was maliciously shot by a runaway sailor from one of the whalers. Abundant supplies of water and wood are procurable, and at very moderate prices. The following are the prices we paid for our supplies.

Indian corn,	. . .	\$3 per barrel,
Sweet potatoes,	. . .	2 " "
Yams,	. . .	3 " "
Hogs,	. . .	6 a 7 each,
Fowls,	. . .	3 per dozen,
Pumpkins,	. . .	10 " hundred,
Melons,	. . .	6 " "
Beans,	. . .	4 " bushel,
Onions,	. . .	4 " barrel.

"The settlers have built themselves snug wooden houses; and considering the short period they have been on the island, they deserve much credit for the exertions they have made in clearing the ground, it being very thickly wooded with considerable underbrush. The cabbage tree affords them excellent material for fences, &c. The greatest difficulty they had to encounter, was the transporting of timber from the woods to the places where they wished to use it, a distance of three or four miles. For the first two years, they had only four natives of the Sandwich islands to assist them; they have now eleven males and nine females. But this number is totally insufficient should the whale ships continue to resort there for supplies of vegetables, wood, and water.—The settlers have been put to great inconvenience by the masters of some of the whale ships turning refractory seamen on shore. These men, having no employment, and being generally too lazy to work, have become a heavy tax to the quiet settlers, who have been obliged to furnish them with food. In 1833, the whaler *Cadmus* turned fifteen men on shore, among whom were several daring characters, who put the settlers at defiance. But not being inclined to work, eight of them attempted to cross over in a whale boat to the south island, a distance of twenty-five miles; but they all perished, the boat having been upset by the strong tide ripples; the remainder have since left the island in different vessels.

"Port St. George is admirably situated for the whalers who go to the coast of Japan, being immediately in their way; and they are on the fishing ground at the very entrance of the harbor. There is no doubt that in a very few years, when the port becomes more frequented, vessels which, after the whaling season is over on the Japan coast, have had generally to repair to Guam one of the Ladrone islands, or to the Sandwich islands, to refit and procure a supply of vegetables, &c., will find Port St. George to afford them every facility, and save much time and expense. It usually takes about five weeks to reach the Sandwich islands, after the season is over. Many masters of ships have thought the place unsafe, from the circumstance of the loss of the *William*, in 1826. But it is very clear she

was lost through neglect. Vessels having good ground tackle need have no apprehensions for their safety. We remained in the port forty-two days, and had two strong gales in September, which the vessel rode out well. There are generally one or two gales every year; but they are not regular as to time. The settlers look for bad weather in May and October. The sea yields a good supply of fish, and plenty of green turtle during the proper season. It would be a great safeguard to the settlers, should government deem the place of sufficient consequence to induce them to send out a person vested with authority, who would put a stop to the masters of ships leaving any of their crews behind, as they have done hitherto. There are twenty-six Europeans on the islands, English, American, and Portuguese, exclusive of the Sandwich islanders, mentioned above. The tree, to which a sheet of copper was nailed by H. M. S. Blossom, in 1827, stating that the islands had been taken possession of on behalf of his Britannic majesty, having been cut down, the copper is now affixed to the house built by Wittrein and his companions, after the loss of the *William*, in 1826."

ART. V. *Universal peace: obstacles to it in the character and government of nations, particularly of China and Japan; with remarks on the means best fitted to remove these obstacles.*

ON the second return of Louis XVIII, marshal Ney and count Lavalette were sentenced to death. Ney was shot; but the count made his escape from prison, and fled from his country. After a few years, he was permitted to return to Paris, where he died in 1830. His memoir was published the next year, and contains the following "image of war," which appeared to him while in prison: "I dreamed," says Lavalette, "that I was standing in the rue St. Honore, at the corner of the rue de l'Echelle. A melancholy darkness spread around me; all was still, nevertheless a low and uncertain sound soon arose. All of a sudden, I perceived at the bottom of the street, and advancing towards me, a troop of cavalry; the men and horses, however, were all flayed. The men held torches in their hand, the red flames of which illuminated faces without skin, and bloody muscles. Their hollow eyes rolled fearfully in their vast sockets; their mouths opened from ear to ear, and helmets of hanging flesh covered their hideous heads. The horses dragged along their own skins in the kennels, which overflowed with blood on both sides. Pale and disheveled women appeared and disappeared alternately at the windows in dismal silence; low, inarticulate groans filled the air; and I remained in the street alone, pet-

rified with horror, and deprived of strength sufficient to seek my safety by flight. This horrible troop continued passing in a rapid gallop, and casting frightful looks at me. Their march, I thought, continued for five hours; and they were followed by an immense number of artillery, wagons full of bleeding corpses, whose limbs still quivered; a disgusting smell of blood and bitumen almost choked me." (*Calumet.*)

It is not surprising that the count, who had followed Napoleon as his aid de camp through Europe, Egypt, and Syria, should in the solitude of a prison have been haunted by images of war. For often on the field of battle he had witnessed scenes no less horrible than those which passed before him while he was standing in the rue St. Honore. With the narrative of these bloody conflicts, the people of Christendom are familiar. But while the western world is known to have been, from time immemorial, the theatre of a continued series of wars 'offensive and defensive,' the eastern nations; it is supposed by many, have enjoyed the most profound peace and the most unbounded prosperity: and China and Japan, in particular, by excluding foreigners from their dominions, have in a great measure prevented the occasions of war, and secured for themselves the highest blessings of civil society. Those, however, who are acquainted with the true history of these countries, know that this is a wrong view of the case; and we think that any one who carefully compares the character and governments of the eastern nations with those of the west, will be led to this conclusion. For the moral qualities which give rise to wars are not less prevalent in the eastern, than in the western, hemisphere.

Into whatever form the government of a nation is moulded, if its principles are just, and the character of the rulers and people is marked by intelligence, probity, kindness, and industry, it can hardly be otherwise than good. On the other hand, if wrong principles predominate, and ignorance, idleness, mendacity, injustice, cruelty, and the like, gain the ascendancy, the government—no matter what may be its form—will be bad. In the government of a nation, therefore; we have a criterion by which we may estimate those moral qualities, which as they are either good or bad will tend to promote peace or war. It sometimes happens, moreover, that in the government there are collected and combined nearly all the intellectual energies of a nation. When corrupt, therefore, instead of being an organ of good to the people, it becomes a most fearful engine of destruction; and to the establishment of universal peace, it presents an obstacle exceedingly difficult to be removed or overcome. "Of all the plagues which have visited the family of man," says a late writer, "not one, nor all combined, have been so fully charged with mischief and malignity, as those which have fallen upon it under the specious name of government, at least as civil government has been hitherto conducted. And yet strange as it may appear, to no species of calamity are men in general so insensible; from none are they so slow in speaking themselves free. They are so accustomed to

the yoke, that they wear it with servile weakness. The irresistible spell of government steals upon the faculties of infancy, insinuates itself into the opening sentiments of youth, twines itself with the matured conclusions of manhood, and retains its inveterate grasp on the hoary prejudices of age. It is a giant delusion, from which only the genius of Christianity can set its victims free. It comes armed with a *prescriptive authority* to silence questioning, and to perpetuate its abominations."

In whatever light we look at the Chinese empire, whether we examine the moral qualities of the rulers and people, or the structure of its government, we shall find very serious obstacles to the establishment of permanent peace. These obstacles are not of recent origin, they are coeval with the earliest history of the nation; and in coming down to the present time they have not been diminished, but rather increased, by the change of dynasties, and by the revolutions and counter-revolutions which have almost without interruption agitated and convulsed this empire. Anterior to the Heä dynasty, which (according their own chronology,) arose more than four thousand years ago, the inhabitants of China were very barbarous and uncivilized, and the government was cruel and despotic. The people lived in a savage state, and groaned beneath the oppression of violent, passionate, and warlike chieftains.

The Heä dynasty occupied the throne four hundred and thirty-nine years, and numbered seventeen monarchs: a brief examination of their successive reigns will show to what a limited extent the country enjoyed peace and prosperity under their administration. Yu, the first emperor of this line, began to reign B. C. 2205. He was an adopted heir of the throne, and soon had to contend against the son of the preceding monarch, who endeavored to raise rebellion and expel the stranger. But his attempt failed. The reign of this monarch did not exceed ten years, and is memorable for the introduction of *strong drink* among the Chinese. "In the time of Yu," says the historian, "Eteih made spirituous liquor (*tsew*); Yu drank of it and liked it; but immediately banished Eteih from his presence, and interdicted its use; saying, if succeeding generations use strong drink they will destroy the empire." The interdict seems to have remained in force but a short time; for we find both rulers and people soon indulging in the free use of the forbidden cup. Teke, the second emperor, had scarcely ascended the throne, when the peace of the empire was disturbed by a war with a tributary prince, who ill-treated his subjects and aspired to supreme authority. The third emperor, at once abandoned the care of the government to weak and wicked hands, and gave himself wholly to irregular passions. His palace was filled with base women. He spent whole weeks and months in hunting wild beasts, and allowed his dogs and horses to ravage the country. The people complained bitterly of his tyranny; and at length arose, and having made him prisoner, sent him into banishment, and placed his brother on the throne. The general, who took the lead in these measures, soon

became incensed against the emperor, and resolved to extirpate him and his whole family. But before he had time to execute this wicked purpose, the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son Seäng. This monarch, with a view probably, to appease the wrath of his father's sworn enemy, placed him at the head of his army. This gave the traitor an opportunity to execute his favorite plan, which he entrusted to one of his creatures, named Hantso. But this 'ambitious villain' had no sooner dispatched the emperor, than he turned against the traitor, destroyed both him and his family, except the empress, and usurped the imperial authority.

While the usurper was endeavoring to establish himself on the throne, the empress, who had fled to the mountains, gave birth to a son; who, as soon as he arrived to the age of manhood, was placed at the head of an army by the friends of his father. Hantso was taken prisoner, and put to an infamous death, and Shaoukang, the young prince, was placed on the throne of his ancestors.

Choo and Hwae, the seventh and eighth emperors, were but little disturbed by wars and insurrections; the latter, however, soon became effeminate, gathered around him a herd of eunuchs, neglected the government, and passed his whole time in reveling and debauchery. Mang, his son and successor, imitated the vices of his father. The tenth and eleventh emperors, Seë and Keäng, seem to have maintained their authority without opposition. After a reign of fifty-nine years, Keäng at his death appointed his son to the throne; but he was immediately expelled by his uncle, who having reigned twenty-one years was succeeded by his own son. This emperor was distinguished only for his imbecility and vices. He retained the crown, however, till his death; it then reverted to Kungkeä, the lawful heir. This was the fourteenth emperor of the Heä dynasty, and one of the most effeminate and debased princes that ever reigned. His successor trod in the footsteps of his father, and made his palace the seat of the most infamous pleasures. The sixteenth emperor occupied the throne nineteen years, and had the misfortune of being the father of Keë, the worst of men and the last of this line of emperors.

Keë reigned fifty-two years. His career was marked by horrible cruelties and bestial excesses. His wife was, if possible, more wicked than himself. Her commands were blindly obeyed; and the blood of their innocent subjects was daily shed to gratify her savage humor. The emperor and his imperial consort both indulged in the most abominable excesses, without the least regard for the welfare of the people. These licentious and tyrannical proceedings produced a general revolt, and fierce and bloody contests ensued. Nor did these cease until Keë fled from the empire, and a new dynasty was established under the auspices of Chingtang, its first emperor. Thus, during a period of more than three hundred years, the empire was in constant agitation, the people were harassed by wars, and oppressed by the cruelties of unrighteous rulers.

The two next dynasties occupied a period somewhat exceeding

fifteen hundred years in duration. Their histories abound with descriptions of wars, usurpations, intrigues, and their legitimate attendants. A single one of these descriptions must suffice. Chowsin, the last monarch of the Shang dynasty, ascended the throne B. C. 1143, and reigned thirty-two years. He married the infamous and impious Tâke, whom he had taken captive in war. They both gave themselves up to wild extravagance and unrestrained sensuality. They laid out extensive gardens; formed menageries filled with horses, dogs, rare animals, and curious birds. To feed these, and the crowds of idle people around them, they caused large granaries to be built. They made also a lake of wine, and surrounded it with trees loaded with provisions. In this retreat they collected vast multitudes of men and women, and allowed them to pass their time in debauchery, drunkenness, and other excesses, of which it is a shame even to speak. "Profligacy to this extent is more than the common sense of mankind, in the worst of times, can approve." The emperor and his court fell into contempt; which Tâke, instead of attributing to the right cause, ascribed to the lightness of the ordinary punishments, and to the easy death to which criminals were subjected. Hence new instruments of torture were introduced; and criminals were burnt alive. At length, Woo wang, 'the martial king,' and the founder of the Chow dynasty, determined to destroy these monsters. Large armies took the field; the emperor fled to a stage which he had erected for purposes of pleasure, set fire to it, and perished in the ruins; the wicked and unhappy Tâke, in the meantime, was cut down by the sword of Woo wang.

After the overthrow of the Chow dynasty, seven distinct states, and each with its own chieftain, strove for supremacy; six of their leaders were exterminated, and the other became master of the empire. The cruelty and disorders of this period are without a parallel. Nor did these scenes of confusion cease until the Han dynasty arose. During the reign of this line of monarchs, a period of more than four hundred years, the empire frequently enjoyed peace and advanced in prosperity; but often it was otherwise, and the prosperity enjoyed, only served to prepare more ample materials for the approaching scenes of rapine and human butchery. After the fall of this family, the storm of war raged with greater or less fury till the Tang dynasty was established, A. D. 618. The early part of this dynasty forms one of the most peaceful and prosperous periods in the whole history of China. Though its first monarchs were able to keep the people in subjection, yet their successors were not. The third monarch of this line placed the reins of government in the hands of the empress, who assumed the title of "queen of heaven." She poisoned several of her own children, and caused others of the imperial family to be cut in pieces. Cruelty and excesses of every kind continued to increase, until the dynasty became extinct. Then the *woo tai*, or "five dynasties," arose. These were times of confusion. Luxury, intrigue, and murder, filled the court; discontent, rapine, and bloody wars, the land.

It is worthy of remark, that the short dynasties, and the times immediately preceding and following the change of the successive dynasties, have invariably been distinguished by extensive and bloody wars. Witness the overthrow of the Sung dynasty, A. D. 1278. The conquerors on taking prisoners the leaders of the enemy fastened them to carts, and thus tore their bodies in pieces, and butchered the people in such numbers that 'the blood flowed in sounding torrents.' Thousands perished by their own hands, and tens of thousands by the swords of the enemy. The monarchs of the Yuen dynasty ruled with an iron rod, and endeavored to extend their sway beyond the limits of China. In a single expedition against Japan, it is computed that a hundred thousand men perished. The late Ming dynasty maintained its supremacy two hundred and seventy-six years: and its reign was characterized by usurpation, intrigue, insurrections, robberies, and wars with the Tartars, who became masters of the empire, A. D. 1644. The Mantchou conquerors, like those of the Yuen dynasty, entered the country with sword in hand; and established a domination which remains to this day. In 1618, the Mantchou prince, when about to invade the Chinese empire, wrote down seven great grievances of which he had to complain, and which he resolved to revenge. These he announced to heaven in the following words:

"Ere my grandfather had injured a blade of grass, or usurped an inch of ground that belonged to Ming, Ming causelessly commenced hostilities and injured him. This is the *first* thing to be revenged. Although Ming commenced hostilities, we, still desirous of peace, agreed to engrave it on a stone, and take a solemn oath in confirmation of it, that neither Mantchou nor Chinese should pass the respective limits; whoever dared to do so, should, the moment he was seen, be destroyed; and that the party which connived at any violation of this treaty, should be exposed to the judgments of heaven. Notwithstanding this oath, Ming again passed the frontiers with troops to assist a people called the Yéhih. This is the *second* thing to be revenged. When a subject of Ming passed over the frontier and committed depredations in my territory, I, agreeably to the oath above stated, destroyed him. But Ming turned his back on the former treaty confirmed with an oath; complained of what I had done; put to death an envoy of mine; and having seized ten men on the frontiers, caused them to be slain. This is the *third* thing to be revenged. Ming with troops passed the frontier to assist the Yéhih, and caused my daughter, already betrothed, to have her destination changed, and be given to another person of the Mongol nation. This is the *fourth* thing to be revenged. For many generations, I held, as my frontier, the hill Chaeho and places adjacent: my people cultivated it; but Ming has refused to allow them to reap, and has expelled them from thence. This is the *fifth* thing to be revenged. The Yéhih committed crimes against heaven; but Ming acted with partiality, and gave entire credit to their statements, while he sent a special envoy to me bearing a letter, in which he vilified and in-

sulted me. This is the *sixth* thing to be revenged. Formerly the people of Hätä, assisting the Yëhieh, twice came and invaded me. I announced it to heaven, and reduced the subjects of Hätä. Ming formed a conspiracy with him and others, to attack me and restore him his kingdom; and in consequence, the Yëhieh several times invaded the territory of Hätä. In the contentions of neighboring states, those who obey the will of heaven conquer; those who oppose the intentions of heaven are defeated and destroyed. How can those who have died by the sword, be restored to life! Or those who have obtained the people, return them again! Heaven establishes the prince of a great nation! Why does Ming feel resentment against my country alone! The 'Ihulun and other nations united their forces against me, to destroy me. Heaven rejected 'Ihulun for commencing bloodshed; but my nation flourished as spring. Ming is now assisting the Yëhieh, who are under severe reprehension and wrath; and is thereby opposing the will of heaven, reversing right and wrong, acting in the most irregular manner. This is the *seventh* thing to be revenged."

Thus impiously, in the name of heaven and to execute divine vengeance, the Manchou Tartar conquerors took up arms. "To revenge these seven injuries," said their chieftain, "I now go to reduce to order (i. e. to subjugate) the dynasty of Ming." And forthwith he placed himself at the head of his army and commenced hostilities. (See Morrison's View of China, page 10, also *Tung kwa luk*.) The chief Teënmung had already taken the title of emperor, and 'vowed to celebrate the funeral of his father with the slaughter of two hundred thousand Chinese.' (M. Martini.) The province of Leaoutung was soon overrun; towns and cities were sacked and burnt; and multitudes of the inhabitants 'annihilated.' This threw the Chinese court into consternation; and troops in great numbers were summoned from every part of the empire to resist the invaders. Among other commanders, who were mustered for this purpose, "there was," says the author just named, "one heroic lady, whom we may call the Amazon of China. She brought with her three thousand, from the remote province of Szechuen, all carrying not only masculine minds, but men's habits also, and assuming titles more becoming men than women. This noble and generous lady gave many rare proofs of her courage and valor, not only against these Tartars, but also against the rebels which afterwards rose against the emperor. She came to the war to supply the place of her son, who being as yet a child, was unable to perform the homage and duty which he owed to his lord."

Teënmung, the new self-styled emperor, 'ordained of heaven to tranquilize the disordered nations,' kept the field till 1627, when, after having caused the death of many tens of thousands by brutal fierceness, "himself augmented the number of the dead." His son Teëntung succeeded him in the command of the troops, and continued the hostilities against the Chinese, who for a time, sustained the war with courage. They met the enemy in the mountain passes

of Corea, and in league with the inhabitants of that country, formed two armies and gave battle to the enemy. "The Tartars finding themselves thus encompassed before and behind, and without any means to escape but by dint of sword, fought most desperately, sustaining the shock of two armies. The fury of the battle was such as China never before saw, for (it is strange to write, yet very true,) of the three armies, none were victorious; but all, in a manner, were destroyed. Of the Tartarian army fifty thousand were found wanting. The Corean army lost seventy thousand. And few or none escaped of the Chinese." Notwithstanding these losses, the war was continued with unabated fury on the part of the invaders, who more by the power of 'vast sums of gold' than by their prowess found their way to Peking, and laid siege to the imperial city. The traitor who brought the enemy to the capital, being summoned before the emperor, was convicted of his treachery and strangled. The Tartars now raised the siege, but laid waste all the adjacent country.

The affairs of the empire at that time, wore a forbidding aspect. The Tartar chief adopted every expedient which he could devise to win by favor or subdue by force. Those who submitted freely, he treated with kindness, which induced many, both of the people and officers, to fly to him for that protection and support which they could not obtain under their own rulers. On the other hand, among the Chinese, luxury, avarice, and intrigue, prevailed in the imperial court; and throughout the provinces, thefts, robberies, revolts, and insurrections, became daily more and more frequent and extensive. Eight very considerable armies of rebels were soon marshaled; and the ringleader of each contended for supreme dominion over the empire. These freebooters not only fought against the imperial forces, but strove to supplant each other, and succeeded to such an extent that soon only two of the leaders were left alive. These two prevailed on the partizans of those who were killed 'to follow their own ensigns and fortune;' and this they were the more ready to do since they were certain of death should they fall into the hands of the imperialists. The strength of the two rebel armies was now great; and they were so equally matched that neither dared to attack the other. Accordingly, they took different parts of the country; and one of them, under the command of *Le Tszeching* occupied the northern provinces, Shense and Honan; the other, headed by the daring and cruel *Chang Heñchung*, spread over the provinces of Szechuen, Hoenan, and Hoopih.

Le, with an immense army of 'rascally vagabonds,' soon encamped before Kaefung the capital of Honan, resolved to reduce the place by siege. The city was so poorly furnished with provisions, that at the end of six months its inhabitants began to devour each other. A pound of rice was worth a pound of silver, and dead men's flesh was sold publicly in the shambles. At length, the imperial troops arrived to relieve the besieged; but instead of attacking Le and his rascalions, the imperialists resolved to drown them, and accordingly opened the sluices of the Hwang ho. This was in the autumn of

1642; the waters of the river were high, and, the embankments giving way, they not only routed the enemy and destroyed their camp, but broke through the walls of the city and overwhelmed the whole of its inhabitants. Three hundred thousand perished by this inundation, and the city became one vast pool for the monsters of the deep. Driven from this city, Le led his bands to the capital of Shense, which was soon taken and pillaged, and all the surrounding country laid waste. The rebel leader now took the title of emperor, and directed his steps towards Peking. All the attempts made to stop his progress were without effect. The emperor and his eunuchs were greatly perplexed. But their case was hopeless. His majesty, to prevent his daughter from falling into the hands of the rebels, put her to the sword, and then laid violent hands on himself. The empress, and many of the court and of the inhabitants of the city, followed his example. Thus Le Tszeching became master of the palace, and placed himself on the imperial throne; and havoc and bloodshed were made the order of the day.

This occurred in 1644, and while a large Chinese army was in the field fighting against the Mantchou Tartars on the north. The leader of this army now proposed an alliance with those whom he was endeavoring to subdue. His terms were accepted; and the combined army forthwith fell back upon Peking, and Le and his myrmidons fled. The Chinese general went in pursuit of them. This was the hour of triumph on the part of the Tartars. Large reinforcements of their own troops were already entering the capital; and all the intreaties of the Chinese that they would leave the city, were vain. At this crisis Teënsung, who had changed his name to Tsungtih, died; and his son Shanche was proclaimed emperor, not of China only, but of the world. The Chinese general who had brought in the Tartars to his aid, was immediately declared a tributary, and compelled to fight against his own countrymen. Le and his associates were exterminated; and in a few months the four northern provinces were subjugated. The tonsure was made the sign of submission; non-compliance in this punctilio, was high treason; and many of the proud sons of Han, rather than lose their hair, sacrificed their heads.

At Nanking, a member of the late imperial line was proclaimed emperor, who forthwith sued for peace. His request was rejected; and while preparing to take the field, a new claimant to the throne appeared. The Chinese were divided; and thus compelled to fly before their enemies: both of the leaders, and all their kindred were seized and executed. One city after another gave way in quick succession, until the conquerors reached the southern provinces, where a new emperor had been proclaimed, and the people were prepared for resistance. Canton did not submit till 1650, when after a siege of more than eleven months the city was opened by a traitor, and 700,000 of the people were exterminated, and every house left desolate. The storm of war now raged with great fury in various parts of the empire. Pirates ravaged the coast; on the north and

south, several places revolted from the Tartars; and in the west, the cruel Chang Heenchung, by fire and sword, spread death and desolation in every direction. Chang commenced his bloody career at the same time with Le Tazeching. As a prelude to his tyrannical acts, he butchered eight of the grandees of the imperial family, who had fled to Szechuen. Often when offended with a single individual, he would cause a whole family or neighborhood to be slaughtered. A physician who was unable to preserve the life of his favorite hangman, when attacked with a violent disease, he caused to be killed; and not content with this, he sacrificed one hundred of that profession to the shade of the hangman. For a fault of one of his soldiers, two thousand were massacred. His chief officers often fell a prey to his fury. Five hundred eunuchs, whom he had taken from the grandees of the Ming family, he commanded to be put to death, because one of them presumed to address him by his proper name. At one time he collected twenty thousand priests, and "sent them all to hell, to visit the masters whom they had served." At another time, he decreed the slaughter of 140,000 of his soldiers: this horrible butchery lasted four days; and he commanded many of the slain to have their skins peeled off, and filled with straw, and with their heads sewed on, carried publicly to the villages where they were born. On one occasion, he assembled eighteen thousand literati; and entering the hall where they were collected, in cold blood bid his soldiers to slay them. On another occasion, having taken prisoners the whole inhabitants of a large city, about six hundred thousand, he commanded them all, men, women, and children, to be bound hand and foot, and put to death in a single day. In this way he proceeded from slaughtering to slaughter, till the whole province of Szechuen was made desolate, and his soldiers and their wives were almost the only persons left alive. The latter he resolved to sacrifice, and then carry his arms into the adjacent provinces. After proclaiming this purpose to his soldiers, and assuring them that they would find other 'exquisite women,' when in possession of the whole empire, he set them the example and gave up three hundred of his own 'beautiful maids' to the sword. The soldiers imitated the cruel tyrant, and 'cut off the heads of innumerable innocent women, as if they had been their mortal enemies.' (M. Martini.)

These destructive wars continued until the illustrious Kanghe gained complete sway over the whole of the ancient empire. According to a census taken A. D. 1710, which was the forty-eighth year of Kanghe's reign, it was found that the population of the empire had been reduced from sixty millions, to twenty-three millions of souls. This census may not have been accurately taken; the destruction of human life, however, was no doubt very great. From that time to the present, (one hundred and twenty-five years,) China has probably suffered less by the ravages of war, than during any other period in its history of equal length; and this fact has contributed much to establish the erroneous opinion that China has always enjoyed tranquillity and prosperity, and that its government is one of

the most perfect and peaceful that ever existed. Were bravery, heroism, and athletic habits, the only qualities which generate wars and fightings, we should not expect the sons of Han to do great execution with the sword. They are now, and they seem ever to have been, a timid and cowardly race. But the Tartars are not so, at least they were not, when they became masters of this empire, and bound the inhabitants fast in the chains of despotism.

The extent which this article already occupies, forbids us to enter on an examination of the history of the Japanese government, which, if we mistake not, is characterized by greater cruelties and excesses than those which darken the annals of China.

The brief view which we have now taken of the Chinese government, shows what have been the obstacles which it has hitherto presented to the establishment of permanent and universal peace. These obstacles, perhaps, were never greater than at this hour. True, no desolating armies have marched through these provinces during the last 125 years; but on the western frontiers there have been very frequent and bloody wars, and some of them are of recent date. And even in China Proper, the profound tranquillity which the successive 'sons of heaven' have vouchsafed to the black haired race, has been not very unlike that of the slave ship and the prison-house, where every subject has the heart, but not the power to disturb the peace. The animosity towards the conquerors has been suppressed, but not annihilated. Witness the numerous secret societies which are known to exist, and which were formed and are maintained with the avowed object of resisting "the tyrants." And this long cherished hatred may, at no very distant time, burst forth with a power which nothing can withstand. While we have been writing this paragraph, a report has reached us of new insurrections in the province of Szechuen.

In summing up the evils which hinder the establishment of that permanent peace, which is ere long to become universal, they naturally divide themselves into two classes; one including those which originate in the structure of the government; the other, those which grow out of the moral character of the nation. We are not unmindful of the divine declaration, that the powers that be are ordained of God, and that on this account every subject is bound to yield to them obedience. There are surely limits, however, beyond which those powers have no right to pass. In some respects the structure of this government is designed to destroy, and so far as its influence goes it does destroy, those rights which are essential to the establishment and maintenance of peace. In that state of society which we contemplate, when there will be no man on earth to hurt or destroy his fellow, the sword, and the cannon, and the battle ship may exist; and there may be chains, and manacles, and prisons; yet for all these there will be but little use; because the dominion of truth and justice will be complete; the rights and duties of rulers and subjects will be clearly defined and understood; and those rights will be enjoyed, and those duties performed.

The assumption of divine authority, (the first, the chief evil which originates in the structure of the Chinese government,) presents great obstacles to the extension of those principles which are absolutely necessary for the establishment of peace. This assumption constitutes the emperor the vicegerent of the Most High; makes his dominion absolute and universal; and requires all under heaven to yield him obedience. In this attitude he interdicts the worship of the Almighty, and claims for himself divine honors; and those who refuse to pay them, the government regards as barbarous and cruel *enemies*, and wages against them a war of extermination. Proceeding on this principle, the government destroys the personal liberty of its subjects; none of whom may pass beyond the frontiers of the empire, or hold any intercourse with foreigners. Those who presume to disobey these restrictions are declared outlaws, worthy of death. In this way all the avenues to the introduction of every species of useful knowledge are sealed up; and the inhabitants are regarded as prisoners or slaves. If they remain quiet, perform all the duties which their masters require, and exercise no will or choice of their own, they may go free within prescribed limits. Moreover, the government affords but very imperfect security for the property of the people. In a word, it acknowledges no rights in its subjects. Such is the unnatural, the unreasonable, and the unrighteous condition in which the monarch of this empire hold his subjects; he robs them of liberty of conscience; annihilates their personal rights; and guarantees to them no security. While in such a condition, brute force may hold the nation tranquil; but in the meantime it generates, strengthens, and augments both the principles and the materials of war.

Pride, deceit, falsehood, want of natural affection, thefts, robberies, murders, and such like, are the obstacles to the establishment of peace, which grow out of the character of the Chinese. These qualities, we know, everywhere spring up naturally from the human heart. But in China there is nothing to check them; on the contrary, there is very much to cherish and foster them; and they here gain a maturity which is quite incredible. The pride of the Chinese is like that of the Turk; it leads him to look down with the utmost contempt on the foreigner, as belonging to an order of beings far inferior to himself. Hence he calls him a barbarian, a devil, and treats him accordingly. Those who are the best acquainted with the Chinese, uniformly bear the strongest testimony concerning their want of veracity and honesty. Conscience and moral sense are dead; and truth and justice are almost unknown. They *fear* to tell the truth; but utter falsehood without remorse. There are exceptions; yet what we here affirm is the prevailing and acknowledged character of the nation.—Our limits forbid us to examine one by one all the evils which we have enumerated. Such evils may be suppressed for a time by the arm of civil authority; but let that be broken, and they burst forth like the tornado to desolate the land. Witness the thousands and the tens of thousands which fell by the machinations

and cruelties of Chang Heénchung and Le Tszehing.—There are other evils of a mixed nature which hinder the establishment of peace. The arms which overran the country, have in the lapse of time become so weak and beggarly as to be utterly inadequate to keep the nation tranquil. Hence, when pirates and banditti infest the country, as they do continually, those who cannot be exterminated are subdued by other means,—some are bribed and others are appointed to office. In this way the recent insurrections at Leénchow and Formosa were quelled. The extensive sale of offices; the thrifty systems of smuggling, &c., are to be reckoned in the same category; for so far as they extend, and they are not confined to narrow limits, they destroy the principles of peace and order, and lead to confusion, wrong, and outrage.

In view of all the considerations which have been brought forward in this article, the conclusion seems irresistible that very efficient means must be employed to remove the existing evils, else war, civil or foreign, or both, will soon break up the foundations of the government and again deluge the empire with blood. The country seems fast hastening to a crisis. With an immense population, its revenues are insufficient to answer the demands of the government; and its productions, to supply the necessities of the people. There has not been one prosperous year since the present emperor has sat upon the throne. Many of the signs of the times, it is said, are like those which preceded the fall of the Ming dynasty. Nor should we be surprised if the Mantchou reign should soon terminate. Still it may continue for tens of years, or for centuries. We have no hope, however, that permanent and universal peace will be established in this land, until truth—political, social, religious truth—becomes predominant. Those means, therefore, which are the best calculated to hasten the diffusion of useful knowledge and the promulgation of truth, are the best fitted to establish peace in this country, as well as in all other nations of the earth. But here, the promulgation of truth and the diffusion of knowledge are interdicted; and hence those measures which will soonest remove this interdict, are such as should first of all be put in requisition.—The specification of those means and measures, the methods in which they should be employed, and the motives for employing them, must be reserved for another article.

ART. V. *Chinese metallic types: proposals for casting a font of Chinese types by means of steel punches in Paris; attempt made in Boston to stereotype from wooden blocks.*

Our only object in recurring to this subject, is to present our readers with a short account of two new attempts to print in the Chinese language; one in Paris by means of moveable types, and the

other in Boston by stereotype plates. Our information concerning the metallic types made by M. Pauthier, is derived entirely from a prospectus lately published in Paris. From a specimen of the types which accompanies the prospectus, it appears that the body of the character is smaller, and the face rather stiffer, than those of Mr. Dyer's manufacture; they are, however, decidedly the best which we have seen made in Europe. The size of the types, as near as can be ascertained by the specimen which we have before us, is Great Primer. The prospectus, after some remarks on the little attention heretofore paid to the study of Chinese literature, as compared with some other Asiatic languages, states that it is partly attributable to the scarcity of books and the difficulty of procuring them, and partly to the want of types to publish European editions. The same difficulty "existed in Sanskrit, before the munificence of the king of Prussia gave a font of Sanskrit types to many learned bodies." It then proceeds to say:

"We desire also to enjoy the same advantage in the Chinese, although the difficulty may be much greater, since, not being an alphabetic language, it cannot be reduced to as small a number of typographical elements as other languages. This advantage will be great, for all sinologues, all learned bodies, and all printers, by subscribing can procure either a font, or the copper matrices, of the Chinese types we announce.

"M. Pauthier, member of the Asiatic society, after having completed his translation of sir H. T. Colebrooke's Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindoos, formed the design of publishing a translation of the principal Chinese philosophers, with the original text on the opposite page. Desirous of giving to the editions of the political, moral, and philosophical works of Confucius and Laoutsze, which he has announced, all the typographical perfection which can now be obtained in Europe, he addressed himself to M. Marcellin-Légrand, one of the most skillful type cutters in Paris, who, for the interest of science, was willing to undertake the cutting of steel punches for a font of 2000 of the most common Chinese characters; which number may be increased from time to time, *on the application of the subscribers to this fundamental font*, according to the need which they may have for them. These Chinese characters, of which a specimen is here given, are only fourteen *points* on each side, a dimension] which permits them to be used with ordinary letter press, without injuring their perfect neatness. * * *

"But it was not sufficient to have an elegant and choice font of Chinese types; it was also necessary to find out a method of *composing* and *distributing* them, which was as easy as that of ordinary types. This has been attained by a very simple process: the 2000 characters which are to be delivered to subscribers, have been arranged under the 214 *radicals* or *keys* of the Chinese language; and each one will have the *number* that is given to it in this classification, cut in relief in the *nick*, which commonly serves to enable the compositor to recognise the front of the letter; so that a compositor,

whatever may be his degree of intelligence, will find no more difficulty in composing Chinese, by this process, than numerical figures, since each character is indicated to him by its number.

"A more detailed prospectus, with the terms of subscription and the price, will be sent to all who may make application for it at the polyamatype foundry of M. Marcellin-Legrand, No. 99, *rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.*"

If we understand the plan here proposed of cutting the number of the radical upon the body of the type, it appears to be one attended with some difficulty. The number of different characters included under some of the radicals amounts to several hundreds: are all of these to have the same number?

The attempt to cast stereotype plates of the Chinese language from wooden blocks was made in Boston in the spring of 1834. The history of it we give as it appeared in the *Missionary Herald*, published in Boston, for July, 1834, p. 263. "Somewhat more than a year since, the thought occurred to one of the officers of the Board (for Foreign Missions), that plates might be obtained from the engraved blocks, by means of which the Chinese execute their printing. * * * The subject was also mentioned to a number of intelligent friends at New York, nearly all of whom were struck with the possibility of substituting metal plates for Chinese wooden blocks. In June of last year, a letter was sent to a missionary of the Board at Canton, requesting him to procure a set of Chinese blocks, containing the text of some tract, and forward them for an experiment, together with a quantity of Chinese printing paper. He did so; and in April last, a set of blocks was received, containing *Christ's Sermon on the Mount*, of twenty pages or ten blocks. From these, two sets of stereotype plates have been cast in Boston, and put in a perfect condition for printing like any other stereotype plates, and a small edition of the tract has been printed at the office where the printing of the Board is done.

"So far as is known to the members of the Prudential Committee and the officers of the Board, the tract just named is the first Chinese book ever stereotyped, and the first Chinese book ever printed in the United States. Should the expectations which are cherished on this subject be realized, the common printing press may at once be employed in printing Chinese, without the enormous labor and expense of procuring metallic types, which must be multiplied to many thousand characters before the font will be complete;—the Chinese characters representing ideas not sounds. The plates will also be far more durable than the wooden blocks, used by the Chinese printers, and the printing can be executed with manifold more rapidity. For newspapers and ephemeral works, as in this country, moveable types will be necessary; but for the printing of the Holy Scriptures, and other standard books and tracts, the stereotype printing will be as available for the hundreds of millions of China, as it is for the nations of Europe and America."

A set of the stereotype plates mentioned above, reached China last October. They were cast from blocks in every respect similar to those used by the Chinese, and great care was taken to have them well cut; the experiment, therefore, may be regarded as a fair one. To the advantages mentioned in the extract from the Herald, "that the plates will be far more durable than the wooden blocks used by the Chinese printer, and the printing executed with manifold more rapidity," we would add one or two more which occur to us. The number of plates can be increased to any extent, and at a much less expense than duplicates of blocks can be cut; and these can be distributed among several distant offices, and copies of the books struck off at the place where they are needed. The space occupied by plates is about one half that of blocks; and the white ants, those voracious and insatiable depredators in a Chinese printing office, can make little havoc among leaden plates. The ravages committed by these insects are often very serious. Sometimes a set of blocks, which have not been used for a long time, is taken out to print a new edition of a book, and on the first impression, the surface of the wood falls in, the interior of the block having been completely eaten out. Stereotype plates, as observed in the Herald, can be used in the common press, but wooden blocks cannot; and they will have all that ease and beauty of character prized by the Chinese, which is so difficult to be attained in moveable types.

There are, however, *disadvantages* attending the use of stereotype plates, which it will be well to notice. Some of them are the same as attach to wooden blocks, and are inseparable from all such *massive* modes of printing. The plates, when cast, are as fixed as the blocks from which they were taken, and all the imperfections and unevenness of the one are transferred to the other. This was the case in the experiment which has been made; and many of the fine marks which are necessary to form a perfect character are wanting in the plate, because the block was imperfect. This defect is partly owing to the soft texture of the wood which the Chinese use for blocks, but more to their carelessness in cutting the fine strokes in the middle of the character. Harder wood, as box or ebony, might be employed, which would receive a higher finish than the softer kinds; but pieces of a sufficient size are very expensive, even if they could be procured. When the plate is cast, there are no means of correcting it, except by cutting a new block; and the liabilities of fracture in the hands of Chinese printers, who are not very careful with blocks, would be great. If the paper is to be printed on both sides, (for the common Chinese paper is capable of it,) only one page can be cut on a block, in order that the pages may be rightly *imposed* for folding the sheet; and the block used for stereotyping single pages, will be unfit for the usual mode of Chinese printing with double pages, and on only one side. The saving in paper, however, by this method, would be one half, and the thickness of the book would also be reduced nearly as much: both of which are important considerations in an extensive establishment. To this it may be ob-

jected, that the Chinese are so partial to their mode of making books, that they would refuse one which was printed on both sides of the leaf; but that such is or will be the fact no one can tell, until the experiment has been tried. It is very desirable also, to disabuse the Chinese of their unreasonable fondness for old custom, which would be the tendency of books which were neatly printed in this manner.

There is "an enormous expense" incurred in purchasing the materials and tools requisite for a stereotype foundry. This initial cost would be slowly reimbursed by the greater durability of the plates. A professed founder would be needed to superintend and teach the native workmen in his employ. An establishment for cutting blocks, with its attendant copyists, and printing presses also, in which to strike off impressions from the plates, would be indispensable to the foundry. Perhaps, however, the number of printing presses needed will be small, as the Chinese printer, with his brush and ink, can take impressions from the plates. This has been done; and although the appearance of the page is not so good as when printed in a press, or as when struck off from the blocks, yet it is fair and perfectly legible. The ink used by the Chinese is thinner than that made in Europe, and is much better adapted for printing on wood than on lead. Moreover, the number of works which are in such extensive and steady demand as to require stereotyping are very few, compared with the whole amount of printing hereafter to be done. It would be poor economy to stereotype a publication, the demand for which would barely wear out one set of blocks.

These remarks we have thrown out, to show what we apprehend would be the case, if this plan was carried into extensive operation, and not to put hindrances in the way of any plan to advance so desirable an object as the introduction of knowledge among the Chinese. In undertaking a work of such magnitude, it is extremely necessary to count well the cost, and devise those plans which in the end, will be the most economical and effective. We do not perceive why that mode of printing which is practiced with all other languages, is not applicable to the Chinese. If, because labor is cheap, books can be manufactured in China at as little expense by blocks, as they can be in Europe by the press, where labor is dearer, will they not be made much cheaper here, when the labor-saving machines of Europe are introduced? The number of characters which must be cast in order to print the common classes of books in the Chinese language, is about 4000; and even this number can be reduced one fourth or more, without serious inconvenience. Three fonts, each of this number of characters, will, we apprehend, amount to much less than can be found in extensive printing offices in Europe and America. According to Johnson, (*Typographia*, vol. 2, p. 31,) the number of sorts required in a full font of English, is 240, including accents. Ten or fifteen different fonts are not unusual, and together with fancy letter, flowers, &c., will make the number of sorts amount to several thousands. Characters that occur only once or twice in a book can be cut on tin or wood. Title pages and prefaces in the seal or running

character, can be cut on blocks, and stereotyped; and such we think will be the most feasible plan for those parts of the book. In the body of the book, the type is uniform, except in size; for books with notes, or dictionaries, only two or three fonts will be required. When a set of punches for moveable types is cut, the greatest part of the difficulty is overcome; and fonts of type may be obtained from one set of punches sufficient to supply any demand. We would therefore encourage, by all the means in our power, such undertakings as that of M. Pauthier in Paris, and of Mr. Dyer at Penang. Stereotype plates can then be cast from metallic types, which will equal those now seen in western countries, and far surpass, in neatness and finish, any taken from wooden blocks.

ART. VII. Literary notices: 1. Prospectus of an Historical Sketch of the Portuguese settlement in Macao, and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China; 2. the Anglochinese Kalendar for the year 1835; and 3. Chronica de Macao.

I. The prospectus for the historical sketch of Macao, &c., by Andrew Ljungstedt, knt., appeared in December last: since that time the work has been forwarded in duplicate, to the United States, where it is to be published with all convenient dispatch. The original of this work was published in 'two contributions to an historical sketch of Macao,'—the first in 1832, and the second in 1834, and both have been reviewed in the former numbers of the Repository. (Vol. I. p. 308; Vol. III. p. 288.) Some idea of the plan and character of the work may be formed from the following table of contents, copied and abridged from the prospectus.

Part first. Portuguese settlements in China.

I. Temporary settlements in China. Preliminary remarks.

1. Limpo—Lyangpo—Ningpo.
2. Chinchew—Tseuenchow—Tseuenchow foo.
3. Tamao—Tango—San shan—St. John's.
4. Lampacao—Lang-pih-kaou.

II. Fixed settlement of the Portuguese at Macao.

1. Historical narratives.
2. Topographical description.
3. Divisions; [a] parochial districts; public buildings; churches, &c.; senate-house; fortifications; [b] ports; Typa; inner harbor.
4. Population: preliminary remarks; [a] classes; natural subjects; Chinese vassals; foreigners; [b] public education; king's schools; royal college; &c.; [c] charitable institutions; [d] hospitals.

5. Government; preliminary remarks; [a] pure municipality; [b] senate; 1, domestic political influence on its subaltern officers, on the Christian population in general, on the military department, on the civil department, on the population; 2, domestic economical influence, on receipts, on expenditures; [c] constitution of Macao; preliminary remarks; 1, senate, its members, their duties, their prerogatives; 2, governors, the presidents over the senate, head of the military, &c.; 3, minister, vice president, and judge of the customs; 4, royal chest.
6. Foreign relations: [a] with Portugal; [b] Goa; [c] the Dutch; [d] the British; [e] with China, politically, judicially, diplomatically, &c.; [f] with Japan, Catholic mission, commerce, envoys, &c.; [g] with Manila; [h] with Timor; [i] with Batavia; [j] with Goa, commercially; [k] with Malacca; [l] with Siam, commercially, and diplomatically; [m] with Cochinchina, commercially, and politically. Actual state of trade at Macao.

III. Suburban settlements.

1. Green island—Tsing shan—Iha verde.
2. Oritem or Oriteng.
3. Sundry lodges.

Part second; of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China.

I. Roman Catholic church at Macao.

1. King's patronage.
2. Hierarchy.
3. External rites.
4. Objections to Chinese recreations.
5. Actual state of the bishopric of Macao.

II. Roman Catholic mission in China. Preliminary remarks.

1. Missionaries.
2. Papal legates to China.

Supplementary chapter; description of the city of Canton, republished from the Chinese Repository, with the editor's permission.

Our opinion of the original "contributions" will be found in the reviews, to which we above alluded. The new work is much more elaborate than those essays; and if we may judge from a hasty perusal of a part of the manuscript, it is much better arranged and more accurate. The author has spared no pains in his researches, and he has had access to the most authentic sources of information. The following remarks are from his prospectus:

"The work will be enriched with four lithographic prints; two of them representing the funeral monument of St. Francis Xavier, erected on the island San shan, or St. John; two are plans of Macao; one of them drawn probably in 1655, the second delineated in 1834; one to face the other. The frontispiece of the work will be a lithographic view of the great landing place of Praya Grande at Macao. A conspicuous index will refer the reader to the contents of the work, which will

make, it is supposed, from 350 to 370 pages full sized octavo, including the supplement. Were the author in his former prosperous situation, he would have sent his manuscript to the press without troubling any one; but his inability compels him to solicit assistance. Many years ago he employed a principal part of his property in establishing a *free school*, in which children of both sexes, whose parents were unable to defray the expenses of their education, are taught, together with reading and writing, the history and geography of their native country (Sweden), and also arithmetic, drawing, &c., so much as may be useful to youths, whose future destination will be to employ themselves in any branch of the mechanical arts. By the last report from the directors of the free school, published in 1833, the founder had the satisfaction to learn that 221 boys were under the daily tuition of an excellent professor, after the Lancasterian method; and that a house was preparing for the education of young girls. Forty-nine boys had that very year left the institution, where they had previously been instructed, by hired masters, in the first principles of different mechanical occupations; and they were then, according to their choice, placed with mechanics at whose hands each of them may acquire the requisite instruction for intelligent workmen.

“The net proceeds of the book are intended for my school, there to constitute a permanent fund; the annual interest of which shall be applied to the purchase of treatises and books, which teach how to simplify and improve the operations of the mechanical arts. By degrees a small library will thus be formed, by which the young men, who have had the advantage of being brought up at my school, and artificers of an inquiring mind may considerably advance their knowledge, and become efficient and useful members of society.”

N. B. The price of the work will be *two dollars*, payable on delivery. A list for general subscription will be opened at the office of John Slade esq., editor of the Canton Register; and at the author's house, Macao, or, he being absent, at the house of J. G. Ullman, esq.

2. *The Anglochinese Kalendar for the year of the Christian era 1835: corresponding to the year of the Chinese cycle era 4472, or the 32d of the 75th cycle of sixty; being the 15th year of the reign of Taoukwang. Canton, China: printed at the Register press.*

This little work has made its appearance during the current month; and by the ‘advertisement’ we perceive that it comes out under the auspices of the editor of the Canton Register, and not as formerly under the editorship of Mr. Morrison. In addition to the useful matter contained in the former editions, the new editor has presented us with a *Chronicle of Events*, which he says “has been mostly compiled from the late Dr. Morrison's ‘View of China for philological purposes;’ now believed to be a scarce book.” The chronological table in the ‘View of China’ commences A. D. 1816, and ‘passes up the stream of time.’ The ‘chronicle of events’ commences A. D. 1834, and in the same order ascends to the memorable days of ‘Neu-wo-she, who melted stones and repaired the heavens.’ We like the plan of a chronicle of events connected with Chinese history

very much, but cannot reconcile ourselves to the inverted order. To us it seems unnatural, and is always perplexing; and for a new edition we would recommend the propriety of turning it about, and of commencing at the beginning.

3. *Chronica de Macao.* The first number of this periodical, a semimonthly newspaper, was published at Macao, October 12th, 1834. "We have chosen this day," says the editor, in his introductory remarks, "for the publication of the first number of our periodical, because it is the anniversary of the birth of his imperial highness, Dom Pedro de Alcantara, duke of Bragança. The name of this illustrious prince will last forever, for the love with which he has governed his people, the firmness of his character, for his illustrious actions, and above all, for his disinterestedness, and the contempt for crowns which he has manifested. Within a short time he has abdicated two; one in 1826, in favor of his august daughter, our present queen Donna Maria II; and another in 1831, in favor of his august son, senhor Dom Pedro II. present emperor of Brazil. May God grant him long life, for the happiness of the realms governed by his august children! This is the highest eulogium which our ill-trimmed pen can pay him." This loyal and patriotic spirit augurs well. We wish the editor and his coadjutors all good success in their laudable and well-timed undertaking.—It is said that the Spaniards will follow this example; and that under the auspices of the new governor of Luçonia, a periodical will soon be forthcoming from Manila.

ART. VIII. *Journal of occurrences; new regulations for the port of Canton; cannon foundry; release of the outside merchants; and insurrection in Szechuen.*

Monday, March 9th. Their excellencies the governor, fooyuen, and hoppo of Canton have framed a new code of regulations for the purpose of restraining and keeping in order the barbarians trading at this port. A copy of these, has been sent up to Peking, that they may receive the imperial sanction.

A *cannon foundry* has recently been established on the military ground, east of the provincial city, under the direction of governor Loo. It is said that two or three hundred "great guns" are to be cast, and some of them of a large calibre, designed for new forts which are to be built at the Bogue.

Saturday, the 21st. *Release of the outside merchants.* Four of these men who were imprisoned several months ago, have been released to-day; and it is now understood that the others, together with the linguists and pilot, will be set at liberty in the course of a few days. We have heard many reports, and seen some official statements, relative to their imprisonment and release; some of these we shall endeavor to lay before our readers in our next number.

Tuesday, the 24th. *Insurrection in Szechuen.* A report is current in Canton that an insurrection has broken out in Szechuen. This commenced, according to the report, near the close of last year. It was occasioned by the extortions of the civil magistrates; and the military officers were the first to resent the indignities. Concerning the extent of the insurrection we have no particulars.

THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. III. — APRIL, 1835. — No. 12.

ART. I. *Small feet of the Chinese females: remarks on the origin of the custom of compressing the feet; the extent and effects of the practice; with an anatomical description of a small foot.*

Ample evidence of the inefficacy of the ethical systems of the Chinese, is found in their national and domestic customs. Not only the minds of the people, but their bodies also, are distorted and deformed by unnatural usages; and those laws, physical as well as moral, which the Creator designed for the good of his creatures, are perverted, and, if possible, would be annihilated. The truth of these remarks is presented to our view in a clear light by the anatomical description, which forms a part of this article. Historians are not agreed as to the time or place in which the practice of compressing the feet originated. Du Halde states, but on what authority he does not inform us, that the practice originated with the infamous Tâke, the last empress of the Shang dynasty, who perished in its overthrow, B. C. 1123. "Her own feet being very small, she bound them tight with fillets, affecting to make that pass for a beauty which was really a deformity. However, the women all followed her example; and this ridiculous custom is so thoroughly established, that to have feet of the natural size is enough to render them contemptible." Again, the same author remarks, "The Chinese themselves are not certain what gave rise to this odd custom. The story current among us, which attributes the invention to the ancient Chinese, who, to oblige their wives to keep at home, are said to have brought little feet into fashion, is by some looked upon as fabulous. The far greater number think it to be a political design, to keep women in continual subjection. It is certain, that they are extremely confined, and seldom stir out of their apartments, which are in the most retired place in the house; having no communication with any but the women-

servants." Others state that the custom originated in the time of the wu tae, or 'five dynasties,' about A. D. 925. According to a native historian, quoted in Morrison's View of China, "it is not known when the small feet of females were introduced. It is said that the custom arose in the time of the five dynasties. Le Howchoo ordered his concubine, Yaou, to bind her feet with silk, and cause them to appear small, and in the shape of the new moon. From this, sprung the imitation of every other female."

In regard to the extent and effects of the practice, there is not the same degree of uncertainty. It prevails more or less throughout the whole empire, but only among the Chinese. The Tartar ladies do not yield to the cruel custom, but allow their feet to retain their natural form. In the largest towns and cities, and generally in the most fashionable parts of the country, a majority of the females have their feet compressed. In some places, as many as seven or eight in ten are tormented in this way; in other places, the number is not more than four or five in ten. The operation of compressing the feet is commenced in infancy; and so closely and constantly are the bandages applied, in the most successful cases, as to prevent almost entirely the growth and extension of the limb. Ladies of rank and taste, who are *fashioned* in this manner, are rendered quite unable to walk. The effects of this process are extremely painful. Children will often tear away the bandages in order to gain relief from the torture; but their temporary removal, it is said, greatly increases the pain by causing a violent revulsion of the blood to the feet. This violent compression of the limbs, moreover, is injurious to health, and renders the victim a cripple through life. In some cases the compression is very slight, and consequently the effect is less hurtful. It is no marvel that the Chinese ladies never dance; it is rather a matter of surprise that they can move at all on such ill shaped and distorted members; some of which, scarcely if at all, exceed two and a half inches in length. Those who can avoid it, seldom appear abroad except in sedans; (we speak of those in the neighborhood of Canton;) but there are frequent cases, among the poorer classes, where the unhappy victims of this barbarous custom are compelled to walk on their little feet. Their gait appears exceedingly awkward to others, and must be painful to themselves. Generally, in attempting to walk any considerable distance, they find a stick, or the shoulder of a matron or servant girl, a necessary support. In walking, the body is bent forwards at a considerable inclination, in order to place the centre of gravity over the feet; and the great muscular exertion required for preserving the balance is evinced by the rapid motion of the arms, and the hobbling shortness of the steps.

The form of these 'golden lilies,' *kin leen*, as the Chinese call them, is accurately described in the following paper, from the Transactions of the Royal Society of London. It was written by Bransley Blake Cooper, esq., surgeon to Guy's hospital; and was communicated to the society by the secretary, P. M. Roget, M. D., March 5th, 1829.

"A specimen of a Chinese foot, the account of which I have the honor to lay before the Royal Society, was removed from the dead body of a female found floating in the river at Canton. On its arrival in England, it was presented to sir Astley Cooper, to whose kindness I am indebted for the opportunity of making this curious dissection. Without entering into an inquiry whether this singular construction, and as we should esteem it hideous deformity, of the Chinese female foot, had its origin in oriental jealousy, or was the result of an unnatural taste in beauty; I shall content myself with describing the remarkable deviations from original structure, which it almost everywhere presents. It may be proper, however, to remark, that as this conformation is the result of art, commenced at the earliest age, and exercised on the persons of females only, we should naturally expect to find the most perfect specimens among those of the highest rank. Now as this body was found under circumstances which lead me to suppose that it was one of the lower orders, the measured proportions of the foot are therefore to be considered somewhat above the more successful results of this cruel art, when completed on the feet of those in more exalted stations of life.

"To an unpracticed eye, the Chinese foot has more the appearance of a congenital malformation than the effect of art, however long continued; and although no real luxation has taken place, yet at first sight we should either consider it as that species of deformity vulgarly called club-foot, or the result of some accidental dislocation, which from ignorance and want of surgical skill, had been left unreduced.

"From the diminutive size of the foot, the height of the instep, the want of breadth, and above all, the extremely dense nature of the cellular tissue of the foot, it is evident that progression must at all times be difficult, and even the poising of the body when in the erect position, must require unusual exertion of muscular power, which, considering the disadvantages with which these muscles have to contend, is a matter of no small astonishment.

"From the heel to the great toe, the foot is unusually short, not exceeding five inches, and is said in some instances to measure even less than this; and the great toe itself, which, in its natural and free state, projects forward in a straight direction, is bent, with a peculiar abruptness, upwards and backwards, whilst the remaining toes, with the exception of the first phalanx of the second and third, are doubled in beneath the sole of the foot, so as to leave scarcely any breadth at this part of the foot, which in the unconstrained limb is commonly the broadest; and the striking shortness of the heel, scarcely projecting beyond the line of the leg, which itself descends upon the foot at a considerable obliquity from behind forwards, imparts an appearance to the foot, as if it were kept in a state of permanent extension. The upper surface of the foot is very convex; but its convexity is irregular and unnatural, presenting a sudden and prominent projection just anterior to the external malleolus, and above the outer extremity of a deep cleft which traverses the

sole of the foot. But as it is in the sole, that the most remarkable alterations are produced, I shall give a particular description of it first.

"Sole of the foot. In describing the sole, we will suppose the foot to rest upon the heel, as it would do were the individual placed horizontally upon the back. In this view, we observe the great toe bent backwards towards the leg, and immediately beneath the articulation of its two phalanges, the second toe is so twisted under it that its extremity reaches to the inner edge of the foot; its nail occupies the centre of this position, having a considerable projection of integument beyond it. Next, but still anterior to the ball of the great toe, are the two extreme phalanges of the third toe; they are placed more obliquely than the phalanges of the second toe, and consequently do not reach so far inwards across the foot. The nail of this toe is somewhat nearer its extremity, but more completely on its anterior surface, so as nearly to touch the edge of the preceding one. A corn which appears on the space external and posterior to the nail of this toe, seems to indicate that, as the point of the fore part of the foot which is first subjected to pressure. We come now to the ball of the great toe, which separates the toes already described from the two outer ones; it does not present its usual full, convex appearance, but is flattened on its under surface, and compressed from before backwards by the position of the third and fourth toes. The position of the two remaining toes is very remarkable, and differs essentially from that of the others: for while in them only two phalanges are bent under the plantar region of the foot, in these all the phalanges are doubled beneath it in such a manner as to produce a visible depression in the external edge of the foot. The fourth toe is placed more obliquely than the third, with its nail very much contracted, and is situated on its anterior edge; a large corn presents itself more external to the nail than in the third toe. The last or fifth toe stretches in the transverse direction across the under surface of the foot, and forms the anterior boundary to a deep cleft which occupies the centre of the sole. This toe is so much expanded as to appear the largest; externally and posterior to its nail, it has two corns, placed much in the same manner as that in the fourth toe. But the strangest feature in this deformity, is the cleft or hollow just mentioned; it is very deep, with a slight obliquity from without inwards, and extends transversely across the whole breadth of the foot between the toes and the heel. To judge from its appearance, one might suppose that the heel and toes had been forcibly brought together, so as considerably to diminish the whole length of the foot, and to convert its natural longitudinal hollow into that deep concavity. The heel, which forms the other boundary of the cleft, presents a large square surface, if not entirely flattened, yet with a striking diminution of convexity, so as to suggest the probability that it affords the principal point of support in progression; a surmise which is further corroborated by the great density of the skin in this part.

"Dorsum of the foot. The external character of the foot is completely altered here also; the direction of the leg downward and for-

ward, forming before an obtuse angle with the foot, so as to give it an appearance of permanent extension, is the first circumstance worthy of notice. The dorsum rises with an unusual convexity, not only from behind forwards, but also from side to side; it affords a distinct protuberance situated just before the external malleolus, and above the outer extremity of the cleft in the sole, which is here very conspicuous; anterior to this eminence, the dorsum presents a plane surface facing outwards, till it slopes off rapidly beneath where the toes are turned under the sole. There is but a trifling alteration in the aspect of the inner surface of the dorsum; this side of the foot having undergone but little distortion: but the manner in which the dorsum is united with the great toe, deserves yet to be particularly noticed. A considerable angle distinguishes their point of junction, resulting from the dent or hollow, which the abrupt direction of the great toe upwards and forwards produces upon that surface. In this view we have the dorsum of the great toe with its aspect directly upwards; whilst the inner surface of the first phalanx of the second toe, has its dorsum turned outwards. Only a small portion of the inner surface of the third toe can be perceived in this view, whilst the remaining toes are buried beneath the foot. Posteriorly, there is little to remark, beyond the extreme shortness of the heel, which is not flatter, but wider than in the natural condition.

“The integuments covering the heel are unusually dense, hard, and resisting, and the cuticle is of a remarkable thickness. The subcutaneous structure resembles rather the fatty sole of a horse’s foot, than any human tissue. The skin which covers the rest of the sole, presents a corrugated appearance, and is somewhat thicker than in an ordinary foot; but in those places where it had been defended from external pressure by the intervention of the toes, which passed under it, it does not deviate from the natural construction. On the dorsum, the integuments offer nothing unusual; unless it be the nail of the great toe, which, as might be anticipated from constant compression, is rendered particularly convex from side to side. The other nails are not visible in this aspect of the foot. The tendons do not appear to have undergone any change, further than as their direction depended upon the altered position of the bones. It is, however, in the skeleton of the foot, that we observe the greatest changes produced by art. The powerful effect of long continued pressure over the direction even of the bones is here very striking.

“The position of the os calcis is very remarkably altered; instead of the posterior projection which usually forms the heel, a straight line is preserved in this direction, not deviating from the line of the tibia; and the projecting point, which forms in an ordinary foot the most posterior process, and into which the tendo Achillis is inserted, touches the ground, and becomes the point d’appui for sustaining the whole weight of the body. The articular surface of the calcis, in connection with the cuboid bone, is about half an inch anterior to, and two inches above this point; while the astragalus joint is behind, and somewhat below, the calco-cuboidal articulation; consequently, the

direction of the os calcis, (in its long axis,) instead of being from behind forwards, is from below upwards, with the slightest possible inclination forwards. The most prominent parts of the instep are the round head of the astragalus, and the cuboidal articulation of the os calcis. From this, the remaining tarsal bones slope downwards at nearly a right angular inclination to join the metatarsal bones, whose obliquity is still downwards, until they rest on their phalangeal extremities.

"The length between the os calcis where it touches the ground, and the most anterior part of the metatarsal bone of the great toe, is 4 inches. The length of the foot, including the toes, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The height of the instep, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Thus the arch of the foot has a span of two inches and a quarter, with the height of two inches, which space is filled up with the condensed cellular substance before described. The cleft of the sole traverses the foot at this place, and is three inches in depth. The width of the foot at its broadest part is barely two inches. The points of support are the os calcis, the anterior extremity of the metatarsal bone of the great toe, and the dorsal surface of the fourth and fifth toes, which are bent under the foot so as to press the ground at this part.

"Such are the anatomical particulars of this singular deformity; and although Nature has, by providing an accumulation of fat, thickening the skin and cuticle, and widening the surface of the heel, done her utmost to rectify the evil consequences of an unnatural custom, yet the awkward gait of a person attempting to walk on such deformed members may be easily imagined. Under such circumstances, in order to preserve equilibrium in an attempt to walk, it must be necessary to bend the body forwards in an uneasy position, and at the expense of a muscular exertion, which in ordinary progression is not put forth. To what extent the general health of the unfortunate individual thus deprived of the natural means of exertion may be affected, is a curious subject of inquiry, and remains, I believe, to be ascertained. I may be permitted to add, that the existence of this extraordinary custom, though familiar to our ears, is presented in a forcible light to our imagination by such a specimen as I have the honor to present to the Royal Society.

"In offering to the Royal Society this brief sketch of the dissected foot, I do not pretend to attach to the subject any more importance than it deserves; nevertheless I have thought it would be considered as curious, and calculated to interest scientific men. And further, as its description has hitherto formed a desideratum in our accounts of anatomical curiosities, I have thought that my endeavor to supply it would not be unacceptable."

ART. II. *Woo Tsihteën, empress of China: her parentage; admission to the palace; kills her daughter with her own hands; causes the death of the empress, and is elevated in her stead; takes the title of Queen of Heaven, and reigns absolute.*

History, whether of ancient or modern times, of the eastern or western world, can afford but few examples, either of men or women, whose acts of cruelty and injustice equal those of the empress Woo Tsihteën. Her malignant course appeared the more conspicuous, because it was run during the early part of a dynasty, which in the annals of China is renowned for its pacific character. After a long series of most destructive and bloody wars, which were waged by several contending states, the family of Tang gained complete ascendancy over the empire, A. D. 618. The first monarch of this line, after a reign of nine years, abdicated the throne in favor of his second son, Taetsung. There were, at that time, among the ladies of the imperial palace, several degrees of rank, all inferior to the empress. Those who composed the lowest rank were called *tsae jin*, 'talented ladies,' and were usually the daughters of obscure parents. To this rank, Woo Tsihteën was elevated by the emperor Taetsung. On his demise, she became the favorite of his son and successor, Kaoutsung, and rose rapidly till she became the sovereign of earth and queen of heaven. And after a career not less inglorious than extraordinary, she died in the eighty-second year of her age. A brief account of this 'talented lady' will afford additional evidence of the truth of the position, that the moral qualities which give rise to wars are not less prevalent in the eastern than in the western world, and that China has not suffered less by bad government than other nations of the earth.

Woo Tsihteën, like Catherine the First of Russia, was of obscure and humble parentage. Her father and his wife had both advanced almost to the age of fifty, when being childless they resolved that he should bring to his house a concubine. Chang, the daughter of a carpenter was selected, who afterwards became the mother of Woo Tsihteën, about A. D. 624. This obscure parentage, joined to the general tenor of her life, has served to make her a fine subject for Chinese novelists, who relate many marvelous tales concerning her birth and childhood. But the simple truth is enough. At the early age of fourteen, she was taken from her parents by the renowned Taetsung, and placed among the 'talented ladies' of the palace. There she continued to enjoy the favor of her master, till his death, A. D. 650. She was then, with many other of the imperial ladies, removed to a nunnery.

Kaoutsung, the ninth son of the late emperor, succeeded his father at the age of twenty-two, and reigned thirty-four years. This monarch, while attending on his father, frequently saw Woo Tsihteën, and was captivated by her charms. On his elevation to the throne, his wife Wangshe, a lady of rank, was made empress, and Seaou-

shuh became a favorite concubine. Between these two persons, jealousies soon arose, and they became inveterate enemies. In the meantime, the emperor, on the anniversary of his father's death, had to repair to the nunnery to offer incense. There he saw again the 'talented lady,' and was more than ever pleased with her charms. The empress Wangshe heard of this, and immediately took measures to secure her return to the palace, hoping by her means to detach the affections of the emperor from the favorite concubine. In this she was successful. Woo Tsihteén was restored to the palace, and at once enjoyed full scope for the display of her blandishments, and the exercise of her abilities. With the most assiduous care she accommodated herself to the empress, who, even in the presence of the emperor, praised her and called her beautiful. But the talented lady knew how to touch another string, and so skillfully, that "it was not long," says the Chinese historian, "before she was blessed with great favor, and promoted to the rank of *chaou e*," a post of high distinction. The die was now cast. Both the empress and the favorite concubine found themselves neglected, and became friendly to each other that they might the better destroy the influence of their rival. All their efforts, however, were of no avail.

The friends of Woo Tsihteén, one after another came into places of power and trust, while those of Wangshe began to lose the influence and the stations which they had held. All the arts and devices within the reach of her ladyship were put in requisition. She flattered those who were offended with the empress, and bestowed freely among the eunuchs and others whatever gifts she received from the emperor; to whose ear, at the same time, she conveyed every tale she could collect against his wife. One of these tales was that the empress was disrespectful to his majesty's mother. This fixed him in the purpose of putting her away, and of elevating Woo Tsihteén in her stead. But in order to carry into effect her plan, it was necessary to have some ostensible reason which would form an excuse for so harsh a measure. The facts which furnished the pretext are so unnatural as scarcely to be credible. Woo Tsihteén presented the emperor with an infant daughter: the empress, as in duty bound, attended the accouchement; fondled the child; and forthwith left the apartment. His majesty, according to previous arrangement, was the next to make his appearance on the occasion. But between the exit of the one, and the entrance of the other, the mother with her own savage hands destroyed the life of the infant, and covered up its lifeless body. On the emperor's approach, she manifested great joy and delight, and hastened to uncover the child. But oh, what horror! The babe was dead! The mother astonished, wept bitterly, and called for the attendants who had approached the infant. The attendants were interrogated, and all said that the only person who had fondled the child was the empress, who had just left the room. Suspicion now was doubly strong. What! said the monarch, as he kindled with rage, has the empress carried her resentment to such a degree, that she presumes to take the life of my daughter?

Woo Tsihteën had now gained her point; and there was no longer wanting evidence to fix the degradation of Wangshe. The tongue of the talented lady, surcharged with venom, reiterated the false allegations against the unhappy empress, urging the monarch to the execution of his purpose. Kaoutsung knew, or should have known, that Wangshe was innocent; but so assiduous and artful was her adversary, that she found no opportunity of vindicating her character. Still the emperor hesitated; summoned before him his chief ministers; and by every argument he could urge, endeavored to gain their concurrence. The empress, it was urged, was childless, and of course there was no heir to the throne except an adopted son; but it was otherwise with Woo Tsihteën; she ought, therefore, to be elevated, that her son might succeed to the throne. Against all these arguments the ministers remonstrated, and were dismissed. Again they were assembled; and again they remonstrated. One of them laid the badge of his office at the foot of the throne, declaring himself willing to be banished or to die, rather than consent to the degradation of Wangshe, and the elevation of her rival. At this, the emperor was enraged and ordered him to be removed from his presence. At the same moment, Woo Tsihteën, who had placed herself behind the screen, where she could hear the debate, exclaimed, 'crush and kill the old dog.' A scene of confusion ensued, and the contention rose to a high pitch. At length it was argued, that it was a domestic affair; that ministers ought not to be consulted; that the emperor should act according to his own pleasure; and that, as poor peasants were permitted to put away one wife and take another at pleasure, 'much more ought the son of heaven to enjoy this liberty.' This was enough. Forthwith Wangshe was degraded; the talented but infamous Woo Tsihteën proclaimed empress in her stead; and heralds dispatched throughout the empire to announce the joyful event.

Thus elevated, she found new scope for her abilities, the sure signal for new cruelties. According to the custom of the court, all the officers of state repaired to the palace to show their respect to her majesty. In the meantime, the late empress Wangshe and the favorite concubine Seoushuh were both imprisoned in a remote apartment of the imperial buildings. But notwithstanding their present degradation, his majesty continually thought of them; and in one of his solitary walks, approached the cell where they were. His heart relented. He paused, and called them by name. The sound of his voice reached their ears, and Wangshe, bursting into tears, answered, "Most noble sire, think of my former state, and cause me once more to see the sun and moon; then I shall be most happy." His majesty replied, "I'll manage it." But his purpose was of no effect. For Woo Tsihteën, who had now gained such influence throughout the court, that her orders were implicitly obeyed, heard of the interview; and kindling into a rage, instantly sent her minions, bidding them cut off the hands and feet of the imprisoned ladies, and throw them into a jar of wine, scoffingly saying, "I'll make them drink to the bone." A few days afterwards, the unhappy Wangshe and

Seoushuh both expired of their wounds. The vengeance of the murderess still pursued them; nor did it cease, until at her command their lifeless corpses were cut and torn in pieces. Woo Tsihteën thus entered on her public career; and from that time till her death, a period of forty years, she kept the whole empire in awe, and played such acts, political and domestic, as would make angels weep. A few of these we will briefly narrate.

While the late empress was in favor, being childless, she adopted a son, who with the consent of the emperor was appointed heir apparent to the throne. To displace this son, and elevate one of her own, was the next object which engaged the attention of Woo Tsihteën. Her design was easily and speedily carried into execution. Heu Kingsung, the same casuist who on a former emergency taught the emperor how to repudiate one wife and take another, now showed him and his talented consort how they might remove one heir and place another in his stead. "Chung, the heir apparent, is not the son of an empress, and no imperial blood flows in his veins. Hung is the legitimate son of her imperial majesty; let him succeed to the throne, then the empire will enjoy tranquillity, and happiness will flow from the temple of ancestors." Thus argued the able minister. And every scruple being thus removed, Chung was displaced, and Hung appointed heir apparent in his stead. But, ill fated princes! they were both destined soon to fall by the machinations of the empress. The first was 'permitted to enjoy the favor of being his own executioner.' The other, because he dared to remonstrate against the wicked purposes of his mother, she destroyed by poison, and elevated another of her sons in his stead; who again in his turn was first displaced, and then murdered, in order to make room for another of her sons. This one, the third which she elevated, finally succeeded to the throne. But of him, more will be said in the sequel.

Several of the chief ministers of state, had, on numerous occasions, strenuously opposed the measures of Woo Tsihteën. Among these was the aged and faithful Changsun Wooke. The time had arrived for him to be set aside. Accordingly, he was summoned to the palace, and there falsely accused of plotting rebellion; and under circumstances that prevented all hope of vindicating himself from the calumny, or of making any resistance, commanded to destroy his own life. That she might know how to select her victims, all the officers of state were encouraged to make free communications to the emperor, concerning both those who were in authority and those who were not. Memorials poured in from every quarter; but the emperor, feeble and dim-sighted, was unable to examine them; it was determined, therefore, that they should be submitted to the inspection of her majesty. They passed rapidly under her scrutinizing eye; and she marked and directed at once what was to be done in every case which they brought to view. She began now to assume publicly the administration of the government, and shared equally with her lord the exercise of authority. Moreover, that respect for his majesty, as false as it was profound, now that she had gained the ascendancy

over him and others around her, was gradually laid aside. In fact, all his movements were regulated by her caprice; and he dared not even utter the truth in her presence, if it was in opposition to her will. Henceforward, there was no affair, whether great or small, connected with the government, that escaped her notice. "The supreme authority of the empire, reverted to the inner-palace (i. e. to the empress); the son of heaven folded his arms; and within and without the court, their majesties were styled the two holy ones."

In the last part of the reign of Kaoutsung, the empire was visited by drought and famine. The talented Woo Tsihteén seized on this calamity as an argument to persuade Kaoutsung to abdicate the throne, and leave to her undisputed control over the whole world. But to this he would not consent. However, it was soon determined, that his majesty should take the title of emperor of heaven, and that she should be styled the queen of heaven. At length Kaoutsung died. During the night in which he expired, a faithful minister was summoned to his bedside, and the monarch's last will and testament intrusted to his care. According to that document, his son Chungtsung, the third born of Woo Tsihteén, was raised to the throne. The first and second sons of the empress, as we have seen above, were displaced, because they possessed dispositions which would not always readily yield to her purposes. And the young emperor Chungtsung, was next set aside, with as little ceremony as his elder brothers had been, and a younger and a weaker brother was placed in his stead. Woo Tsihteén, the queen of heaven, now stood alone; and reigned absolute. Her murderous disposition knew no restraints. She revelled in blood and every species of excess. Prime ministers of state, members of the imperial household, and even her own brothers and sisters were murdered at her command. Once and again she endeavored to destroy all the 'seed royal' of Taetsung, the monarch who raised her from obscurity. In a word, almost every page of her history is stained with blood, and black with deeds of the foulest character. But enough of her cruelties have been exhibited, we think, to make good the declaration with which we commenced this article.

In the midst of her enormities, an occasional act was performed, which, irrespective of her general conduct, might claim commendation. When the people suffered by famines, inundations, and banditti, as they frequently did, she would sometimes adopt wise and salutary measures to relieve their distresses, and supply their wants. Some of the laws and regulations which she established have continued to the present day. She possessed extraordinary energy of character; and her ambition was unbounded. She could adapt herself, and could make others conform, to almost any circumstances which would serve her purposes. The religions of the country sometimes enjoyed her patronage. Buddhists and Taouists were even admitted to the palace. But on the Nestorian Christians, who entered the country about the time that she commenced her career, she placed the ban of the empire; and the storm of persecution raged fiercely against them.

Her own vanity, excited by the flattery of the crowds of sycophants who thronged her court, induced her to regard herself as something more than mortal. Her assumption of titles was most impious. After the death of Kaoutsung, not satisfied with being the queen of heaven, she took the title of emperor, and claimed the epithets holy and divine, styling herself at one time the holy and divine ruler; and at another time, assuming the titles holy mother, divine sovereign. Repeatedly, during her reign, she changed both her own name and that of the dynasty. And notwithstanding the inhuman manner in which she hewed down her own kindred,—brothers, sisters, daughters, sons, &c.,—she was still desirous that her name and family should be perpetuated. Accordingly, her name and her titles, written in broad capitals, were placed in courts and temples. Some of her family received posthumous honors; and others, who had not been sacrificed to her proud ambition, were elevated to places of trust.

At length her race was ended. During her administration, repeated attempts were made, by conspiracies, by secret memorials, and public remonstrances, to cut short her career: hitherto, however, they were ineffectual, or served only to hasten the accomplishment of new deeds of cruelty. Raised from obscurity at the age of fourteen, she was placed among the talented ladies of the palace; witnessed the death of the second and third monarchs of the Tang family; expelled the fourth from his throne; and for twenty-one years reigned absolute. But the cup of her iniquity was now full. A plan was formed to restore Chungtsung to the throne of his ancestors. At the hour of midnight, the conspirators, accompanied by her son, entered her apartment, and approached the couch on which Woo Tsaihteën reclined. Roused from her slumbers, she soon learned the object of their visit; 'Heaven, earth, and his ancestors,' said their leader, 'desire your majesty to reinstate your son upon the throne; do this and their wish will be accomplished.' Her two confidential ministers were already laid aside; and five hundred armed men, the imperial guard, were standing with the conspirators, and ready to execute their commands. There was no time to hesitate. 'The government shall immediately revert to his hands,' was her reply. The next day, Chungtsung was placed on the throne; and his mother was removed to her own apartments, where a few months afterwards she died.

ART. III. *The fur trade: animals which produce fine furs; those producing hairy skins; the progress of the fur-trade in Asia, America, and Europe; imports into China.*

From the days of Nimrod, the "mighty hunter," the furs and skins of animals have been sought both for use and ornament. The hun-

ting of these animals has been carried on amidst the greatest perils. The Siberian in his search for sables has brought to light new lands in Northeastern Asia, and the enterprising seaman has discovered new islands while seeking for seals in the South Pacific. The manufacture of the products of their toil employs many thousands of men and capital. From the long shaggy robe of the bison, with which the North American Indian defends himself from the cold, to the splendid ermine which adorns royalty, furs are employed in many ways for elegance and comfort. Thousands are annually consumed for hats, great quantities to ornament winter dresses, and the various other purposes to which they are applied, has rendered the fur trade one of vast extent and importance.—For the substance of the following remarks, we are indebted to an article in the American Journal of Science and Arts, "On the Fur trade, and Fur bearing Animals;" Godman's Natural History, and McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary have also furnished some facts on these topics.

The richest and most valuable furs are procured from the weasel family. The ermine (*Mustela erminea*), called by way of preëminence, 'the precious ermine,' is found of the best quality only in the cold regions of Europe and Asia; yet it is by no means limited to arctic regions, for it occurs throughout a vast extent of country, from the parallel of 40° N. to the highest northern latitudes. In the southern part of this region, where the cold is not sufficiently severe to cause its coat to change, the animal is known by the name of *weasel*; farther north, it is called *stoat* in summer, and *ermine* in its winter pelage of pure white. The fur in summer is soft, silky, and short, except on the tail and feet, where it is long; and of a light ferruginous or chestnut brown color. Its winter dress is white, except the tip of the tail, which during the whole year is of a shining black. With these black tips tacked on the skins, they are beautifully spotted, producing an effect often imitated, but never equalled, by any other furs. The pelage is so white, that when the snow covers the ground, no part of the animal, except the end of the tail, can be seen. That of the oldest animals is thought to be the best. The ermine, or as it is called by Godman, the ermine weasel, is from fourteen to sixteen inches long, including the tail. It lives in hollow trees, river banks, and other retreats near its prey, which consists of mice, birds, and other small animals. When pursued, it emits a musky odor, and is caught in traps, or sometimes shot with blunt arrows.

The sable (*Mustela zibellina*) can scarcely be called inferior to the ermine. It is a native of Siberia and the countries which border on the Arctic ocean; it is found also in the Aleutian isles, and is probably an inhabitant of Northern America, but the hunters have not been so far north as to find it in abundance. Pallas says that the skins are found among the furs in which the Americans traffic with the inhabitants of Eastern Siberia. It resides in the most desolate situations, and is hunted in the winter, amidst barren tracts, and impenetrable forests covered with snow. The fur is then of an obscure fulvous or tawny hue, and peculiarly rich and flowing. The

sable is about twenty inches in length, including the tail; and in its general habits resembles the ermine, sleeping during the day, and seeking its prey by night. The Russians carry on nearly all the trade in sable skins, and large profits are annually realized. "The rich, dark shades of the sable, and the snowy whiteness of the ermine, the great depth, and the peculiar, flowing softness of their furs, have combined to give them a preference in all countries and ages of the world. At the present time, they maintain the same relative estimate in regard to other furs, as when they marked the rank of the proud knight, and were emblazoned in heraldry."

The skins of the pine marten (*Mustela martes*) at the present time are brought in great quantities to the depôts of furs in North America. According to Godman, in the year 1743, more than 45,000 were sent from America to Europe, besides those which were consumed by the inhabitants. The pine marten is found in North America, and the northern parts of Asia and Europe. The animal is about eighteen inches in length, and lives mostly in the tops of trees, particularly pines, from which circumstance it derives its name. The fur is of a brilliant fulvous brown color, except on the throat, where it is of a yellowish hue, from whence the animal has been called the 'yellow breasted marten.' The peculiar color of the pelage is owing to the intermixture of two sorts of hair. In summer, the color becomes paler, and loses its brilliancy and silky fineness. The skins are extensively used in the manufacture of hats, and for ornamenting and increasing the warmth of winter dresses. The skin of Pennant's marten (*Mustela Pennanti*) commonly called the fisher, resembles that of the pine marten, except in the size; being from twenty-four to thirty inches in length, without the tail, which is about sixteen inches. It inhabits the northern parts of America, and in its modes of living is very similar to the pine marten. The fur is of a dusky hue, dark at the base, yellowish above, then tipped with black, and with the hair increasing in length towards the tail, which is bushy and black. The skins are applied to the same purposes as those of the pine marten.

The mink (*Mustela lutreola*) is found on the American continent from Carolina to Hudson's bay; and in its residence, food, and habits much resembles the musk rat. From its aquatic mode of life and webbed feet, it has been called the lesser otter. The animal is about two feet long, including the tail. The hair is of two colors, which combined give the fur a brownish hue, more or less dark as either shade preponderates. The fur is principally used by the hatters.

The beaver (*Castor fiber*) is too well known to need description here, and the curious instinct it displays in building its winter habitation has long been celebrated. It is about two feet in length, having a thick, and heavy body. The pelage is composed of two sorts of fur, one of which is long, stiff, elastic, and of a reddish brown color at the tips, the other, on which the value of the skin chiefly depends, is short, very fine and soft, and of a light lead color. The beaver is at present found only in the wilds of Northwestern America; and in any considerable numbers only in the country west of the

Rocky mountains, and north of the Columbia river; and even in those desolate regions, it is rapidly diminishing, owing to the exterminating policy of the hunters. It was formerly found in Siberia, Lapland, and in the United States east of the Mississippi, but is now nearly or quite extinct.

Nutria skins are brought from South America, chiefly from the countries of Buenos Ayres, Chili and Bolivia. They are so called from their resemblance to the otter, the Spanish name for which is nutria. The animal (*Myopotamus Bonariensis*) is called coypou or quoiya by the inhabitants, and resembles the beaver in many respects, but is not so large as that animal. The tail, unlike that of the beaver, is long, and round, and thinly covered with hairs, but not enough to hide the scaly texture of the skin. The back is of a brownish red, which becomes redder on the flanks; the belly is of a dirty red. The edges of the lips, and extremity of the muzzle are white. Like the beaver, the coypou is furnished with two kinds of fur; the one, a long ruddy hair which gives the tone of color; and the other, a brownish, ash colored fur near the skin, which is the cause of the animal's commercial importance. Both nutria and beaver skins are almost wholly employed in hat making. The supply brought from South America fluctuates very much. In the year 1823, there were carried to England 1,570,103 skins, but in 1826, there were only 60,871; in 1831 and 1832, the number imported into that country was on an average each year, 358,280 skins.

The several kinds of foxes all furnish furs of more or less beauty and value. Some of them, as the black or silver fox and the fiery fox, are reckoned nearly as valuable as the sable and ermine. The latter is much esteemed for its splendid red, and the fineness of the fur. It is found in the central and northern parts of Asia, and is the standard of value on the northeastern coast of that continent. The black or silver fox (*Canis argentatus*) affords one of the richest and most valuable of furs. There is a small quantity of white hairs mingled with the black in different proportions in various parts of the body, by their contrast adding much to the intensity and brilliancy of the black. The coat of this animal varies very much at different seasons of the year; some have no white, except at the extremity of the tail; in others the whole mass of black hair is tipped with white, forming a most beautiful silver gray. There is a grayish silken hair that constitutes the immediate covering of the skin. It occurs throughout the northern parts of America and Asia, but in its native country, the black fox is a rare animal. The skins of the gray, the cross, and the dun colored fox, are used for various purposes, but they are all inferior to the two first varieties. The arctic fox (*Canis lagopus*) is a native of all the northern parts of Asia and America, and great numbers of their skins are annually exported by the Hudson's Bay company. When the young are brought forth, they are nearly black, but in two or three months, as autumn advances, the belly and sides become of a light ash, and the back and head of a lead color; and as winter commences, they change to a perfect white. The neck and feet are

covered with long hair. The fur is thick, but inferior to the red or black fox in fineness and lustre, and if not taken in the early part of winter is of little value.

There are several other animals which produce furs of different degrees of value, but most of them are inferior to those we have already enumerated. The wolverene, or glutton, is about thirty inches long; the fur is variously marked, but the general color is a fine chestnut or brownish black, and is highly esteemed by the natives of the northern parts of Asia for ornamenting their robes. It is a native of the countries bordering on the Arctic ocean. The raccoon is found in most parts of the temperate regions of North America, and the fur is employed to a considerable extent in the manufacture of hats, but it is not held in much esteem being rather coarse. The full grown animal is about two feet long. The pelage is of a blackish gray color, pale on the under part of the body; the hair on the tail is thick and long, and marked by five or six black rings on a yellowish white ground. The badger is sometimes hunted for its skin by the trappers in Western America, but its value seldom repays the trouble of capture. It is about twenty-nine inches in length, including the tail. The hair is of a grayish color, very long on the lower part of the body, and intermixed with it is a coarse, pale reddish yellow fur. The musk rat or musquash (*Fiber Zibethicus*) is a native of North America, found from Virginia to Hudson's bay; and is well known for its depredations in the banks of rivers where it burrows. The body is about twelve, and the tail nine, inches in length. The fur is soft and fine, of a reddish brown color on the back, and paler on the breast and belly. From its nocturnal and aquatic habits, the musk rat bids fair to survive most of the other animals which afford fine furs. Immense numbers of the peltries are carried to Europe from America. The various kinds of squirrels afford furs of some value on account of the markings. The hare, rabbit, marmot, fitch or gennet, and several species of mice, also produce skins which are used for many purposes. The silver tipped rabbit is peculiar to England. The skins of the chinchilla mouse are brought from South America. The lamb skins produced in the countries between the Baltic and Caspian seas and in Central Asia are an important article of commerce. The hair is short, and curled and knotted in such a variety of ways, that the skins appear as if they were from different animals. Black and gray are the common colors. They form a part of the winter dresses of the lower classes of those countries from whence they are brought, and are largely employed by other nations for ornamenting winter garments.

The coats of some animals of a greater size than those mentioned above are employed for many purposes of comfort and elegance. The skins of the various kinds of wolves and bears are covered with a coarse, thick hair, well fitted for linings of carriages and robes, cavalry caps, housing, and other military equipments. The skin of the polar bear, dressed with the hair upon it, forms very substantial mats for carriages and floors. The Greenlanders sometimes flay the ani-

mal without ripping the skin, and inverting it thus form a warm sack which serves the purposes of a bed. The bison, found in such immense numbers on the prairies west of the Mississippi river, furnishes a large robe, covered with a thick, long, coarse hair, which is well fitted for the linings of sleighs. The argali, elk, various species of deer, the lynx, wild cat, and some other animals inhabiting the northern parts of Asia and America; are included among those whose skins are brought to the several depôts of furs.

The ocean produces two animals whose fur is held in high esteem on account of the lustre and fineness. The sea otter (*Lutra marina*) is about the size of a large mastiff, nearly five feet long, including the tail, and weighs from seventy to eighty pounds. The fur is fine, soft, very close when in season, and of a jet black color and silken lustre; that of the young is of a beautiful brown. It is captured in nets placed near the shore, or tired down and killed with clubs. This animal has hitherto been found only between the parallels of lat. 49° and 60° N.; and long. 150° E. and 126° W.; on the northwestern coasts of North America, the opposite shores of Kamtschatka, and the islands lying between. Allied to the sea otter, and much resembling it in habits is the American otter (*Lutra Brasiliensis*); it is a native of both North and South America, and is nearly the size of the sea otter. The fur is dense and fine, and of a glossy brown; and, like its congener, is much valued by the hatters. It burrows near the banks of streams, and is caught in traps, or killed by clubs.

The fur seal affords a fine, dense pelage which is esteemed for making caps. Most of the seacoasts throughout the world are frequented by the seal, but it is in high latitudes that they are most abundant. Many of the islands in the Pacific ocean south of the parallel of 40° produce the fur seal; but on those where they were formerly common, but very few are found at present, owing to the exterminating policy of the hunters. They are still taken, however, in such large quantities that they form a very important article of commerce. It is said that the Russians restrict the killing of the fur seal on the islands in the North Pacific ocean lying to the eastward of Kamtschatka to one season of the year, and thus insure an annual return of the animals; the same is also practiced on the Lobos islands by the government of Monte Video. But if the present policy is pursued, the fur seal will soon become a rare animal.

Our remarks on the progress of the fur trade, shall be brief. The skins of animals were first used for clothing by our great progenitors, while they were yet in the garden of Eden. As the human race grew numerous, the demand increased. But as men advanced in civilization, ingenuity and taste devised various fabrics of silk, wool, linen, &c. The inhabitants of the northern parts of Europe and Asia were, however, habitually clothed in the skins of animals for many centuries. But among those nations who lived on the borders of the Mediterranean, the desire for furs was lost, and the products of the loom gradually superseded the shaggy skin of the bear and the tawny coat of the lion. The people of Babylonia and Persia, however, ex-

changed their manufactures for the richest furs of the north, with which they ornamented their dresses. The ancient Greeks and Romans were never partial to furs, associating them with "those sons of rapine who invaded their frontiers, set fire to the houses, drove off the cattle, and either massacred, or made captives of the inhabitants." But when these "sons of rapine" became the conquerors of Rome, they brought with them their hereditary taste for furs; and although the climate was too warm for the coarse skins which had been essential to protect them from the cold of Germany and Scythia, yet they still retained their love for the fine and costly furs, which were employed for ostentation. In the 6th century, furs were brought to Rome from the countries near the Baltic, and from the mountains near the head waters of the river Euphrates. The sable was found as far south as Poland, and the ermine was taken among the mountains of Armenia, from whence it derived its name. This hereditary taste for furs was continued by all the nations south of the North sea; and the use of them was regulated by sumptuary laws for many centuries. They were denied to the common people, and to wear them was the privilege only of the monarch and his favorites. The noble furs were the ermine, the sable, the vair, and the gris; of which the three first were admitted into armorial bearings. The vair was a squirrel with a dove colored back, and the gris was also some undetermined species of that animal. The rich furs are associated with the chivalry of the middle ages, being then considered as insignia of royalty, and as marks of the high rank of the wearer. And until the introduction of fire arms, and the greater assimilation of the different grades of society, caused by the progress of knowledge and arts, they were tokens of the valorous achievements of the warrior, or the presence of high state dignities. 'Silk and other fabrics also began to gain an ascendancy over furs, as they were more readily and gracefully accommodated to the capricious vagaries of fashion, and better adapted to the light and flowing draperies of dress and furniture than furs, which though rich, were often too heavy for all climates and seasons.' It is probable that silken plush and velvet were made in imitation of furs.

The trade in furs was carried on for a long time by the Hanse-merchants, who obtained them from the countries north and east of the Baltic. In 1553, a passage was discovered by sea to Archangel, and a factory established there by the English under the patronage of the czar of Russia. They obtained black, dun, red, and white foxes, sables, luzernes, martrones, gurnestalles or armines, minevers (mink), beavers, wolverenes, gray and red squirrels, and water rat, which were procured from the country lying between the rivers Dwina and Oby. The forests of Siberia from very remote times, have furnished the richest and most valuable furs for the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. Since its conquest by the Russians in 1649, the inhabitants pay an annual tribute to the emperor of one skin in every forty. The quantities of the common kinds sent to China are great, but the choicest are carried to Novogorod for the use of the wealthy classes of Russia and Turkey.

The discovery of the river St. Lawrence, and the vast extent of country lying west of the great lakes, opened a field almost boundless for the trade in furs. The French in Canada seized it with such avidity and success that the supply exceeded the demand, and the peltries could not find a market. The English also established themselves near Hudson's bay, and carried on a great trade with the Indians. The Hudson's Bay company was formed in 1670, and prosecuted a lucrative trade in furs for more than a century. Another association, called the Northwest company, was established at Montreal in 1783, and for some time was an active competitor of the Hudson's Bay company. These two companies trapped for skins throughout all the country lying north of the Missouri as far west as the Pacific, their hunters sometimes traveling as far as 4000 miles from the posts. They were united in 1821, and now engross the greatest portion of the fur trade in America. They formerly occupied the post of Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia river, which, after their coalescence they abandoned, and removed to Fort Vancouver, where an active and prosperous trade is now carried on. The Hudson's Bay company ship all their furs to England, from their several posts of York fort and Moose river on Hudson's bay, and Montreal, and on the Pacific coast. We extract the following table from McCulloch, showing the amount and value of the furs exported from the British possessions in the year 1831, which would show that the number of fur bearing animals still remaining in North America was considerable.

<i>Skn.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Beaver, - - -	126,944 <i>each</i>	1 5 0	158,680 0 0
Musk rat, - - -	375,731 "	0 0 6	9,363 5 6
Lynx, - - -	58,010 "	0 8 0	23,204 0 0
Wolf, - - -	5,947 "	0 8 0	2,378 16 0
Bear, - - -	3,850 "	1 0 0	3,850 0 0
Fox, - - -	8,765 "	0 10 0	4,862 10 0
Mink, - - -	9,296 "	0 2 0	929 16 0
Raccoon, - - -	325 "	0 1 6	24 7 6
Tails, (Raccoon?) - - -	2,290 "	0 1 0	114 10 0
Wolverene, - - -	1,744 "	0 3 0	261 12 0
Deer, - - -	645 "	0 3 0	96 15 0
Weasel, - - -	34 "	0 0 6	0 17 0
Undescribed, from Halifax and St. John's,	-	-	15,000 0 0
To the United States, by inland trade,	-	-	16,146 0 0
			£234,462 9 0

The North American Fur company, the leading members of which reside in New York, have long enjoyed the principal part of the Indian trade of the great lakes and head waters of the Mississippi. The country east of the Rocky mountains, is not, at present, very productive in fur clad animals. The region west of those mountains is now occupied (exclusive of private combination and individuals,) by the Russians on the northwest as far south as lat. 53° N; and by the Hud-

son's Bay company from thence to the Columbia river; from which place, trapping companies from the United States take the remainder of the region to the coast of California. The whole country, from the great lakes to the Pacific, and from the Arctic ocean to the gulf of Mexico, is searched for furs. The further north the furs are taken, the better is their quality. There is also a Russian American company established in Moscow, which draw its supplies from the Russian possessions on the northwest coast of America; the furs are chiefly consumed in Russia. The Danish Greenland company in Copenhagen carry on a limited business, exposing their furs for sale once a year.

London is the chief emporium for furs; they are carried to that city from all parts of the world, and then distributed to those countries where they are consumed. A London fur dealer, quoted in McCulloch, divides furs into three classes: as they are used either for dresses in cold climates, where they may be considered as articles of actual necessity; for hats; or for ornament. Lamb and other skins are comprised in the first class; the beaver, nutria, musk rat, otter, hare, and others which are almost exclusively consumed in hatting, are in the second; and under the denomination of ornamental skins, are included the sable, fox, tiger, &c. The same author further observes: "Furs being entirely the produce of nature, which can neither be cultivated nor increased, their value is not influenced by fashion alone, but depends materially on the larger or smaller supplies received. The weather has great influence on the quality of furs imported from all quarters of the world; and this circumstance renders the fur trade more difficult, perhaps, and precarious, than any other. The quality, and consequently the price of many furs, will differ every year. It would be completely impossible to state the value of the different furs, the trade being the most fluctuating imaginable. I have often seen the same article rise and fall, 100, 200, or 300 per cent. in the course of a twelvemonth, nay, in several instances, in the space of one month." To enable the reader to form some idea of the fur trade, we extract the following table from McCulloch's Dictionary.

Account of the principal furs imported into London in 1831, the countries whence they were brought, and the quantity furnished by each country.

Countries.	Bear.	Beav'r	Fitch.	Marten.	Mink.	Muskkrat	Nutria.	Otter.
Prussia, - -			2,168					
Germany, -		115	186,499	21,139	688	7,022		
Netherlands,		53	21,418	817				44
France, - -			30,620	27,676		762	2,000	
British America	3,994	93,199		112,035	30,742	737,746		21,636
United States,	13,480	7,459		50,083	70,120	27,000	52,130	1,401
Buenos Ayres,							429,966	
All other places	128	118		2,354	2,011	157	9,971	117
Total.	17,602	100,944	243,705	214,107	103,561	772,693	494,067	23,189

In commerce, the skins of animals are termed peltry until they have been dressed, when they are called furs. The principal consumers of furs comprised under the ornamental class are the Chinese, Turks, Russians, Germans and English. The Egyptians use furs to a limited extent. The Americans consume comparatively few in this manner, and reimport the dressed furs from London which were exported there as peltries. In 1831, out of 764,746 musk rat skins imported into London from North America, 592,117 were exported to the United States. New York, Leipsic, Kiachta, and Novogorod are the principal marts of furs after London. "It is a remarkable feature of the fur trade," observes McCulloch, "that almost every country or town which produces and exports furs, imports and consumes that of some other place, frequently the most distant. It is but seldom that an article is consumed in the country where it is produced, though that country may consume furs to a considerable extent."

The consumption of furs in China is very great. The necessity of restricting the use of fuel to culinary operations and the arts, compels the Chinese to load themselves with garments in the winter. To limit the number as much as possible, the outer one is lined with fur, or stuffed with cotton, and the former is obtained by the people whenever their means will permit. All kinds of fur are used for this purpose, and the cost of a garment lined with fur, varies from \$20 to several hundreds. These dresses are carefully preserved, and often handed down from father to son: but the usual length of time they are worn before being spoiled is not far from twelve years. Cat, fox, deer, otter, seal, rabbit, hare, beaver, leopard, and others are worn by the inhabitants of this province. Kiachta and Canton are their principal, if not the only, emporia of furs. Those sold at Kiachta are brought there by the Russians from their possessions in Asia and America, and exchanged for teas, silk, porcelain, and other commodities of China. We have no data from which to form any idea of the amount of furs imported into China through that place, but we should suppose the supply inadequate from the fact that the dealers from the province of Shansi come to Canton to purchase furs. Lamb and sheep skins, and the inferior kinds of fur, are said to form the bulk of those imported at Kiachta. The importation of furs into Canton has, for the most part been carried on by the Americans, although the English have every year brought more or less to this port. Seal is the only fur brought from the South seas; sea otter skins are procured from Russian America, and the others mostly from New York. The imports of furs by the Americans from the year 1805 to 1834, will appear by the accompanying table.

TABLE, showing the Importations of Furs into Canton in American Vessels from the year 1805 to 1834.

	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814-5
Sea Otter, Land Otter, Seal, Fox, Rabbit & other small sk. Nutria, Beaver,	11,008 183,000 - - 67,000 8,766	17,445 140,287 - 3,400 34,480	14,281 281,000 - - 23,368	16,847 100,000 2,009 - 11,750	7,944 34,000 - - 5,170	11,008 16,000 3,500 - 20,000	9,200 16,000 4,500 725 4,900	11,568 112,000 173,000 4,736 145,000	8,222 2,000 109,000 - 2,320	6,200 7,045 59,000 284 - 3,928
~~~~~ Skins. ~~~~~	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
Sea Otter, Land Otter, Seal, Fox, Rabbit, Sable, &c. Nutria, Beaver, Muskrat or Musquash,	4,300 14,364 109,000 12,538 - - 168	3,650 5,467 27,000 9,892 - 17,000 1,579	4,177 9,400 47,280 360 968	4,714 6,578 91,500 3,050 40,000	2,488 12,197 24,726 16,821 2,840	3,575 5,927 13,887 8,967 9,354	3,507 9,716 111,924 17,064 17,227	2,963 16,318 11,380 20,410 6,136	3,547 10,573 12,094 18,379 768	1,921 18,532 62,043 19,479 6,267
~~~~~ Skins. ~~~~~	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	
Sea Otter, Sea Otter tails, Land Otter, Seal, Fox, Rabbit, Sable, &c. Beaver, Muskrat or Musquash,	2,256 - 14,838 32,521 10,108 1,010 4,986	1,662 394 14,525 36,822 19,952 - 4,960	1,082 216 19,989 39,546 16,768 - 5,143	1,082 1,059 16,354 29,285 30,282 - 6,127	700 - 12,884 11,902 19,683 - -	329 - 6,454 6,022 6,968 - -	1,591 - 11,722 71 9,967 - 1,898	494 205 18,208 4 11,908 514 1,810	1,660 1,170 4,068 - 3,067 - 229	

TABLE, showing the duty levied on the different furs by the Chinese, and the average prices in the years 1824 and 1834.

SKINS.	Real Duty.	Nominal Duty	1824	1834
Land Otter, - - - each	0 m0 c6 c1½	0 m0 c7 c3	\$4,00	\$6,12½
Sea Otter, - - - "	1 3 1 5	1 4 2 0	38,00	37,50
Seal, - - - - "	0 1 3 1½	0 1 3 6	2,00	2,25
Tiger, - - - - "	0 1 4 5	0 1 5 0	- -	8,00
Fox, large, - - - "	0 1 2 5	0 1 4 5	1,50	1,40
" small, - - - - "	0 0 6 2½	0 0 7 2	- -	- -
Beaver, - - - - "	- - - -	0 1 1 0	4,50	6,12½
Rabbit, - - - per 100	0 4 1 0	0 4 5 0	0,60	0,65

The duties in the above table are extracted from the Commercial Guide, and are as near the general charge made by the Chinese as can be ascertained. Besides the nominal duty on land and sea otter skins as above, there is an additional charge of five per cent. on land otter skins and sea otter tails, and of three per cent. on sea otter skins; this demand is exacted by the Chinese officers in kind. By real duty, is meant that which is paid to government, and by nominal duty, that which is paid by the foreign merchant to the hong merchants. The price set down for tiger's skins is merely nominal, as very few are brought to this port, and those chiefly by natives. The E. I. company, during the year 1831, imported 13,330 rabbit skins estimated at 50 cents each; in 1832, there were 20,550 skins of all kinds, valued at \$9,850; in 1834, the number was 18,069, valued at \$17,306.

ART. IV. *Christian missions in China: remarks on the means and measures for extending and establishing Christianity; namely, the preaching of the gospel, schools, publication of books, charities, &c.* By PHILOSINENSIS.

Often when surveying the multitudes of this extensive empire, and contemplating their future destiny in this life and in that which is to come, the mind is filled with the most painful emotions. It would be mistrust in divine omnipotence, wisdom, and mercy, to believe that while the means for the regeneration of so great a nation are in a state of preparation, the door for the entrance of the gospel should be obstinately shut. In a political point of view, there may be occasion for strange misgivings; but so far as the kingdom of our Savior is concerned, futurity presents a glorious vista, the dazzling splendor of which far exceeds the gloom now spread over this country. The experience of all ages shows, that Christ, seated at the right hand of the Father, looks down with the most tender compassion upon his people, and manages all the interests of his kingdom with a powerful arm. The propagation of the

gospel fills the world with his glory, and prepares the way for his universal reign, so distinctly foretold in the prophecies. As those, therefore, who know the lovingkindness of the Lord, and are penetrated with gratitude, we ought to honor and glorify him by making known his amazing love to those who are living in total ignorance of his great salvation.

The Roman Catholic missionaries afford a convincing proof of what perseverance and combined exertions can effect: but they have not been scrupulous about the means to effect their purposes. China, pertinaciously shut against barbarian intruders, was not only entered by them; but they traveled through the country, visited all the important cities, made maps, gave a new direction to the dormant sciences, and became counselors in the imperial cabinet. We do not wish to become imitators of them; we cite their conduct as an example of what a firm resolution may accomplish. When this is hallowed and strengthened by divine grace, and directed by the Spirit from on high, its power is irresistible. It waxes strong by combination; and receives life and vigor only by communion with the living God. The principal actors among the Roman Catholics were Jesuits; but they were joined by great numbers belonging to other orders, namely, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, &c.; and these soon contended with their brethren, and stopped their career by accusing them of a temporizing spirit. It will not be long before men of various nations and tongues will join in the protestant mission. Let this example of their predecessors warn them of their danger. Let no one enter this field who is not so penetrated by love to the Savior, that he can give his whole soul to the work, and find no leisure for matters of minor consideration. Let those who come hither, subscribe to the gospel and epistles of John; and prove by their conduct that they are richly imbued with the same spirit that rested on the beloved disciple. Who shall be considered converts, and what rites they shall relinquish, and what retain, can be determined only by the rules of the gospel. If none but those who are under the influence of the divine Spirit are to be admitted as candidates for baptism, and these tried by our Savior's test, 'ye shall know them by their works,' a distinct line will be drawn between the pagan and the Christian; the votary of idolatry and the worshiper of the living and true God. Conversion and proselytism have too often been confounded: none can be Christians indeed who are not renewed by the Holy Spirit.

This paper is written in the hope that a new era has already commenced, or will soon come, in this mission. Putting political changes quite aside, which doubtless will greatly influence the propagation of the gospel in China; we hail with joy the sympathy which is awakening in the churches of Christendom. There has never been a time like this. Hitherto, alas! China has had but few friends. Now Christians in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, England, and the United States, are turning their anxious thoughts towards this long neglected country. The laborers here must ere long be very nume-

rous, and it will be necessary so to combine their efforts that their work in the temple of God may be carried forward with skill and success. There must be a division of labor according to the gifts and talents of the laborers; but at the same time, there must be unity of purpose. It is to be hoped that those who first come to China, will be men of the most sterling piety and talents, and well fitted for pioneers. But shall they wait, and desist from every effort, until political revolutions shall change the prospect, and afford a sure pledge of a quiet residence in the country? Certainly not. For neither Scripture nor experience bids us to tarry: To-day is the day of salvation; and to-day ought Christians to enter on their work. They must act openly and boldly, but with prudence. Those that enter the country must assume no other character than that of preachers of the gospel, and be determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified. With the laws of the country we have nothing to do. It is our duty, as members of that kingdom which is not of this world, to preach love toward all men, while we enjoy obedience to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; "the powers that be are ordained of God."

As soon as our number and means are large enough, it must be our first endeavor to establish permanent missions in this empire. Before an almighty Savior, mountains of difficulties dwindle into nothing: it is his work, and we go at his command. If wisdom is required to accomplish the design, let us ask it of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and let us ask in faith, nothing wavering. Christian meekness, patience, and long suffering, have not yet been tried against Chinese arrogance and misanthropy: It is our duty to do with our might whatsoever our hands find to do; and at the same time to look up with the most childlike submission to our merciful Redeemer, who intercedes with the Father and delights to hear and answer prayer. He will open doors which no man can shut; he will remove obstacles insurmountable to human power; and he will order all things for the promotion of his own glory. If our faith be genuine, our prayers fervent, and our love for the cause ardent, we shall never be confounded. We may be called from the scene of action before we see the fulfillment of the divine promises; but our supplications and tears will be remembered before the throne of the Almighty, and our successors will see that God is faithful. Gloomy forebodings may often fill our breasts; every thing around us may be enveloped in darkness; and the fulfillment of the promises may appear as distant as ever: but let us always remember, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise, and honor, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. Let us not be ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day: and that the Lord is not slack concerning his promises, as some men count slackness, but is long suffering to usward, not willing that any should perish, but all come to repentance.

The means to be employed in the promulgation of the gospel, are (1.) preaching the word; (2.) schools; (3.) the press; and (4.) well-doing, or works of charity. On each of these topics it is proposed to dwell at some length, hoping to fix and direct the attention of those who are interested in the welfare of the Chinese.

1. The preaching of the gospel in this language has its peculiar difficulties. It will require a good deal of patience to acquire such a knowledge of the colloquial idioms as will be necessary to speak intelligibly to the common people. Besides reading with a native it will be requisite to live among the people. Few sinologues have acquired fluency of speech; and there have been some who have desisted from undertaking it in despair. Much time, and undivided attention, must be given to the language. Though we cannot address the people in stated assemblies, nor long secure their attention; yet even a few appropriate words will always leave some impression. If our sentiments have received an unction from on high, they will penetrate to the inmost recesses of the heart, especially if we dwell on the atoning sacrifice of the Savior, and are fervent in our prayers for the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Novelty will always attract a great many hearers; and among a large number there will usually be found some inquisitive minds, who will be ready to engage in conversation. The Chinese are not wholly indifferent to a *show* of interest in whatever regards the internal man; though they will hear with the utmost indifference of the sufferings and death of the Savior of sinners. This is very discouraging, but he who bids his disciples preach the gospel can give them a mouth and wisdom, which none can gainsay or withstand. On the coast of China, to which foreigners have the readiest access, the Fuhkeën dialect is spoken. This perhaps can be best learned among the colonists in the Archipelago. If a door of entrance is opened to the northern provinces of the empire, where the language spoken does not differ much from the court dialect; this latter must be studied with assiduity, and learned more by conversation than from books; and Canton furnishes perhaps the best opportunity for acquiring it. It is hoped that those who are to enter on this work, will give fair proof at home of their talents for acquiring languages; for those who cannot learn either Greek or Latin, will make but slow progress in learning Chinese. An easy diction and a fine ear will be of great advantage in mastering this language; and those directors and committees whose duty it is to select the laborers for this field, ought to attend to these particulars. Many of the Romanists spoke the language to perfection; but a great part, we fear the greater, judging by their own statements, were never able to communicate their thoughts with facility; nay, some even disdained to give themselves the trouble of acquiring the language. True, the gifts of God are various; some have great gifts for learning languages, others have not. Without discouraging any from doing their duty, we would advise those who are about to engage in this study, to ascertain whether their natural powers and their organs of speech are

equal to the task ; and if they find they are not, then they can engage in other missions where the " gift of tongues " is not required. For the commencement of the work in China there are needed effective men, who can soon preach the word.

More attention must be given to China, as well as to the Chinese colonists in the Indian archipelago. Facts show that the whole coast of China is accessible ; and so are also the adjacent islands. Thus the way is being prepared to form many new missions. The hints recently published on this subject have not yet received that attention which they deserve ; and this, doubtless, because of the long cherished opinion that nothing can be done in the dominions of the Chinese. In Fuhkeön, no place presents so many advantages as the capital of the province, which has a very large population, and is under the immediate inspection of the provincial government. This would counteract all suspicions of entering the country in a clandestine manner. The districts around Amoy and Changchow are thickly settled ; and the inhabitants, having for a long time carried on an extensive trade with the Chinese colonists, are pretty well acquainted with European character. Both Changchow and Amoy would be good missionary stations. In Chêkeäng, the north-eastern ports ought to be first selected, where the people are the most friendly towards Europeans, and show a great deal of inquisitiveness. Once established at Ningpo and Hangchow, there would be ready access to many millions of inhabitants, and local advantages enjoyed which are probably to be found in no other part of China. Other places along the coast might be pointed out ; but those already mentioned are the first to claim attention. In all the voyages along the coast, there has been a great demand for books and a spirit of inquiry stimulated by curiosity. And there are other facts which ought to arouse our hopes and excite our desire, not only to make occasional visits to those places, but to commence permanent establishments for the benefit of the people.

There are difficulties in the way ; yet they are not insurmountable : by faith, and prayer, and aid from on high, they can be overcome. Pioneers in China will not be placed in ordinary circumstances ; and if they count their lives too dear, and cannot give up all for the sake of Christ and his gospel, they are not fit for the work. What extraordinary men were the first Jesuits, as Ricci, Verbiest, Schaal, Bouvet, Gerbillon, Prémare, &c. ? Their erugging servility, their crooked ways, are not to be imitated or approved ; but their zeal, perseverance, and fortitude, are worthy of being employed in a better cause and for better purposes. What was the situation of the first missionaries to Hindostan ? Did they enjoy much protection from the Christian government and their own countrymen ? Or were they not rather viewed as a proscribed class ? What reception did the first heralds of the cross meet in the West Indies ? How were they treated by the Esquimaux ? In the northeastern part of China, there is a healthy climate, a large population, and a settled government. All that we have to fear is the exclusive policy of this

selfsame government, atheistical in principle and full of bitterness against the truth; and its apathy to all vital religion subjects us not so much as preachers of the gospel, as foreigners, to persecution. "Beware of men; for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the gentiles." As this will fully apply to the first missionaries in China, let us not fear them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." Aided by the assistance of Him who has said, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world," we can boldly enter this empire, and our faith in him will not be confounded.

Various plans have been proposed for entering China. From the south through Siam and Laos, or by way of the Burman empire, or from the north, through Siberia, are some of the ways which have been pointed out. Equal facilities for entering the country may be found by the way of Bengal through Nepal or Bootan. Yet no part of the empire is so accessible as the coast. It is at present impossible to determine what will be the result of the political discussions with the local authorities last year; it is certain, however, that a commercial intercourse will exist between foreigners and the principal ports on the coast, and will not cease until the free trade is extinct,—an event which will not soon transpire.

2. Schools are needed to train up native youth. The Chinese political system laid down by Confucius and his followers, is founded on filial piety, and regards education as the principal object of its solicitude. Yet the range which education here takes is very narrow. Reading and writing occupy the attention of the pupil for several years, while the arts and sciences are wholly neglected. When he is well versed in the literature of the country, he has then arrived at the acme of knowledge. The difficulty peculiar to the Chinese language, accounts for the slow progress made in education. The boy must spend many years in learning the sounds, and meaning, and forms of characters. As he advances, new difficulties present themselves; and the preposterous idea that the classics contain the *plus ultra* of wisdom and knowledge places a bar to his high attainment, and renders his education extremely defective. If other books than the classics were used as elementary works, as has been done in the protestant schools in the Archipelago, and if a better plan for imprinting the character upon the memory of the student was adopted, it might be expected that something more than reading and writing could be taught. But the prejudices in favor of the classics are so deeply rooted, that it would be imprudent to adopt at the outset this otherwise reasonable mode. Christian books may be read together with the native works, and some hours may be set apart for oral instruction, but our routine will be circumscribed. Elementary schools, though useful, are not the prime object of our endeavor; and the native schools, now existing in all parts of the country, will

render assistance in this part of the labor. It should therefore be our endeavor, to form schools for those youth who already possess a tolerable knowledge of their own language, and instruct them both in religion and science. The more elementary and general knowledge can be communicated, by so much the more will the grand object be facilitated. To this end, a course of geography, general history, physics, &c., is not only to be recommended, but is necessary. With the aid of this powerful weapon, knowledge, prejudice of every form can be effectually combated.

The teaching of the English language, and thus opening the road to general literature, has been thought a very practicable way for the attainment of this object. The experiment has been tried, but under many disadvantages. It was fondly hoped that when the Chinese youth became conversant with English literature, they would eagerly avail themselves of their advantages, and become instructors to their fellow countrymen. But in this, we have been hitherto disappointed. It is, moreover, a most arduous task to teach a Chinese the principles of grammar, and to make him fully acquainted with the spirit of a foreign language, without which he would be very little benefited. They are exceedingly quick in obtaining a smattering of knowledge, and expressing their ideas in a broken jargon, but are slow in understanding abstract ideas, and mastering the idiom of a foreign tongue. And the prejudices they have imbibed against foreign literature is such that they cannot persuade themselves that our books contain more than their own.

While we thus freely state these difficulties, we would by no means convey the idea that they are insurmountable. It would be very desirable that some individuals thoroughly acquainted with the best system of education should devote their time and talents to promote it among the Chinese. An institution, located in China, where the higher branches of science could be taught to those previously well versed in Chinese literature, would be desirable. To find a suitable location for such an institution, would perhaps be very difficult, and prejudice might act on the minds of the people, and thus decrease the number of scholars. But from the fact, that the Roman Catholic missionaries prevailed upon a great number of Chinese youth to acquire the Latin language, and to wade through the mazes of scholastic theology, but little fear need be entertained of the practicability of founding an institution on a liberal plan.

Female education, as in all other pagan countries, is greatly neglected also in China, but the prejudices against it are not so strong as they were formerly in Hindostan. There are now female Chinese schools at Malacca and Penang, which are in a flourishing state. If we are persuaded, as every thinking Christian ought to be, that no country can be raised from barbarism, and enjoy the privileges of the gospel, until the female sex obtains their proper rank in society, we shall exert ourselves to the utmost to establish female schools. Obstacles there undoubtedly will be to such a plan, but we hope by the gracious assistance of God to overcome them all.

3. After mature reflection, we have become convinced that notwithstanding the complicated structure of the Chinese language, it may be reduced to very simple rules, which will greatly facilitate its acquisition for natives as well as foreigners. Instead, however, of dwelling upon this subject, which can be better proved by trial than argument, we would again recur to the difficulties which render composition in Chinese so arduous a task. Even a native must study five or six years, before he is able to write a tolerable essay, and yet how paltry are most of those which are approved at the literary examinations. Whoever wishes to excel as a Chinese author, will find it as great a labor as to write Attic Greek or Ciceronian Latin, if not even more so; but his reward will be far greater, for he can benefit myriads by his works. The Chinese are more of a reading nation than any other of the Asiatics. Their literature is very voluminous, being the collective productions of many ages and numerous writers. The press will be the great engine with which to batter the walls of separation, superstition, and idolatry. The leisure time that remains, after the elements of the language are acquired, and the missionary has become able to preach, may well be employed in forming his style according to the best models. Not that we mean to say that the strength of argument and power of conviction are solely contained in excellency of speech; far be it from us to advance an opinion so diametrically opposite to the sentiments of the great apostle; but all that is to be desired is, that our compositions may be in an easy, perspicuous, idiomatic and pleasing style, so that while they afford instruction they may be read with delight. Much has been attempted in this way, but still there is no one among the laborers now in the field, who could prove his thorough knowledge of the Chinese language, by laying down the rules which constitute its excellencies, peculiarities and defects; and yet, such a critical knowledge is indispensable. It should be a standing rule, that none but idiomatical writings be published. The reasons for this are obvious. A nation, prejudiced, proud, and ignorant, can neither comprehend nor relish other compositions. It has been suggested that those native converts who are qualified be employed as writers. This is a good thought, but it must always be kept in mind, that the whole current of their ideas runs in the same channel as that of their countrymen, and that however excellent in point of style their productions may be, they convey comparatively but little information. The Roman Catholic missionaries tried the same plan, and the result was similar to what we have described. Before the minds of the Chinese are aroused from the lethargy under which they labor, this task will fall on foreign laborers, and, with the help of the Almighty, the giver of every good and perfect gift, it will be accomplished.

The fundamental doctrines of the gospel should be the principal topics of our writings. A Savior for lost man, redemption through his blood, grace, sanctification, a God above all to be praised for ever, his greatness and power, and our obligations to him, are subjects

exclusively Christian. These ought to employ our pens first of all; and here, eloquent, affectionate and urgent appeals should be made to invite sinners to come to Christ. A second point will be to elucidate these subjects, by historical facts referring to native works; and by these means to rivet attention, and to show the excellency of our creed, hope, and prospects. This opens a large field, which has scarcely been trodden.

Works upon scientific subjects, which of themselves embrace a very extensive sphere, at first may be published upon a small scale, and in close imitation of Chinese works upon the same topics. Let them be gradually enlarged, until they rank among the best productions of the country. Here we have a great advantage. Science in China stands at a low state; many of their productions are puerile, or at least, unsatisfactory, and if the people can be prevailed on to examine the respective merits of the two with an unbiassed mind, we flatter ourselves that we should very soon gain credit. The chief object in writing scientific works should be to humble that arrogance which opposes improvement. To effect this, usefulness should be aimed at, and the matter be made so interesting as to induce the reader to seek for further knowledge. The whole compass of science ought to be embraced, though a certain gradation of subjects should be maintained, and it appears to us, that geography and history would be good treatises to commence the series. Little has hitherto been done in this branch, and that which is extant is defective; but the days of sloth are past, and if we meet with sufficient encouragement from our own countrymen and the Chinese, there will, we trust, be no complaint of the want of books. For the publication of religious treatises, the churches at home have pledged themselves, and we have no doubt of their readiness to fulfill their promises. The publication of works upon the Chinese language, of which there is already a considerable number, can only be undertaken with a view of improving the labors of our predecessors, and of rendering the acquirement of the language easier. Here is a large field, but it deserves only a secondary consideration. Works in the languages of Europe, which would illustrate the literature of China, or give a distinct view of the empire, might be occasionally compiled in order to invite attention to the welfare of this people; and for this purpose they can be recommended.

Our books may be disposed of in various ways. Scientific works, which interest the general reader, and well written religious essays may be disposed of by means of booksellers. A feeble attempt of this kind has lately been made. But we cannot expect that the interest felt in this new literature will at first be so great as to lead us to hope that the Chinese will defray all the expense. It will therefore be necessary to look for aid from societies, and from benevolent individuals interested in the cause, until we have gained some ground. Though it is the surest way to work by means of interested booksellers upon the mass of community, and to make our books cheap and in the best style, yet this procedure is slow, and often

uncertain. The gratuitous distribution of books, the method hitherto adopted, insures circulation, but we are not always so circumstanced as to make a proper choice of individuals on whom to bestow them. In the expeditions along the coast, many thousands of volumes have been disposed of to an eager populace, who crowded around the distributor, and actually forced the books from him. Although it is pleasing to see such impetuosity, it is more desirable to maintain a better mode of circulating the books. Under present circumstances, however, it would materially aid the cause if a vessel went annually from Haenan to Chible, scattering them amongst the thousands who have never heard of Christ.

4. To furnish fruits is a proof of the excellency of the gospel, and an efficacious mode of convincing unbelievers. A missionary station ought to have a hospital, and a physician:—this is apostolical. If the bodily misery which prevails throughout China is taken into consideration, this is perhaps a *sine qua non* of a station; and it might be well to commence soon at Canton. But it should not be deemed sufficient to afford medical help merely, for which there will be many applicants; a lively interest in the welfare of individuals, kind assistance in the hour of need, or a friendly word under sufferings, open the heart for the reception of truth. By imitating our Savior and his apostles in well-doing, we shall prove our claim to be called his disciples. It is a matter of joy that some physicians are on the point of joining in the good work. But it should never be forgotten, that it is the most sacred duty of all to alleviate sufferings, and thus to show that the gospel is indeed a message of mercy. To do this, requires few directions; if we love the Chinese, and this a prerequisite in a missionary to this people, we shall show the works of love, and be unwearied in convincing them that we are actuated by the spirit of love. It is by the irresistible power of this noble quality that we hope to gain ground; if we have it not, Paul's remarks to the Corinthians (1 Cor. ch. 13) apply to us.

We anticipate that happy time when our wishes shall be realized, and our prayers heard; for we earnestly desire the salvation of China. Even should this appeal be ineffectual, and the foregoing suggestions, which are the result of much reflection on the spot, be rejected, yet the time will come, when the Christian churches will not be content with merely saying, 'China is inaccessible;' when they will think it their duty to adopt the most effectual measures for spreading the gospel in this large country; and when laborers of different nations will unite in the work. Perhaps our mortal bodies may be then mouldering in the grave, and our spirits be with God; but could we see, with Simeon of old, the day of the Lord and the Consolation of Israel approaching, we would humbly exclaim with him, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people."

ART. V. *Sandwich islands: code of laws by Kauikeaouli, the king, 1835; Alemanaka Hawaii, no ka makahiki o ko kakou haku o Iesu Kristo, 1835; Ka Lama Hawaii, 1834; Ke Kumu Hawaii, 1834.*

When these islands were discovered by captains Cook and King in 1778, they had, it was supposed, a population of 400,000 souls. Between the time of their discovery and 1819, the number of inhabitants was reduced more than one half: this was occasioned partly by the wars which raged during the reign of Tamehameha, and "partly by the ravages of a pestilence which was introduced by foreign vessels." Previous to 1819, idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, went hand in hand through the islands, debasing and destroying their inhabitants. "These people," said those who had visited their shores, and who were opposed to any efforts being made to improve their condition, "these people are so addicted to their pagan customs, that they will never give them up. They will not abandon their tabus, and their sacrifices. You may attempt to teach them better, but you will never succeed." Yet in great mercy, Jehovah has looked down upon those deluded inhabitants; idolatry has been overthrown; superstition and ignorance have received a death-blow; and a work has been commenced which, as it advances, will place the people of the Sandwich islands among the most enlightened and happy nations of the earth. Fifteen years ago the islanders were wholly destitute of the means of instruction: they had no books; no written language; and no laws. But in all these, and many other particulars, there have been rapid and most pleasing changes. We have letters from the islands to the 15th, and the 'Ke Kumu Hawaii,' to the 18th of February, 1835. The prospects of the mission were then more promising than they had been during the last twelve months. The work of improvement in every department was progressing. The number of pages printed in the year ending June 1st, 1834, was upwards of four millions. Some efforts, we understand, are about to be made to instruct the inhabitants in the business of manufactures: and these, it is hoped, will lead to the adoption of some measure for the improvement of the agriculture of the islands.

Our correspondents have kindly favored us with specimens of all the works, the titles of which stand at the head of this article. The third and fourth are newspapers; the former was commenced early in 1834, and the other in November of the same year. They are both neatly printed, in good style, and so far as we can judge are well calculated to accomplish the objects for which they are designed, to interest and instruct the native inhabitants. The Kumu Hawaii, or 'Hawaiian Teacher,' for November 26th, notices the death of

the Scottish traveler and naturalist, Mr. David Douglas. The 'Alemanaka' is, we suppose, the first ever printed in the islands. The code of laws is also an original production, and the first written statutes that ever were promulgated in the land. The laws are only five in number. The following translation has been forwarded to us; and we give it entire, as a very curious specimen of legislation. The laws are prefaced by the following preamble:

"We make a proclamation. All ye people of every land, hear and obey. Let him who hears these laws obey them; but if he transgresses, he will be guilty." Then come the laws:

"1. We prohibit murder. Let no one of any country commit murder here. Whoever takes the life of another with a malicious design to kill, he shall die. Whoever in anger destroys human life, yet not intending to kill, he shall be imprisoned four years. Whoever aids in destroying human life with an intent to kill, he shall die. Whoever aids in destroying human life, yet not designing to kill, he shall be imprisoned four years. Whoever with malice incites or entices to the commission of murder, if the murder be actually committed, he shall die. Whoever incites or entices another to kill, and no life is thereby taken, he shall be imprisoned four years.

"Whoever in anger stabs with a sharp instrument, or strikes with a weapon, or throws missiles, and the life of an individual is thereby destroyed, he shall die. Whoever stabs with a sharp instrument, or strikes with a weapon, or throws missiles with malicious intent to kill, yet no one dies thereby, he shall be imprisoned four years. Whoever threatens to take the life of a person, and the deed is actually committed, he shall die. Whoever threatens to take the life of a person and actually beats him but not to death, he shall be imprisoned four years. Whoever robs and kills a person, he shall die. Whoever robs a person but spares his life, he shall be imprisoned four years.

"Whoever kills a shipwrecked person, whoever drives fatally a person into a place of death, whoever destroys a child after its birth, whoever (maliciously) burns a house with fire,—all these are reckoned as murderers. And if the criminal sentenced to imprisonment chooses to commute with money, he shall pay fifty dollars for each of the four years, and then be lawfully discharged; but in failure thereof he shall be put to labor till the four years expire, then be discharged. If the said criminal is again guilty of the same crime, he shall be fined one hundred dollars for each year, and in this ratio shall his sentence be increased till the fourth offense. This shall be the judgment of those who escape capital punishment. Furthermore, whoever plots the death of the king, and prepares the means of his destruction, his crime is similar to that of murder,—he shall be put in irons and banished to another land, and there remain till he dies. KAUIKEAOULI.

"2. This is the second. We prohibit theft. The person who steals property whatever it may be, shall restore double the value of that which was stolen. If the amount stolen was one dollar, two dollars shall be restored. In the same ratio shall he pay, to whatever sum the property

stolen may amount. If he cannot restore two fold in kind, he shall restore the value in other property to be estimated at the cash price. If the thief shall restore according to the provision of this law, paying in full the fine to the individual whose goods he has stolen, the person thus remunerated shall pay to the judge one fourth of every dollar to any amount which the thief pays to him whose property was stolen. If the thief does not make restitution, he shall be either imprisoned or sentenced to labor, or be whipped: If the amount of property stolen be great, it is proper that the number of lashes be increased, and if small that they be diminished. Thus also the imprisonment and the labor.

KAUIKEAOULI.

"3. This is the third. We prohibit illicit connections: The married woman who commits adultery is punishable by this law. This is the fine; fifteen dollars for the man, and fifteen for the woman, and if not paid in money, in other property to the amount of fifteen dollars. And for want thereof, the offender shall be imprisoned four months, or sentenced to four months' labor. Of the fine for adultery as adjusted by this law, five dollars shall be paid to the judge, and ten to the husband if it be a woman; or if it be a man who is the criminal, (ten dollars) to the wife.

"Furthermore, any one who abets the adultery of another's wife, or husband, or prostitutes a wife, or husband, or daughter, or son, or neighbor, or brother, or sister,—any father-in-law his daughter-in-law, or son-in-law his mother-in-law; any two men having one wife, or any two women one husband, any who cohabit illegally in this new age,—all these are punishable according to the above lines: And if the husband of the adulterous wife, or wife of the adulterous husband, desires to be separated for life on account of disgust arising from frequent adultery and bad conduct, let a bill of divorcement be given and let them separate; but the adulterous person shall by no means marry again till the death of the party forsaken; and whoever has illicit intercourse with the adulterous person during the life of the party forsaken, it is adultery and punishable according to the sentence in the preceding lines.

"The fornicator, the prostitute, the person who keeps a house for prostitution, whoever aids in prostitution and makes it a source of profit; the punishment for each of these offenses is ten dollars (in money), or in other property whose value is equal to ten dollars, and for want thereof he shall be imprisoned two months, or sentenced to two months' labor. But the man who with a strong arm, employs force upon a woman because his wishes are not assented to by the woman whom he forces, he shall pay fifty dollars to the woman on whom he uses violence; or in want thereof, other property to the value of fifty dollars; or he shall be imprisoned five months, or be condemned to five months labor. When the person guilty of rape pays fifty dollars, fifteen shall be for the judge, and thirty-five for the woman on whom he used violence. This is the punishment for rape.

"KAUIKEAOULI.

" 4. This is the fourth. We prohibit deception. He who falsely claims and appropriates to himself the property of another, and he who denies his just debts, and whoever according to this law, is fraudulent in respect to property; the following is the penalty in all such cases. If the amount of property concerning which the deception is used be one dollar, two dollars shall be restored; and the restitution shall be in the same ratio to whatever sum the property in question may amount. If not restored in money, it shall be in other property; or for the want thereof, the offender shall be imprisoned four months, or sentenced to four months' labor. When the fraudulent person pays, according to this law, the person whom he has defrauded, then the owner of the property shall pay to the judge one fourth of every dollar which has been recovered, to any amount of property taken by fraudulent means.

"Moreover, whoever maliciously slanders an innocent person; and whoever gives false testimony; and whoever himself worships an idol—for that is not the true God—or imposes the burden of this folly upon other people, he is a deceiver. And the punishment of all deceivers who do not thereby deprive others of their property, is either four months' imprisonment, or four months' labor, at the expiration of which time they shall be discharged.

KAUIKEAOULI.

" 5. This is the fifth. We prohibit drunkenness. Whoever drinks spirituous liquors and becomes intoxicated, and goes through the streets riotously, abusing those who may fall in his way, he is guilty by this law. He shall pay six dollars in money, or in other property of the same value, and for want thereof he shall be whipped twenty-four lashes, or be condemned to labor one month, or be imprisoned one month, at the expiration of which he shall be discharged. But if a drunken person shall be riotous, or if one not drunk shall be riotous, and break the bones of an individual, or otherwise inflict a severe wound which does not speedily recover, he shall pay to the person injured fifty dollars in money or in other property to the same amount; and for want thereof he shall be imprisoned five months, or be condemned to five months' labor, or he shall be whipped one hundred lashes and then be discharged.

"When the said transgressor pays the fine of fifty dollars, the judge shall be entitled to fifteen dollars, and the person injured, to thirty-five. If the intoxicated person, or a riotous person not intoxicated, breaks down a fence, he shall pay one dollar for each fathom, be the same more or less. And if the offender does not make redress according to this enactment, he shall rebuild the fence which he has broken down. But if the breach in a fence, or in a house be small—for this law is applicable to houses also—the fine likewise shall be small, and if the aggressor refuses to pay it, he shall be imprisoned one month and then liberated. This is the punishment for damaging a fence or a house. When the individual who damages a fence or house pays the amount forfeited by his crime to the owner, he the owner shall pay to the judge one fourth of every dollar, which the fence breaker, or the house breaker, shall pay.

KAUIKEAOULI."

ART. VI. *The Philippine islands: an address to its inhabitants by their governor, and captain general.*

[The "dawn of Spanish regeneration," we would hope with his excellency, Gabriel de Forres, is beginning to break forth from the thick clouds, which for a long period of years, have wrapt in darkness some of the finest portions of the earth—Old Spain, South America, and the Philippines. In the latter, the business of regeneration will be slow and arduous, because the means of intellectual and moral improvement, which alone exalt and give stability to a nation, are very few. Education, arts, sciences and literature, as well as religion, are all in a low state. But as the work is arduous, so the honor and reward of performing it well, will be great. We wish his excellency every success in his laudable efforts to improve the inhabitants of the islands over which the "august queen-regent" has given him the government. We copy the address from the Canton Register of the 31st ult.]

"Gratitude to the august queen-regent, who, in the name of our high and mighty queen and lady, Isabella the Second, has been pleased to bestow on me the government of these islands, would exact from me, even were it not a matter of duty, that, responding to such a distinguished mark of her confidence, I should devote myself incessantly to guard that peace which they so fortunately enjoy, and to consolidate that happiness which their loyal inhabitants so well deserve. They are, and ever have been, an especial object of our sovereign's care. It is my duty to regard them in the same light; such is my desire, and such will be my constant aim while I remain intrusted with the government of these islands. Separated by an immense ocean from those countries where I have had the honor to dedicate myself to the service and glory of my native land, and in which the testimonials of my political career amid the changeful circumstances that I have witnessed would serve to stifle all hasty conjectures, I have deemed it proper and becoming to my own character to anticipate these by frankly coming forward with a short but sincere exposition of those principles which I propose to myself as a beacon in the administration of the countries over which her majesty has set me, and the means I intend to adopt towards their benefit.

"My first object will be to guard and defend, at all hazards, the sacred rights of our august queen throughout these islands. Their history is not unknown to me; and during the time I have resided in them I have been able to satisfy myself of the good intentions of their citizens. I therefore look forward with confidence, that their honor, their gratitude, and a knowledge of their true interests will, henceforward, as till now, ward off from their happy shores the insidious suggestions of the genius of discord: and, convinced that it is only under the shadow of the throne of the innocent Isabella they may live secure and fearless from the calamities and horrors which civil war has entailed on other countries, happy and envied whilst they enjoyed the protection of the Spanish flag,—they will give me new proofs of that loyalty which has always distinguished them, I, as the careful guardian of the rights of the throne, as the bulwark of the peace and prosperity of the people, at whose head I stand, will watch, day and night, over such a sacred deposit, over such an inestimable treasure. And if, which I do not fear, there should arise amongst us any of these wretches who shrink from the society of the upright, who abhor peace because it affords no mantle to their crimes, who foment and kindle the flames of rebellion, because they can only tread their way amidst anarchy and confusion—against such the law shall be enforced in its utmost rigor. The punishment of the wicked shall guaranty the safety of the good citizen.

"The morals of a country inspire distrust, or hold out a prospect of security; these are the tests of its civilization or its barbarism. Fortunately, those of the inhabitants of the Philippines, being guided by a pious and enlightened legislature, and cherished by zealous ministers of the gospel, do not on the whole, belie the unremitting care and attention of the supreme government to direct them aright. Nevertheless, I cannot omit to state, that respect for our holy religion, veneration for its ministers, subordination to the laws, esteem for the constituted authorities of the country, and decorum in public conduct, are the principal guaranties of the security and the prosperity of the people: these are qualities which ennoble them. Dignity, virtue, and true happiness were never yet found by the side of impiety, insubordination, and disorder. It will, therefore, be one of my chief objects, zealously to labor for the preservation of good morals, to support and strengthen them, and to correct those blemishes which might lead to their being corrupted. To effect this, therefore, a constant vigilance shall follow the footsteps of those who, without any known means of subsistence, make a profession of vice, and live by fraud and deceit; who roam about with unfixed intentions, who take advantage of candor, honor, and good faith to involve them in their toils; these corrupt by their pernicious example, they are actual drones, the pest of society. In this abundant country, the productiveness of its soil, the simplicity of its culture, a mild and protecting legislature, the rapid communications which facilitate the export of its valuable staples, and even of its scanty manufactures, have given such an impulse to production, that the industrious and persevering man cannot do less than take advantage of circumstances, as advantageous as they are difficult to unite. He who in the midst of these should prefer a vile, degrading sloth to moderate exertion, or to an honorable means of obtaining a livelihood, is a wretch who is only anxious to enjoy his ease at the expense of his neighbor's sweat. My eye will be upon such.

"But the honorable man, the deserving citizen, be his state or condition what it may, will always find with me a kind reception; at all hours my ears will be open to his complaints, and I will remedy them if they are just; I will listen to his prayers, and grant him the help he may require, if it be in my power. I will not permit that he be the plaything of authority, or the victim of power. I will interpose between the oppressor and the oppressed; if the law be trampled upon, its voice shall be heard, not amid the clash of the passions, but in the respectful silence of the temple of justice, as clearly and as distinctly pronounced as it is my determination never to see her venerable statutes despised.

"Convinced that at times it is not the depravity of the heart, but human weakness, or perverted judgment, the impulse of the violent passions, which unfortunately, induces men to deviate from the path which a sense of duty and the laws of their country have marked out to them, I shall feel an earnest desire, a sincere pleasure, in checking them for their amendment; and to obtain this end, I will use the solicitude of a father who is anxious to change his misguided sons into useful members of the family over which he presides. Thus at one time armed with the sword of justice, and at another time soothing its rigors with mercy; always inexorable with the wicked, and always protecting from their thousand snares the upright citizen, peace and safety will be established; and thus complying with the wishes of the august queen-regent, and satisfying my own, I will devote myself to the utmost to insure the prosperity of these islands.

"From the days of Philip the Second till our own time, all our august sovereigns have bestowed unremitting attention to this most interesting object, as the numerous laws and royal schedules, perennial proofs of their wisdom and magnanimity, abundantly attest. But the immortal Christina,

scarce yet recovered from her intense grief, waylaid by a reckless and turbulent faction, who are stirring up revolt against her illustrious daughter, surrounded on all sides by the wants of a great nation, probing their wounds and procuring their remedy; in fine, busied with all those weighty cares which are natural to a new reign, which beams on the world the dawn of Spanish regeneration, at the beginning of such an important task, directs her thoughts to this distant handful of her loyal vassals. The supreme tribunals that have to take cognizance of their complaints and necessities, assume a more expeditious and analogous form; upright ministers and employés, whose services beyond sea, whose knowledge and experience equal the firmness of their resolves, are called to her confidence. Sundry other measures for support and protection emanate from the throne; and the future happiness of our ultramarine possessions will be guaranteed by the best wishes of a good and illustrious queen. It having fallen to my lot to put in force her sovereign will throughout these islands, I shall consider it an honorable task to give activity and impulse to the sources of their riches.

“Different royal decrees, issued especially since the reign of Charles the 3d of glorious memory, up to the present day have had for their object not only to protect the industrious laborer, but also to stimulate and support him by rewards, which added to the motive of private interest in a country whose fertile soil so abundantly repays the skillful agriculturist, ought to induce to every exertion in the culture and care of their valuable productions. I will see that the most wise and fatherly steps be taken; I will patronize to the utmost the first and noblest of the arts. I will examine minutely the obstacles that might cramp its perfect growth: I will do all in my power to obviate them, and will neglect none of the ways and means that my authority may enable me to use in its support.

“The first of these is, and ought to be in every agricultural country, to facilitate the export of its surplus produce. Commerce, therefore, that channel of human wealth and knowledge, which has become the stay, the strength, and the common soul of nations, will find in me all the protection which its importance demands, and all that security which a government jealous of its good name can possibly hold out.

“Our wisest monarchs have opened their hands liberally to commerce no less than to agriculture; but ill-founded calculations, information adulterated by impure motive, or mistakes arising from the ignorance of the age, have changed at times their protection, however well meant, into useless, nay, perhaps, fatal interference. The enlightened government of our illustrious queen is even now discussing this important subject, and new royal decrees, loosing some of the fetters that have till now cramped the genius of commerce in these islands, foretell a favorable change in this branch of the legislature. For my part, in the sphere of my own power, I will avoid all restrictions not absolutely necessary, nor shall I interfere, unless peremptorily called for. I will give individual enterprise all the scope that it requires, even until it trespasses on the royal commands, and it shall not want the succor that my authority can supply. This succor I will extend alike to native industry, and, as is my wish, so shall I exert myself to rescue it from the state of backwardness into which it is plunged.

“Such is my sincere desire to respond worthily to the unlimited confidence with which her majesty has been pleased to honor me, by supporting and consolidating that happy peace and security which the inhabitants of these islands enjoy, and cherishing their wealth and prosperity. To put these resolutions in force, I reckon upon the coöperation of all the authorities, more especially upon that of the royal council, of which I have the honor to be president; and from my personal acquaintance with all of them, I may entertain a well grounded hope that they will proceed in union and har-

mony, not allowing a spirit of competition, or ill-timed discord, to stifle their zeal for the service of H. M. or the common good of these, her royal vassals. The boundary line of the faculties and privileges of all is distinctly marked out; not only will I respect it myself, but I will take care that it is trespassed by no other individual; and although, by the royal decree of the 8th of April last, H. M. has been pleased to grant me new powers of the most ample and unlimited nature, I will not make use of this great distinction and high mark of her confidence, unless compelled to exert them in defense of the important trust committed to my care.

"I reckon likewise upon the loyalty of the distinguished army of these islands, as it may count upon my attachment and particular regard. I will endeavor that every individual of it may look upon me as his comrade, a sharer of his fortune, interested in his welfare, in his advancement, and determined to honor and protect all those whose conduct may respond to my hopes. Although fully persuaded that the meritorious chiefs and officers at its head will, as until now, know how to be grateful for the distinction and confidence which H. M. has bestowed upon them, still having been schooled by a long experience, I will not fail to inculcate the strictest discipline; and convinced that this is the true strength of soldiers, the nurse of warriors, and the support of the state, I will never look with an indulgent eye on the slightest breach of its laws.

"I have thus given a slight sketch of the principles which I propose to act upon in the government of these islands. Having adopted them because I believe them just, I will support them with firmness because I consider them equally conducive to the fulfillment of my duty, and the accomplishment of my ardent desire for the happiness of this country.

"GABRIEL DE FORRES.

"Manila, March 1st, 1835."

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences: Black lines in the streets of Canton; imprisoned linguist, pilot, &c.; hong merchants; local officers; drought; bribery and sacrilege; death of imperial officers at Peking; literary examinations; riots in Kansuk; memorial to the emperor, with regulations restrictive of foreign trade at Canton.*

A great variety of occurrences and rumors, some of them of a very serious, and others of the most trivial, character, have come to our notice during the month. There is, however, in the political hemisphere a stillness like that in the natural world before a storm, when the elements are held in suspense. There are too, in the course of nature, or rather in that of Divine Providence, signs which interest the most careless observers. It is said by the Chinese, that when a new family is destined to ascend the throne the event is preceded by happy prognostics; and that in like manner, the fall of dynasties is preceded by monsters and prodigies. The fall of mountains, earthquakes, excessive heat, outbreaking of fires, raging storms, inundations, drought, &c., are presages of misfortune. To these, they add many other things which they regard as the precursors of evil. Dark blackish lines in the streets of Canton, and of the adjacent villages, have been objects of wonder among the populace during the last few weeks. We cannot ascertain what has given rise to the belief of the existence of the phenomena in question; it is clear, however, that the "dark, blackish lines," exist nowhere else ex-

cept in the darkened imaginations of the people. There are other things, however, such as protracted dry weather, and the like, which though they may not be 'presages of misfortune,' are evidently judgments sent from God. The workers of iniquity often go unpunished in this world, while calamities overtake those that do well: but often also, it is otherwise. Whether this great nation, for the iniquities and cruelties with which it is filled, is soon to be dashed in pieces, or whether it is to be preserved, purified, and elevated, we will not venture to predict; but will endeavor to mark those occurrences which illustrate the condition and character of the inhabitants of the land, and those events which manifest the will of God concerning them.

Imprisoned linguist, pilot, &c. The expectation, expressed in our last number, that the linguist and others charged with aiding and abetting the late chief superintendent in coming to Canton, would speedily be released, has not been realized. On the contrary, it now seems certain that they have been sentenced to transportation,—the linguist to the cold country, and the pilot to one of the neighboring provinces. There is, however, an obscurity about this case, which will induce us to refer to it in a future number. By the bye, we should like to know what has become of the "innocent, unfortunate man," who several months ago, "in obedience to the laws" of the celestial empire, "voluntarily gave himself up," to the local authorities. Has he, or has he not, been set at liberty? If not, where is he, and what is his condition?

Hong merchants. Fatqua, one of the respectable hong merchants, who was recently declared in debt to government, to the amount of more than three hundred thousand taels, has been compelled to stop business; and it is said is endeavoring to procure a declaration of bankruptcy and sentence of banishment, in the hope of being able after a few years to return and live on "private property." Goqua's hong, which was recently shut up, has been reopened, under the name of Tunghing instead of Tungyu. Punhoiqua is also resuming, or is about to resume, business.

Local officers, &c. Governor Loo left Canton early in the month for a tour through the western departments of this province and to Kwangse, to attend the military reviews. His excellency has given orders to the Chinese authorities at Casa Branca to watch carefully the barbarians at Macao, and to seize and send up to Canton any natives of a suspicious character.

Drought. During the last eight months scarcely any rain has fallen in this neighborhood. In consequence of this, several edicts have been recently published. The following singular one appeared on the 25th inst.:

"*Pwan*, the acting chefoo of Kwangchow, issues this inviting summons. Since for a long time there has been no rain, and the prospects of drought continue, and supplications are unanswered, my heart is scorched with grief. In the whole province of Canton are there no extraordinary persons who can force the dragon to send rain? Be it known to you, all ye soldiers and people, that if there is any one, whether of this or any other province, priest or such like, who can by any craft or arts bring down abundance of rain, I respectfully request him to ascend the altar (of the dragon,) and sincerely and reverently pray. And after the rain has fallen I will liberally reward him with money and tablets, to make known his merits. Speedily comply with the summons. Delay not. A special edict."

To this, some of the rogues in the street have added the following lampoon:

Kwangchow tas show, yew Pwan kuang,

Ping she tsò sze le woo tung;

Kim chaou kaw u, woo ling ying,

King jen chuh she tsing keu Lung.

"Kwangchow's great protector, the magnate Pwan,

"Always acts without regard to reason;

"Now prays for rain, and getting no reply,

"Forthwith seeks for aid to force the Dragon."

In obedience to this inviting summons, an 'extraordinary person' has presented himself before the chefoo, and has ascended the altar, promising that he will compel the old Dragon, the god of rain, to send down copious showers within three days: what will be the consequences of this mockery remains to be seen. Abundance of incense is being offered; crowds of people are thronging the temples; the slaughter of animals continues interdicted; and the chief southern gate of the city is closed up.

Bribery and Sacrilege. There is scarcely any species of malversation or sacrilege, which is not in vogue among the Chinese. Many of these evil practices and misdemeanors become so familiar that they excite neither surprise nor compunction. None, not even the dumb idols of the country, are free from the rapacity and insults of both rulers and people. Not many years ago, in a season of drought like the present, the chief magistrate of the province, after having prayed a long time to the god of rain without gaining his purpose, and finding also that his offerings and presents produced no effect, became enraged with the god, put a chain about his neck, dragged him from his temple, and exposed him to the hot, scorching rays of the midday sun. During the present month, (up to the present day, the 29th,) great efforts have been made to move the compassion of the gods: officers of government have gone to the temples; sometimes alone, and sometimes *en masse*: but all their endeavors have hitherto been in vain. "When these officers have to deal with us," say some of the shrewder ones among the people, "they can usually soon obtain the object of their wishes by some means or other; but now they can obtain nothing from the gods, either by their prayers, by their offerings, or by their threats."

All officers of government are strictly forbidden to receive bribes. But this prohibition has very little effect. The great difficulty is, since the laws which regulate the system of bribery are unwritten, to determine in any given case the amount of money that shall be paid, and the persons among whom it shall be divided. The recent edicts have been a fruitful source of gain. The people must have provisions; and the butchers must sell the beef, pork, &c., which they have slaughtered. But to do this, it is necessary to blind the eyes of the police men who are near them. Sometimes the poor butcher comes in contact with two sets of these harpies; and then he is in danger. A case of this kind occurred on the 24th inst. The man opened his stall under the protection (which he bought) of the Tartar soldiers near one of the gates of the city. A servant of a civil magistrate, passing that way, and being refused the demand which he made, reported the case to his master, who immediately hastened to the spot accompanied by a number of his soldiers. The butcher stood his ground, supported by his friends, the Tartar soldiers; the magistrate descended from his sedan, and ordered his minions to seize and bind the impious wretch who dared to violate a public edict. Blows soon followed angry words, and the magistrate beaten and overpowered by numbers, was compelled to return. The next day, the butcher was missing, and the case was reported to the superior authorities.

Peking: death of imperial officers. Recent gazettes contain notices of the death of four high officers of state; viz. Tsaou Chinyung, Tse Tun-yuen, Wanyin, and Shingyin. The first of these died of a cold, in the 87th year of his age. He was cabinet minister, president of the Hanlin college, &c. &c. The second, Tunyuen, was president of the tribunal of punishments; the third was president of the tribunal of public works; and the fourth was commissioner to Canton last year; he died on his way back to Peking.

Literary examinations. In consequence of the empress dowager, the step-mother of Taoukwang, reaching the 60th anniversary of her birth (not the 70th, as we erroneously stated in a former number,) there are to be this year

throughout the empire, extra literary examinations, for attaining both the higher and lower degrees. The examinations for the degree of *keu jin*, are to take place at the usual time, viz. on the 8th moon of the year. This joyous event, "the holy mother's birth day," and another equally felicitous, the exaltation of a new empress, have caused a great variety of special favors, pardons, &c., to be decreed; all of which induce his majesty to hope that this year will be one of great rejoicing throughout the empire:

Riots. There is in the gazettes, a notice of riots in Kansuh. An attack was made on the office of the governor, and his house was set on fire by the populace. The affray, however, was soon stopped, and quiet restored.

Document from the hoppo, containing a memorial from the Canton government to the emperor, with eight regulations restrictive of foreign trade.

Pang. by imperial appointment, superintendent of the maritime customs of Canton, &c. &c. issues this order to the hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance with the contents thereof. I have received the following communication from the governor:—

"Whereas, I the governor united, on the 28th day of the first moon, in the 15th year of Taoukwang, with your excellency the hoppo, and Ka, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, in framing a respectful memorial concerning restrictive regulations decided on for the direction of the trade and of barbarians: We must now await the receipt of a reply in vermilion [i. e. in the imperial handwriting], when the same shall be reverently recorded and communicated to you.

"A communication is at the same time addressed to the governors of the metropolitan provinces [Chihle and Keangnan], and of Minché [Chékeang and Fuhkeñ], and to the lieut.-governors of the provinces of Keangsoo, Chékeang, and Fuhkeñ, requesting that they will issue general orders to all civil and military officers along the coasts within their jurisdiction, strictly to command that the merchant ships, hereafter, when resorting to Canton to purchase foreign goods, shall one and all repair to the chief custom-house of Canton, and request a stamped manifest, enumerating the goods and their quantities; likewise to disallow private purchases; and also to maintain strict investigation, that if any vessels from sea, bringing home transmarine goods, be found on examination to be without the stamped manifest of the custom-house, such goods may be immediately regarded as contraband, and examination made and punishment inflicted, according to the regulations.

"Instructions also are given to the tungche of Macao, for him immediately to give strict orders to the pilots, the compradors, and so forth, that they may obey, and act accordingly. Hereafter, they are imperatively required to adhere to the regulations established by memorial to the emperor: they are to be careful in piloting vessels; and they must not unlawfully combine (with foreigners) to smuggle; if the barbarian ships go out or come in contrary to the regulations, or if the barbarians clandestinely go about in small boats to places along the coast, rambling about the villages and farms, the said pilots are to be assuredly brought with strictness to an investigation: if there be any sale or purchase of contraband goods, or stealthy smuggling of goods liable to duty, and the compradors do not report according to the truth, they also are to be immediately punished with rigor; and are decidedly to have no indulgence shown to them.

"Instructions are likewise given to the poochingse and anhasse to examine and act in accordance with the tenor of the copy of this memorial; and immediately to transmit directions to the civil and military officers along the coast (of the province) to act in obedience thereto; also to command the hong merchants and linguists to enjoin orders on the barbarian merchants of every nation, that they may one and all act in obedience thereto, and not oppose. Besides all this, it is befitting that I address this communication to you the hoppo, that you may, in accordance with the tenor of the copy of the memorial, issue orders on all points to the hong merchants and linguists, that they may enjoin orders on the barbarian merchants of every nation, for them to obey and act accordingly."

This coming before me the hoppo, I unite the circumstances, and issue this order. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them act in obedience to the tenor of the copy of the memorial, and enjoin orders on the barbarian mer-

chants of every nation, that they may pay obedience thereto. Oppose not. A special order. Annexed is a paper containing a fair copy of the memorial, as follows:—

“A reverent memorial, respecting restrictive regulations, determined on for the direction of the trade and of barbarians, is hereby presented, imploring the sacred glance to be cast thereon. With reference to barbarians from beyond the outer seas, coming to Canton to trade, since the time when, in the 25th year of Keën-lung [1760,] restrictive enactments were fixed by a representation (to the throne), there have also been further regulations from time to time determined on: namely, in the 14th year of Keäkking [1810], and in the 11th year of Taoukwang [1831], by several former governors and lieutenant-governors; and on representation (to the throne) the same have been sanctioned; obedience has been paid to them, and they have become established laws. These have been complete and effectual. But during the length of days they have been in operation, either they have in the end become a dead letter, or there have gradually sprung up unrestrained offenses. Last year, the English company was ended and dissolved. The said nation's merchants come at their own option to trade. There is none having a general control. Although commands have been issued to the said nation's barbarian merchants to send a letter home to their country, to continue the appointment of a *taepan*, who shall come to Canton for the direction and control (of affairs); yet as the merchants are now many, and individuals are mingled together, while affairs are under no united jurisdiction, it is necessarily required that regulations should be enacted and published, that they may be obeyed and adhered to. But the affairs of time have variations of present and past; and since the English barbarians' company is dissolved, the attendant circumstances of commerce are also slightly different from what they were formerly.

“Besides those old regulations respecting which it is unnecessary further to deliberate, but which may all, as formerly, continue to be distinctly enumerated in plain commands; and besides the regulations regarding the management of barbarian debts, and regarding the strict seizure of smugglers, which have already been specially represented; there are still regulations which require to be reconsidered, for the purpose of adding or altering. These, we, your majesty's ministers, calling into council with us the *poochingsze* and the *anchasse*, have carefully deliberated upon. The rules of dignified decorum should be rendered awe-striking in order to repress overstepping presumption; the bounds of intercourse should be closely drawn, in order to eradicate Chinese traitors; the restraints on egress and ingress should be diligently enforced; the responsible task of investigation and supervision should be carefully attended to: then surely in the restrictive enactment, there will be unceasingly displayed minute care and diligence. At the same time the hong merchants should be strictly commanded to deal fairly and equitably; each regarding highly his respectability in order that all the foreigners, thoroughly imbued with the sacred dew of favor, may universally quake with awe, and be filled with tender regard. Looking upwards, to aid our sovereign's extreme desire to soothe into subjection the far-coming barbarians, and to give weight and attention to the maritime guard; we respectfully join these expressions in a reverent and duly prepared memorial; and also take the eight regulations which we have determined on, and making separately a fair copy thereof, respectfully offer them for the imperial perusal: prostrate, supplicating our sovereign to cast the sacred glance thereon, and to impart instruction. A respectful memorial.

“Taoukwang, 15th year, 1st moon, 28th day. [February 25th, 1833.]

“We respectfully take eight additional and altered regulations, restrictive of the barbarians, whereon we have deliberated and decided, and having attentively made a fair copy thereof, we with reverence offer them for the imperial perusal:”

1. The outside barbarians' ships of war conveying goods are not permitted to sail into the inner seas. It is requisite to enforce with strictness the prohibitory commands; and to hold the naval force responsible for keeping them off.

On examination it appears, that the trading barbarians may bring ships of war to protect their goods themselves. This has been the case for a long time past. But the regulation hitherto existing, only permits them to anchor in the outer seas, there waiting until the cargo vessels leave the port, and then sailing back with them. They are not allowed to presume to enter the maritime port. From the

period of the reign of Keäking onwards, they have gradually failed to pay implicit obedience to the old rule; and last year there was again an affair of irregularly pushing in through the maritime entrance. Although the said barbarians, sailing into the shallow waters of the inner river, can effect nothing in the least; yet restrictive measures always should be perfect and complete. With regard to the line of forts at the Bocca Tigris, there are now some additional erections and some removals in progress; and at the same time more cannon are being cast, and measures of preparation and defense are being determined on. It is, besides this, requisite to enforce with strictness the regulations and prohibitions.

Hereafter, if a ship of war of any nation conveying goods presumes to enter either of the maritime ports of Cross harbor or the Bocca Tigris, the barbarian merchants' cargo vessels shall have their holds altogether closed, and their trade stopped, and at the same time the (ship of war), shall be immediately driven out. The naval commander-in-chief also shall be held responsible, whenever he meets with a ship of war of the outside barbarians anchored in the outer seas, to give commands immediately to all the officers and men of the forts, that they apply themselves to the object of keeping up preventive measures against the same; also to lead forth in person the naval squadron, to cruise about with them in guard of all the maritime entrances, and to unite their strength to that of the forts, for the purpose of guarding against (any such ship of war). Should the officers or soldiers be guilty of negligence and indolence, they shall be reported against with severity. It is imperatively necessary that the power of the naval and land forces should be exerted in unbroken concert, that the barbarian ships may have no way of irregularly pushing through.

2. When barbarians stealthily transport muskets and cannon, or clandestinely bring up foreign females, or foreign sailors, to the provincial city, the hong merchants shall be held responsible in all points for investigating the matter.

It appears on examination, that barbarians may carry with them one sword, one rapier, and one gun each: this the regulations do not prohibit. But if they presume, besides this, to bring cannon and muskets or other military weapons, or foreign females, up to the provincial city, the fixed regulations hold the officers and men of the guard-houses responsible for finding out and stopping them. The guard stations have indeed the responsible task of searching and discovering; but the barbarian merchants at Canton, dwelling in the outside barbarians' factories, the apartments which they occupy are all rented by them from the hong merchants. The said merchants' ears and eyes are close to them: they certainly cannot be ignorant (of anything they do); it is evidently befitting that they should, on all points, be held responsible for investigating and finding out (whatever is done).

Hereafter, the barbarians of every nation shall be altogether disallowed bringing up muskets, cannon or other military weapons or foreign females, or sailors, to the provincial city. If any should clandestinely bring them up, the hong merchant from whom their factory is rented, shall be held responsible for discovering and preventing it, and for disallowing them to be brought into the factory; and for at the same time repairing to the local magistrate to present a report (of any such attempt). Should he suffer, connive at, and conceal such attempt, the said hong merchant shall be punished according to the law against clandestine intercourse with outside nations. The officers and men of the guard stations who fail to discover such misdemeanors shall also be severally tried and rigorously punished, as guilty of 'failing to investigate and wilfully concealing.'

3. Pilots and compradors of barbarian ships must have licenses from the tungche of Macao; it must not be allowed that they should be privately hired.

It is found on examination, that in the office of the tungche of Macao, there have hitherto been appointed 14 pilots: and whenever a barbarian ship arrives in the sea outside the Bocca Tigris, a report should be made to the said tungche, that he may command a pilot to take the ship into the port. For the provisions and necessaries required by the barbarian merchants on board the ship, a comprador should be employed: who is also selected from among men conspicuous in their native place for substance and property, and is appointed by the said tungche to fill the station. Of late, there has constantly been a set of vagabonds in the outer seas, falsely acting in the capacity of pilots; who artfully make away with the goods of barbarians, and then run off. There has also been a class of vagabonds who craftily assume the name of compradors, and unlawfully combine for the

purpose of smuggling and other illegalities. When the thing is discovered, and search is made for them, their names and surnames having been falsely assumed, there are no means of finding and bringing them to trial.

Hereafter, the tungche of Macao, when appointing pilots, shall ascertain fully their age and outward appearance, their native place, and habits of life, and shall then give them a place on the list (of pilots), and a sealed and signed waist-warrant.* A list also shall be kept of them, and a full report respecting them sent to the office of the governor and to the custom-house, to be there preserved. When a barbarian ship is to be piloted in, a sealed license shall be given to them, stating explicitly the names and surnames of the pilot and master of the ship, which when the guard stations have verified, they shall let the ship pass on. Any men without the sealed and signed waist-warrant, the barbarian ships must not hire or employ. With regard to the compradors required by the barbarian ships, when anchored at Macao, or Whampo, they must all have waist-warrants given to them by the said tungche; and must be subject at Macao to examination by the said tungche, and at Whampo, to examination by the Pwanyu heen magistrate. If the barbarian ships come in or go out contrary to the regulations, or if the barbarians clandestinely go about in small boats, to places along the coast, rambling among the villages and farms, the pilots shall be brought to a strict investigation. And if there be any selling or purchasing of contraband goods, or any stealthy smuggling of goods liable to duty, and the compradors do not report the same according to the truth, the offense shall be rigorously punished.

4. With regard to hiring and employing natives in the barbarian factories, there must be limits and rules clearly settled.

On examination it appears, that it was formerly the regulation, that the trading barbarians should not be permitted to hire and employ any natives except linguists and compradors. In the 11th year of Taoukwang it was, on representation (to the throne), permitted, that in the barbarian factories, for gatekeepers, and for carriers of water and carriers of goods, natives might be hired for (foreigners) by the compradors. But the silly populace earnestly gallop after gain, and possess but little shame. And adjoining the provincial city, are many persons who understand the barbarian speech. If the barbarians be allowed to hire them at their own pleasure, it will be difficult to prevent unlawful combination and traitorous procedure. It is evidently befitting that a limit and rule should be fixed, and that a special responsibility should be created.

Hereafter, in each barbarian factory, whatever be the number of barbarians inhabiting it, whether few or many, it shall be permitted only to employ two gatekeepers and four water-carriers; and each barbarian merchant may hire one man to keep his goods. It shall not be permitted to employ any more than this limited number. The comprador of the barbarian factory shall be held responsible for hiring these men; the linguists shall be held responsible for securing, and filling up the places of the compradors; and the hong merchants shall be held responsible for securing, and filling up the places of the linguists. (This will be) a shutting up rule, extending through progressive grades. If there be any illicit combination or breach of law, only the one who hired and stood security shall be answerable. At the same time commands shall be given to the superintending hong merchant, to make out monthly a fair list of the names and birthplaces of the compradors and coolies under each barbarian's name, and hand it in to the district magistrate, to be kept in the archives, ready at any time to be examined. As to the carriers of goods, the linguists shall be commanded to hire them miscellaneously, when the time comes (that they are required); and when the business is finished to send them back. With regard to natives being hired to become the menial attendants of barbarian merchants, under the name of *shawda* [servants], it shall still be forever prohibited. Should merchants hire coolies beyond the limited number, or clandestinely hire *shawda* [servants] as menial attendants, the linguists and hong merchants shall both receive punishment.

5. With regard to barbarians sailing vessels about in the inner rivers, there should be reductions and limitations severally made, and the constant practice of idly rambling about should be prohibited.

* This is a piece of wood with characters cut thereon, to be carried about the person; hence called a waist-warrant.

It appears on examination, that the barbarian trading vessels, when they enter the port, anchor at Whampoa. In going to and fro between Canton and Macao, the English company's skippers only have hitherto been permitted to travel in flag-bearing sampan boats. This kind of sampan is a boat with a rather large hull, and a deck over it; rendering it easy to carry in it military weapons and contraband goods. Now that the company has been dissolved, all the flag-bearing sampan vessels should be done away with. As to the barbarians residing in the foreign factories, they are not permitted to presume to go in and out at their own pleasure. In the 21st year of Keaking [1816], when governor Tseang was in office, it was arranged, that on three days, namely, the 8th, 18th, and 28th, in every month, they should be permitted to ramble about once, in the neighborhood. Of late years, the said barbarians have continually disobeyed the old regulations; it is imperatively necessary to enforce powerfully the prohibitory commands.

Hereafter, all the barbarians, when their ships reach Whampoa, if they have any business requiring them to go to and fro between Canton and Macao, or to interchange letters, are only permitted to use uncovered small sampans; they may not again use flag-bearing sampan vessels. When the small sampans pass the custom-houses, they must wait until they are searched; and should they have in them contraband goods, or cannon, or other military weapons, they must be immediately driven out. The barbarians residing in the factories shall only be allowed to ramble about on the 8th, the 18th, and the 28th; three days of each month, in the neighboring flower gardens, and the *Haachwang sze* temple [on Honan]. Each time there must not be more than ten individuals; and they must be limited to the hour of five in the evening to return to their factories. They must not be allowed to remain out to sleep, or to drink liquor. If, when it is not the day that they may receive permission, they should go out to ramble, and they exceed the number of ten individuals, or if they go to other villages, hamlets, or market-places, to ramble about, the hong merchants and linguists shall both receive punishment.

6. When barbarians petition on any subject, they should in all cases petition through the medium of the hong merchants, in order that the dignity of government may be rendered impressive.

On examination it appears, that the written characters of outside barbarians and of the central flowery people are not of the same nature. Among them [the former], there are some who have a rough knowledge of Chinese characters; but they are unacquainted with style and good diction, and are ignorant of the rules required for maintenance of dignity. When they petition on affairs, the expressions are devoid of intelligent signification, and there is always much that it is difficult to explain. They also, in an irregular manner, adopt epistolary forms, and confusedly proceed to present papers themselves; greatly infringing the dignity of government. Moreover, that for one and the same barbarian affair, petitions should be presented, *either* through the medium of the hong merchants, or by barbarians themselves, is an inconsistent mode of acting.

Hereafter, on every occasion of barbarians making petitions on any affair, they must always have the hong merchants to petition, and state the circumstances for them. It is unnecessary that they should themselves frame the expressions of the petitions. If there be an accusation to be brought against a hong merchant on any affair, and the hong merchants may, perhaps, carry it oppressively, and refuse to petition for them, then the barbarians may be allowed to go themselves to the offices of the local magistrates, and bring forward their charges; and the hong merchants shall be immediately brought to examination and trial.

7. In securing barbarian ships by hong merchants, there should be employed both securities by engagement and securities by rotation, in order to eradicate clandestine illegalities.

It is found on examination, that when barbarian ships come to Canton, the old rule is, that they should be secured by all the hong merchants in successive rotation; and that if they transgress the laws, the security merchant shall alone be responsible. Afterwards, in was apprehended, that securing by rotation was attended with offenses of grasping and oppressive dealing; and all the *kedang ked* barbarian [i. e. country] ships were permitted themselves to invite hong to secure them. Now, the company has been dissolved; and the barbarian ships that come are scattered, and without order; if the responsibility of being secured by the

hong merchants in rotation be again enforced, as formerly, it is apprehended that offenses of extortionate oppression will arise. And yet if suffered themselves to choose their securities, it is difficult to insure that there will not be acts of unlawful combination.

Hereafter, when the barbarian ships arrive at Canton, they shall still, as formerly, be permitted to invite hong in which they have confidence, to become their engaged securities; and all the trade in goods, the requesting of permits, the payment of duties, and the transaction of public affairs, shall be attended to by the engaged security merchant. In the payment of duties, the tariff regulations shall be conformed to; it shall not be allowed to make the smallest fractional addition. At the same time, to each vessel shall be appointed a security by rotation, the duty of which, each hong merchant shall fulfill in order of successive routine. It shall be his special duty to examine and investigate affairs. If the engaged security merchant join with the barbarian to make sport of illegal practices and traitorous machinations, or secretly add to the amount of duties, or incur debts to the barbarians, the security merchant by rotation shall be held responsible for giving information thereof, according to the facts, that the other may be brought to an investigation, and that the debts may be reclaimed. If the security by rotation connive, he shall also, on discovery, be brought to an investigation.

8. If barbarian ships on the seas, clandestinely sell goods chargeable with duty, the naval force should be held responsible for finding out, and seizing the same. Also communications should be sent to all the seaboard provinces, to examine and investigate.

It appears on examination, that when the barbarian ships of every nation bring goods to Canton, it is reasonably required that they should enter the port, pay measurement charges and duties, and sell off through the medium of the hong merchants. But the said barbarian vessels continually cast anchor in the outer seas, and delay entering the port; and some even do not at all enter the port, but return and sail away; not only storing up and selling opium, but also, it is feared, clandestinely disposing of foreign goods. We, your majesty's ministers, on every occasion of such being reported to us, have immediately replied, by strict directions to the naval force to urge and compel them to enter the port, or if they will not enter the port, to drive them instantly away, and not permit them to loiter about. We have also appointed officers at the various maritime entrances, to seize with strictness smuggling vagabonds. In repeated instances, men and vessels going out to sea to sell opium have been seized, and on investigation, punishment has been inflicted. But the province of Canton has a line of coast continuous along the provinces of Fuhkeñ, Chêkeäng, Keängsoo, and Teñtsin [Chihle]. Traitorous vagabonds of the several provinces sail in vessels of the sea on the outer and ocean, clandestinely buy and sell goods, dealing with the barbarians, and then carry back (their purchases) by sea. This class of traitorous dealers, neither entering nor leaving any of the seaports of Canton, there are no means of guarding against or seizing them. And the foreign goods having a divided consumption, the amount that enters the port is gradually lessened; the consequences of which on the duties are great.

Hereafter, the naval commander-in-chief should be held responsible for giving commands to the naval vessels to cruise about in the outer seas in a constant course; and if there be any dealers approaching the barbarian ships, clandestinely to purchase foreign goods, immediately to seize them and give them over for trial and punishment. Also, regulations should be established, that vessels of the sea, of whatever province, when wanting to purchase foreign goods, shall all repair to the chief custom-house of Canton, and request a sealed manifest, enumerating the goods, and their quantities; and that none shall be permitted to make private purchases. Communications should be sent to the provinces of Fuhkeñ, Chêkeäng, &c. that general orders may be issued, requiring obedience to be paid to this, and that strict search may be maintained in all the seaports, that if any vessel of the sea bring back foreign goods, and it appears that she has not the sealed manifest of the custom-house, they shall be immediately regarded as contraband, and, on legal investigation, the vessel and cargo confiscated.

Taoukwang, 15th year, 2d moon, 10th day. [March 8th, 1635.]

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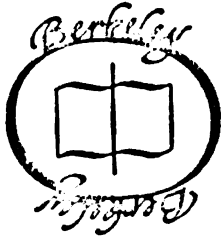
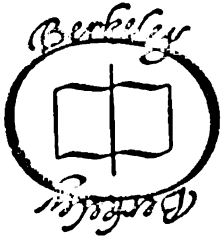
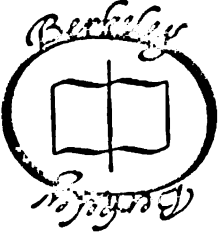
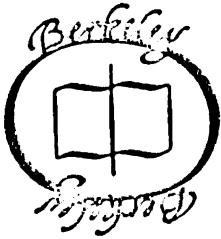
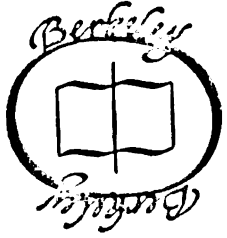
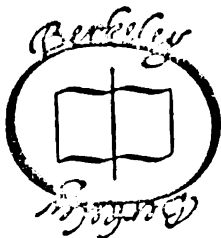


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